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SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S EVENING LECTURES.

The President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have made arrangements for the delivery in future, during the course of each Session, of Evening Lectures on Oriental subjects, that is to say on the history, customs, religions and literature of Eastern nations, ancient and modern. The Lectures are intended to be such as will appeal generally to educated men and women, and not of a character to interest specialists only.

The great importance, from a national point of view, of the studies which it is the purpose of the Society to promote, has been long and universally admitted. Of late years moreover, a more correct appreciation of the attraction they are capable of presenting has been gradually, if slowly, gaining ground. The Council is therefore induced to believe that its new project, albeit as yet an experiment, will obtain such support, both from Members of the Society and from the general public, as will lead to its becoming a permanent feature in the work of the Society.

The Inaugural Lecture will be delivered by Professor Max Müller, on Wednesday evening the 4th of March, in the Lecture-hall of the University of London, Burlington Gardens, at half-past eight.

Two tickets (free) and further tickets at the price of three shillings each will be at the disposal of each Member of the Society, on application. Members purposing to attend the Inaugural Lecture are accordingly requested to apply for such tickets of admission as they may require to the Secretary of the Society, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, and are requested to do so as soon as possible.

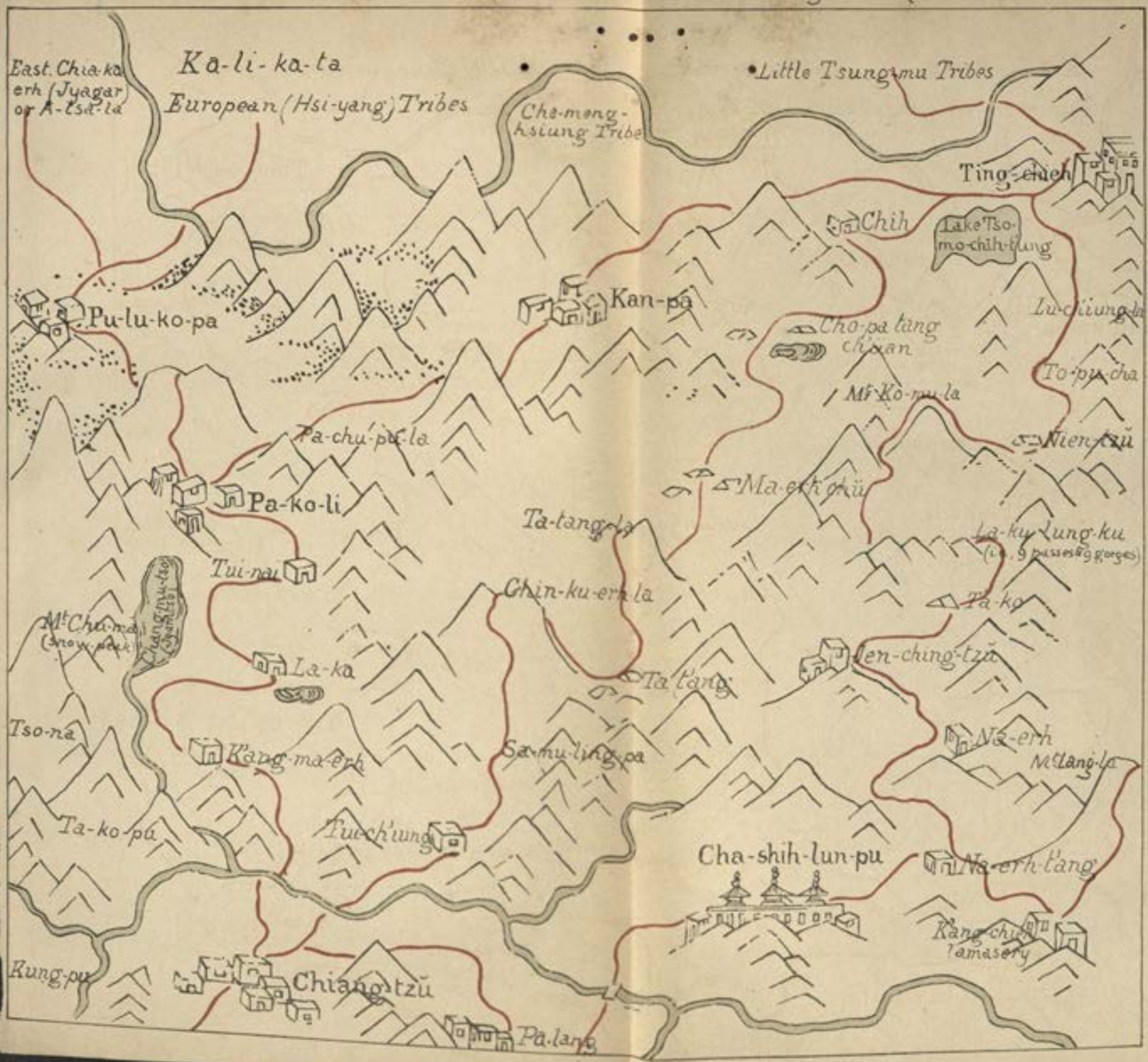
Unappropriated space will, after the 15th February, be held to be available for the use of the general public.

22, *Albemarle Street,*
January 15*th*, 1891.

At the conclusion of the Lecture, tea and coffee, etc., will be served in an adjoining room.

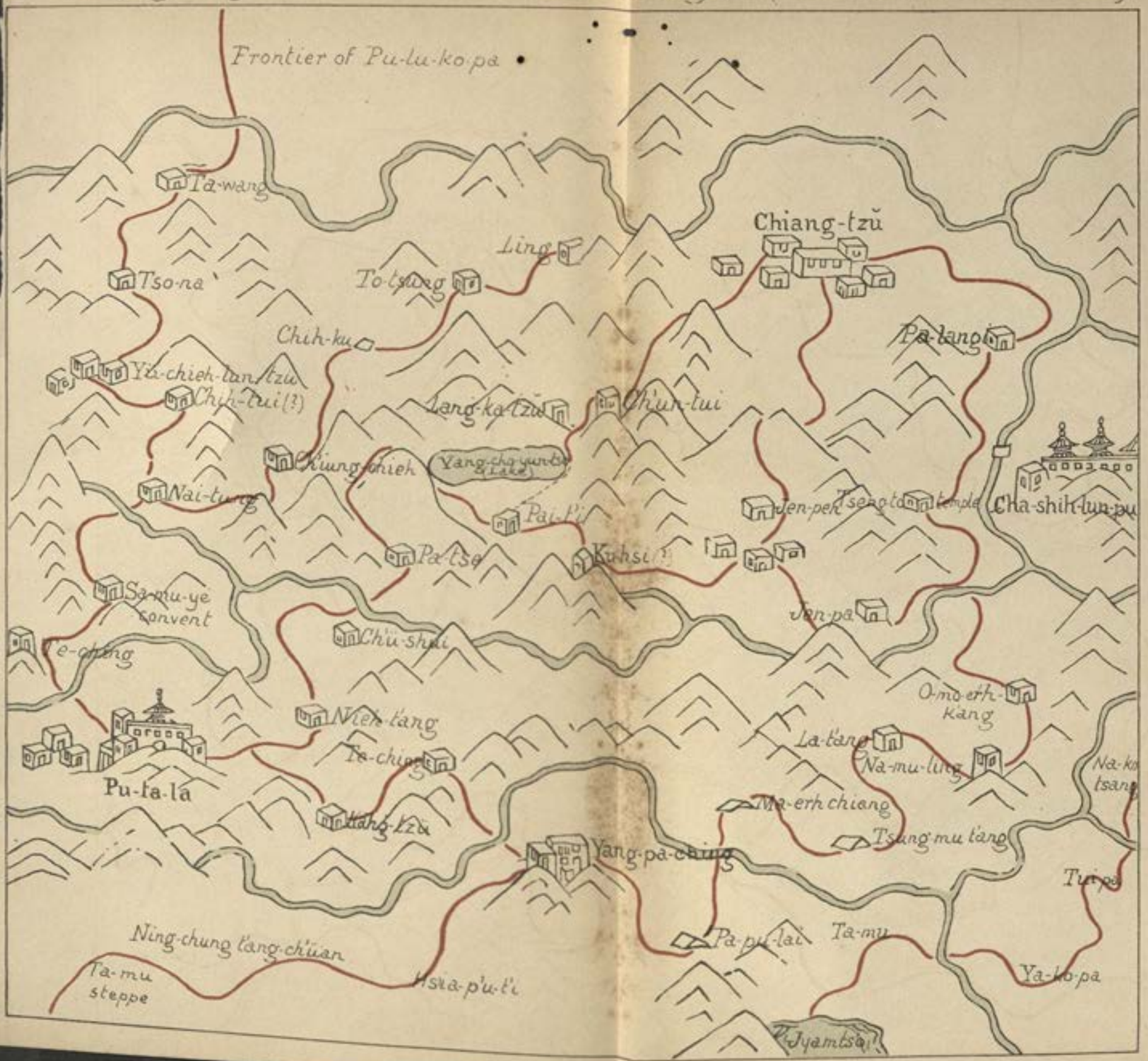
It is specially requested that Members will apply at once in order that the Lecture Committee may know in time what numbers may be expected.

Route map of Southern Tibet, between Bhutan & Gyantsé. (Taken from Hsi-chao lu lüeh)



Route map of Ulterior Tibet. (Taken from *Hsi-chao t'u lueh*).

Map giving routes between Lh'asa and Shigatsé (Taken from Hsi-chao t'u-lüeh).



JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Tibet. A Geographical, Ethnographical, and Historical Sketch, derived from Chinese Sources.* By W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, M.R.A.S.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE relations existing between China and Tibet have been for such a length of time of so intimate a nature, that, better than any other people, the Chinese are in a position to give us reliable information concerning this secluded and interesting country; for, though we possess such valuable works as Markham's Tibet, various papers by Father Desgodins, the reports of the native travellers employed by the great Trigonometrical Survey of India and those of Sarat Chandra Das, who has within the last ten years twice visited Tibet, these do not by any means cover the whole field of Tibetan geography and ethnography, and all the information we can obtain supplementing or corroborating these works must be valuable and worthy of our attention.

The presence in Tibet of many Chinese scholars, sent there by their Government to hold official positions, who, thrown in daily contact with the educated and ruling classes of Tibet, have made records, since published, of what they have seen and heard while residing in the country, opens to us a vast and trustworthy source of information. So likewise

the minutely precise official histories, geographies, and topographical descriptions, the exactitude of which has been frequently and abundantly demonstrated, are worthy of careful examination, and will be found to yield us rich materials for a better knowledge of Tibet, and frequently elucidate and correct the rather meagre notes and often hearsay information furnished by European and Indian explorers.

These reasons induced me to undertake a careful examination of such Chinese works bearing on Tibet as I was able to procure during a four years' residence at Peking, with the intention of offering them to the public in more accessible and condensed form than found in the originals. After going through all the procurable publications on the subject, I was led to take as a basis of my work the "Topographical Description of Central Tibet" (*Wei Ts'ang t'u chih*) written in 1792 by Ma Shao-yün and Mei Hsi-sheng, which I found contained nearly all the facts recorded in Chinese works published prior to it. This work has twice been translated, once in 1828 into Russian by Archimandrite Hyacinthe Bitchurinsky, and secondly in 1831 into French by Jules Klaproth. However commendable the latter translation (the only one I have seen) may be, it is far from being accurate, and the translator's ignorance of Tibetan has caused him to make additional mistakes. While I gratefully acknowledge the assistance this work has been to me, I have nowhere taken it as my guide, but have relied solely on my own knowledge of Chinese and Tibetan and the aid afforded me by a good Chinese *sien-sheng* and a very clever Tibetan lama from the Drébung lamasery of Lh'asa. Thanks to the latter coadjutor, who has travelled throughout Tibet and China, I have been able to get together much valuable information concerning the former country. But not with lama Lo-zang tanba alone have I conversed concerning Tibet, for during my residence in Peking I was in constant relations with the Tibetans who visited the capital in the suite of the tribute missions which at frequently recurring intervals wait upon the Emperor. I have furthermore completed or supplemented the text of the *Wei Ts'ang t'u chih* by extracts from all

Chinese works published down to the present day, thus adding a number of itineraries and other information not found in the older books.

The Chinese works which have been my principal sources of information in the preparation of this sketch were—taking them chronologically,—

1°. The official dynastic histories, principally the *T'ang shu* and the *Ming shih*.

2°. 西藏見聞錄 *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, a description of Tibet in two books, written by Hsi Po (錫珀) in 1759. It is frequently quoted in the *Wei Ts'ang t'u chih*. The author does not state whether he visited Tibet or wrote from hearsay.

3°. 大清一統志 *Ta Ch'ing i tung chih*. A general geographical description of the Empire under the reigning dynasty, in 500 books. It was published by Imperial decree during the last century.

4°. 水道提綱 *Shui tao t'i-kang*, a description of the water-courses of China in 28 books, written by Chi Chao-nan in 1776. The author was one of the principal editors of No. 3 (see Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 44).

5°. 西域同文志 *Hsi-yü tung wen chih*. A geographical dictionary of Chinese Turkestan, Tibet and Mongolia in five languages, in 24 books. It was compiled by order of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung during the last century.

6°. 西藏賦 *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*. A versified description of Tibet in two books, written in 1798 by Ho Ning (和寧), who was for some time Assistant Minister Resident in Tibet. The commentary, with which the text is interlined, gives much valuable information.

7°. 西招圖略 *Hsi-chao t'u lüeh*. A description of Tibet accompanied by maps, in one book. Written by Sung Yun (松筠), who was some time Amban in Tibet. The book was printed in 1798 for private circulation. The maps are very interesting.

8°. 禮塘志略 *Li-t'ang chih lüeh*. A description of the Lit'ang district in two books, written by Ch'en Teng-lung (陳登龍) and published in 1820.

9°. 理藩院則例 *Li-fan-yuan tse li.* Regulations of the Colonial Office. Contains the rules and regulations governing the relations of China with the vassal tribes, Tibet, etc. The latest edition bears date 1816.

10°. 聖武記 *Sheng wu chi.* A history of the wars of the reigning dynasty, in 14 books. Written by Wei Yuan (魏源), and published in 1842. The author had access to the records of the War and Colonial Offices, and his work is the only published history of the military operations of the Manchu dynasty. Book V. is devoted to Tibet.

11°. 西域考古錄 *Hsi-yü k'ao ku lu.* A description of the Western regions comprising Mongolia and Tibet. Written by Hai-yen Yü-hao (海鹽俞浩) and published in 1842 in 22 books.

12°. 西藏碑文 *Hsi-Ts'ang pei-wen.* A collection of Chinese inscriptions extant in Tibet, in one book.[1] Published in 1851. Maurice Jametel has made use of it in his *Épigraphie Chinoise au Tibet* (1880), and in 1887 in the *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, p. 446 *et seq.*, but does not mention the work by name.

13°. 西藏圖考 *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u kao.* A description of Tibet, with maps. Written by Huang Pei-ch'iao and published in 1886, in eight books.

Besides the above works, I have frequently consulted the *Peking Gazette* in the excellent translations which have been published for fifteen years past in the *North China Daily News* of Shanghai.

The sketch-map of Lh'asa is an enlargement of that published in Petermann's *Geographische Mitteilungen* for 1885, No. 1, which is derived from the one made by A—— K——, one of the native explorers sent to Tibet by the great Trigonometrical Survey of India. I have altered the spelling of the names so as to reproduce the Tibetan sounds of the words, and have given a scale in Chinese *li* of three to the English mile as being more convenient for reference in this work.

[1] For an analysis of the contents of this work, see *infrâ*.

In transcribing Chinese characters I have used the system introduced by Sir Thomas F. Wade, giving the sound in the Pekinese dialect—the only one with which I am familiar. In a few cases, however, I have given the sound of some characters in Southern Mandarin, as by so doing the Tibetan pronunciation was reproduced more closely. In transcribing Tibetan I have tried to use whenever possible the same system, and where this was impossible, I have approximately followed that used by H. A. Jäeschke in his Tibetan-English dictionary. The pronunciation of the spoken language of Tibet differing greatly from the written one, I have deemed it necessary to give, as a general rule, the sound of Tibetan words in the dialect spoken at Lh'asa, besides the exact transcription in Roman letters.

Introduction.

The oldest monument extant in the Tibetan language, the bilingual inscription recording the treaty between the Emperor T'ang Mu Tsung and the King of Tibet in A.D. 822, refers to the latter sovereign as *Bod-gyi rgyal-po* "King of Bod," and in other passages the country is called *Bod ch'en-po* "Great Bod."[1] The word *Bod* (བོད་) is now, and probably always has been, pronounced like the French *peu*, a sound which the Chinese transcribed by a character (番) at present pronounced *fan*. Moreover, Tibetans from Central Tibet have at all times spoken of that portion of the country as *Teu-Peu* (སྟོད་ཕྱོད་) or "Upper Tibet," it being along the upper courses of the principal rivers which flow eastward into China or the Indian Ocean. This sound *Teu* was transcribed by the Chinese *T'u* (土); hence another name for Tibet in Chinese is *T'u-fan*.

[1] Istakhri (*circâ* A.D. 590) speaks of Tibet as Tobbat, see Yule, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, *s.v.* India, p. 332. The etymology of the word Tibet given in the same work by Prof. de Lacouperie (p. 698) is conformable to native traditions, but etymologically incorrect.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries the sound *Teu-Pei* was transcribed in Chinese *T'ieh-pu-tê* (鐵 不 德) and *T'u-po-te* (塗 孛 特), *Tu-po-te* (圖 伯 特), etc.[1] From the Mongols the Chinese borrowed the name that people gave the Tibetans, viz. *Tangutu*, transcribing it *T'ang-ku-te* (唐 古 忒). Other names used by the Chinese to designate this country will be found mentioned in subsequent pages.[2]

At the present day the expression *Fan*, *Fan-min*, *T'u-fan*, *Fan-tzŭ*, *Hei Fan* (黑 番), *Sheng Fan* (生 番) are only applied to the tribes of Tibetan stock living near the border of Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan, the first three terms being used for agricultural tribes, the latter three for pastoral and unreclaimed ones. In the province of Ssu-ch'uan the people inhabiting Eastern Tibet are called *Man-tzŭ* (蠻 子)[3] or *Man-chia* (蠻 家), while the Kan-su people invariably call them *Hung-mao-tzŭ* (紅 帽 子) "Red caps," from the red turban usually worn by them. As to the people from Central Tibet, they are now colloquially called by the Chinese living on their eastern border *Ts'ang-li-jen* (藏 裏 人) "Ts'ang men."

Tibet is divided between the Kingdom of Lh'asa, which covers the greater part of it, and a large number of in-

[1] See also *infrà*.

[2] Chinese writers during the last two centuries have used the term *Tui-pai-te* (退 擺 特) to designate Balti. The *Hsi-yü tsung chih*, Bk. IV. p. 23, describes it as follows: "Tui-pai-te is the name of a district in the Western regions, S.W. of Yarkand and due S. of Khoten, some 40 to 50 days' riding. It is a broad tract of land conterminous with Ulterior Tibet. In it are neither walled towns, palaces, nor houses. The people excavate caves in the rocks in which they dwell. They raise no crops, cattle is their only wealth. They also live in felt tents. They wear their hair in plaits, on which they hang silver rings. Their clothes are made of coarse woollen stuff, and consist solely in a high collared gown (*chuba*) with narrow sleeves. They are fire-worshippers. Each morning they take fuel and light a fire, and as it blazes up they prostrate themselves before it. Moreover, when they have any important undertaking on hand, they bow down and worship the fire. The soil of this country is alkaline and stony, producing nothing; the cattle even are not numerous. The rich have enough for their wants, but many of the poor have to go abroad to gain a livelihood. There are a great many of this people in Yarkand and Kashgar, where they are most industrious and painstaking. As soon as they have got together a little money, they go back to their homes. Their prince has the title of *Khan*, and, as he is not rich, he takes his people's children and sells them in other localities as slaves, and the money thus obtained is his. This is also done in Bolor."

[3] For some mysterious reasons Tibetans object to this name, but not to the next one.

dependent or semi-independent principalities, of which there are eighteen in Eastern Tibet alone.[1] Chinese writers do not deal in detail with these little States, contenting themselves with giving their names, population, the official ranks assigned the chiefs by the Chinese government, the amount of taxes due to the Emperor and some minor details. As I have examined these in another work,[2] I will omit them here, and turn at once to the question of the political organization of the Kingdom of Lh'asa as shown us in the Regulations of the Colonial Office, remarking that the political supremacy of China in Tibet dates from 1720: prior to that date the Imperial Resident or Amban only took part in ceremonial observances and had no hand in the direction of affairs.

Books 61 and 62 of the work above mentioned give the regulations to be followed by the Minister Resident in Tibet, the *Lh'asa Amban*.[3]

"The Amban will consult with the Talé lama or Pan-ch'en Rinpoch'é on all local questions brought before them on a footing of perfect equality. All officials from the rank of *Kalön* down and ecclesiastics holding official positions must submit all questions to him for his decision. He must watch over the condition of the frontier defences,[4] inspect the different garrisons, control the finances of the country, and watch over Tibet's relations with the tribes living outside its frontier, etc."

The section of the Regulations bearing on the question of Tibetan finance and on the mode of treating foreign missions is of too great interest to omit. I will give it in full:

"The Tibetan people have to pay the Government annually a certain amount *pro capite* of grain, or native cloth, incense

[1] Or, according to the Chinese mode of dividing the country, thirty-three.

[2] See *The Land of the Lamas: Notes of a Journey in China, Mongolia, and Tibet*, Chap. V. and Appendix.

[3] *Amban* is a Manchu word corresponding to the Chinese 大臣 *Ta ch'en* "Minister of State"; all Ambans are Manchus.

[4] This duty has been imposed on the Ambans since the Gorkha invasion of Tibet in 1794. The native government was also reorganized at the same time.

sticks, cotton, salt, butter, cheese, dressed mutton, tea, etc. In view, however, of the remoteness of their habitations and the difficulty of transportation, they are allowed to pay the equivalent in money. Any family owning cattle or sheep must pay as tax for every two head of cattle one silver coin (*tranka*) a year, and the same amount for every ten head of sheep. The people may also give at such times and in such amounts as please themselves, money or produce as voluntary gifts to the State.

"Exclusive of the native produce paid the Government for taxes, the annual revenue in money amounts to probably 127,000 ounces of silver. All produce and monies received as taxes are stored away in the treasury in the Jok'ang (at Lh'asa), and are under the care of three *Sha-dso-pa* (*i.e.* Treasurers). As to the native cloth, incense, and money received as fines, as well as the various donations and the half of the estates both real and personal of all deceased persons, they are placed in the chief treasury, under the care of two other Sha-dso-pa. The Talé lama draws upon these two treasuries for governmental and other expenses.

"The annual expenses may be calculated as follows: In the first moon of the year the lamas of Potala, as well as all those from the various temples and convents of Lh'asa, and those from Anterior and Ulterior Tibet, amounting in all to several myriads, assemble at the Jok'ang to read the sacred books for twenty days. In the second moon of the year there is another gathering for the same purpose at the Jok'ang, lasting eight days.[1] For these two events some 70,900 ounces of silver are used in giving the assembled lamas money, scarves (*k'atag*), butter, tea, tsamba, etc. Besides this the daily religious services throughout the year (at Lh'asa) absorb about 39,200 ounces of silver for supplying the officiating lamas with butter and tea and other presents. Finally, 24,400 ounces of silver are required annually for supplying the lamas of Potala (*i.e.* the Talé lama's residence) with food and other necessaries, and for the purchase of objects to be

[1] This feast is called Sung ch'ö (*gsung ch'os*) in Tibetan.

given as return presents to persons making offerings to the Talé lama.

"It appears from the above that the expenditures are greater than the receipts, and there are furthermore the lamas of the great lamaseries of Séra, Gadän, Drébung, etc. who have to be provided for.

"When the year's harvest has been good, voluntary gifts to the Government are very numerous, and there is a surplus of revenue. Now in the Chief Treasury there is a Minor Treasury, over which is a Sha-dso-pa, and every year, if there is a balance left over in the Chief Treasury in produce or money, it is put aside in the Minor Treasury. The Sha-dso-pa having a general supervision over all expenditures and receipts, they, in conjunction with the Kalön, make reports to the Amban. Whenever vacancies occur among the Kalön or Sha-dso-pa, a report is made to the Amban, who, in conjunction with the Talé lama, makes selections of suitable persons. These offices cannot be filled by relatives of the Talé lama. As to monies necessary for governmental expenses to be withdrawn from the Chief Treasury, the Amban will examine, in conjunction with the Chyi-lön Hutuketu,[1] into the nature of the expenses and the sources of revenue. Any malversation must be at once reported by the Chyi-lön Hutuketu to the Amban, who must investigate the matter and inflict the legal penalty.

"As regards the people of Ulterior Tibet, they pay into the Chief Treasury (of their province) both grain and money taxes, the greater part of the dues being in produce. Taking into account the produce and the money, they probably pay about 66,900 ounces of silver *per annum*. In times gone by the voluntary gifts from different localities made every year a surplus. But since the Gorkha invasion

[1] The Chyi-lön (ཕྱི་བློན་) Hutuketu is the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Tibet; he is commonly called by the people *Peu-gi jyabo*, "King of Tibet," or *Jya-ts'ab* (རྒྱལ་ཚབ་) "Viceroy." The Amban is also frequently spoken of as *Gong-ma t'sab* (གོང་མ་ཚབ་) "The representative of the Emperor."

(1794) the regular revenue and the voluntary donations cover approximately the requirements. The Amban, acting in conjunction with the Chyi-lön Hutuketu, must carefully examine the budget of Ulterior Tibet so that it always balances.

"As to the Talé lama's and the Pan-ch'en Rinpoch'é's private expenses and ordinary requirements, they can regulate them as they see fit.

"The officers at the head of the Chief Treasury of the Talé lama and of the Pan-ch'en Rinpoch'é must examine what is the balance in hand after providing for the lamas, and such sums must be used for the Tibetan troops. The expenditure of these monies is under the superintendence of the Amban."

Let us examine now the part played by the Amban in the relations of Tibet with foreign nations. The same work from which the above is taken says: "The relations of the Gorkhas of Nepal with Tibet are under the control of the Amban. When this people bring the products of their country to present to the Talé lama and the Pan-ch'en Rinpoch'é, return presents are necessary, and the Amban must decide what they shall be. When presents are being brought the Talé lama from within the borders (of China ?), the native authorities must report the fact to the Amban, who will settle the matter.

"Bhutan, in which country the Red sect preponderates, sends men every year to Tibet to offer the Talé lama presents. The petty tribes of Sikkim, from Tumlung (?) and the Moing (valley ?) also send people to Tibet.[1] On such occasions the frontier posts must see how many persons are on the mission and report to the Amban, who can allow it to enter the country. He will inform it of the length of time it may stop at Gyantzé and order the troops to protect it. When the mission has come to Lh'asa, and its members have

[1] The Chinese text reads 哲 孟 雄 宗 木 洛 敏 達. The first three characters are the transcription of the Tibetan name of Sikkim, *Dré mo djong*. The meaning of the other five is more difficult to determine. Tumlung is the capital of Sikkim, and the Moing one of the rivers which flow through it.

nished their devotions, the envoys of the above-mentioned tribes will inform the Amban that they are ready to leave, when he will give them letters.

"As to the addresses which the tribes have for presentation to the Talé lama, they must first submit them to the Amban, who will have them translated and will examine them. Later on the Amban and the Talé lama will conjointly prepare replies which will be given the envoys. The number of persons on the missions having been again verified, they will be sent back to their homes.

"Although the Kalön are the Ministers of State of the Talé lama, they may not hold direct intercourse with tribes outside the frontiers. Should these tribes have occasion to write to the Kalön, these latter must forward the letters to the Amban, and he, acting in concert with the Talé lama, will prepare answers, but the Kalön may not answer them directly.

"Should letters be exchanged surreptitiously between the Kalön and tribes beyond the frontiers, the Amban will remove the Kalön from office."

We will now inquire into the judicial functions of the Amban.

"Whenever in any litigation between natives in Anterior or Ulterior Tibet a money commutation has been adjudicated, the amount of the fine must be put on the record and forwarded to the Amban, who has it filed.

"In cases where doubt exists as to the exact nature of the crime, the case must be submitted to the Amban, who investigates and decides it.

"In cases of confiscation of property, if extortions have been committed, the facts must be reported to the Amban.

"With the above exceptions, the native judges will judge all crimes according to justice,[1] but they are not permitted to order of themselves confiscations."

[1] No mention is made of any written code of laws, nor do I believe that one exists—the amount of the bribe which one or the other of the litigants, or the criminals, is willing to give the judges being the only standard by which they decide suits.

The socage dues and corvees owed by all Tibetans t travelling officials, and which are known as *ula*, weigh ver heavily on them, taking them and their beasts of burde away from their labour usually at the season of the yea when they can least afford to be absent from their fields and often using up large amounts of their scanty supplie of food. In many places along the most frequented roads, the natives have fled to remote places where they have more chances of escaping these duties. Sung Chung-t'ang, the author of the *Hsi-chao t'u lüeh*, himself an ex-Amban in Tibet, remarking on the necessity of the Amban looking after the welfare of the people and saving them from oppression, says in connexion with the *ula*, that in the Kelung district on the Nepalese frontier, at the village of Ch'iung-tui, where there used to be fifty families, only eight remained in his time, but that notwithstanding this, they had to perform the same duties to Government and pay the same taxes as were exacted from the fifty families who lived there before them. Again, in the Sako district, north of Tsung-ko, where there used to be over 1000 families, there were only 300 at the time, but they had to perform all the duties and pay the same taxes as did the 1000. Such cases, he concludes, are very numerous, the blame falling on the local headmen and the magistrates, whose avidity is insatiable, and it requires the constant supervision of the Amban to restrain them.

According to the Regulations of the Colonial Office, the Amban has alone the right to grant "cards of exemption" (牌票) from the *ula* or from other taxes. The names of persons deserving such exemptions are reported by the Talé lama to the Amban, who, if he sees fit, gives them an exemption ticket. The families of soldiers are exempted from all personal services, but in case of bad behaviour, death, or dismissal, the *piao* is withdrawn and destroyed.

"As to military matters, the Amban, besides inspecting annually the frontier defences and the various garrisons, has to see that the troops are regularly paid. In the spring and autumn of each year the officials of the Chief Treasury—from whence are taken all sums necessary for the mainten-

nce of the native troops, remit to the Amban the sum necessary for paying them off. The latter forwards it in turn to the proper authorities, who, acting with the Däpön (*i.e.* Generals), assemble the troops and pay them. If the soldiers do not receive the exact amounts due them, the fact must be reported to the Amban, who will have the delinquents punished.

"Tibetan soldiers also receive twice a year an allowance of grain, and the Amban must give the necessary orders to the military authorities to have it in readiness, and that they, with the Däpön, distribute it to the men."

We will finally examine what are the duties of the Amban as regards filling vacancies in ecclesiastical offices. The same work from which we have been quoting says: "When there occurs a vacancy among the *K'anpo lamas* (*i.e.* Abbots) of the large lamaseries, the Talé lama informs the Amban of the fact, when they, having consulted with the Hutuketu under whose supervision the lamasery is, choose a new incumbent, to whom a seal and a patent of investiture are given, and who resides thereafter in the lamasery.

"When vacancies occur among the K'anpo of the smaller lamaseries, the Talé lama fills them as he chooses."

It is not necessary to say more here of the organization and working of the ecclesiastical or secular government of Tibet, to which ample reference is made further on, and we will pass on to consider the question of the population of Central Tibet. The *Sheng wu chi*, the only work I have seen which gives the subject any attention, says that according to a census made in 1737, and recorded in the Colonial Office at Peking, there were 302,500 lamas and 120,438 families of laymen in Anterior Tibet (*i.e.* the province of Wu), and 13,700 lamas and 6752 families of laymen in Ulterior Tibet (*i.e.* Tsang). Assuming each family to contain 6·7 persons,[1] we find a lay population in Anterior Tibet of 806,934, and in Ulterior Tibet of 45,238,

[1] Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 285, says this was the average obtained by an accurate census of Lahul and Spiti. Page 288, he gives the average per house in Ladak as 5 and Spiti 5·3.

and 316,200 lamas in the two provinces, making a general population of 1,268,372 for Central Tibet. If to this we add 294,060 for Chinese Tibet, we have a grand total of 1,562,423 souls for the whole of Tibet towards the middle of the eighteenth century. We have no means of controlling these figures by reports of recent Indian explorers or European travellers, but it appears highly probable that the present population of Central Tibet does not greatly exceed in numbers that of the eighteenth century, for the same influences which we know to be at work keeping down the population of Chinese Tibet, are much more powerful in Central Tibet. Thus, for example, in the city of Lh'asa, we learn from Nain Singh's report that according to a census made in 1854 there were 27,000 lamas. while the lay population was only composed of 9000 women and 6000 men.[1] Besides this, the existence of polyandry, or promiscuity, among a large portion of the people, is sure to be a cause of decrease in the population. Father Desgodins mentions, among other causes which operate against the increase of the population of Tibet, the configuration of the soil, bad administration, usury, social depravity, etc., all of which tend, he thinks, to prevent any great or rapid increase. He, however, puts down the population at four millions, following, he says, Chinese official documents, and he thinks that possibly this figure only comprises the tribute-paying population, exclusive of farmers, servants, slaves, beggars, perhaps even lamas.[2] From what information I have been able to gather, both documentary and oral, I believe, as I have stated above, that the population does not greatly exceed two millions, for wherever European or Hindu travellers have recorded any figures concerning the number of people in the different

[1] See *infrà*. I do not reckon the frequent ravages made by small-pox, which sweeps away vast numbers of people. In 1834, in Ladak, 14,000 persons, or $\frac{1}{12}$th of the population, were carried off by it. See Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 287.

[2] See *Le Thibet d'après la correspondance des missionnaires*, par C. H. Desgodins, 1885, p. 241. It is highly probable that quite a large portion of the pastoral part of the people was not counted in the census of 1737, but this would not change very materially the total.

localities they have visited, these figures have invariably been greatly inferior to those given by Chinese authors fifty or a hundred years earlier, so it would seem that we cannot be far astray if we accept the figures furnished us by the Chinese for the middle of the eighteenth century as giving, with a sufficient approximation to the truth, that of the present time. Chinese statistics, like those of all other nations, err invariably through excess, and there is no reason to suppose that the figures under discussion are an exception to this rule, so the amount by which they exceed the truth in the middle of the last century would be quite a fair allowance for the increase of population since that date.

As supplementing the details contained in the body of this work on the routes traversing the country and incidentally the frontier defences, and the strategical importance of different points throughout the country, especially along the southern frontier, the book of Sung Yun, former Chinese Amban in Tibet,[1] is of great interest, and, though his remarks are rather lengthy, I believe that I cannot do better than translate them here.

"To the S.W. (of Lh'asa) there are the very important frontier posts of Saka, Kilung, Nielam, Rung-tsa, Kata, Tingé, Kamba dzong, and Pakri dzong, all of which require careful and detailed description.

"N. of Nielam is the post of Tingri, under the command of a captain, with a garrison of Chinese and Tibetan troops. Three stages from Tingri one comes to Nielam, which place is separated from it by the great mountain of Tung la, a most important strategical position. Eight stages W. of Tingri one comes to Kilung. One passes on the road the military post of Mangkaputui, the Yanga la mountain, that of Kung-t'ang la, the towns of Tsungka, Lingwa-changkia, Ch'amuk'a, Chao-tipi-lei, and Panghsiu, all of which are strategically important.

"Rung-tsa is S.W. of Tingri four stages, and between the two localities are dangerously rugged mountain gorges where

[1] See preface, p. 3, and *Hsi-chao t'u-lüeh*, I. p. 19 *et seq.*

the road is only wide enough for one person. Furthermore to the S.W. of Tingri one has to go through the mountains to Trashi dzong and Lungmai. After three stages one reaches Kata on the frontier. Along the whole of this route are very fine defensive positions.

"Far to the N.W. of Tingri are the Saka nomads, whose lands confine on Nari; but these are outside of Tingri.

"N. of Tingri two stages one comes to the military post of Shék'ar. This is a high road which passes here. A few *li* to the W. of this post commence a series of precipitous gorges, one of which is called Lori, another Kuoch'iung la, and these positions screen Shék'ar. To the S. Shék'ar is connected with Kata, distant four stages from it. The road is narrow, and there is the great Kila mountain to cross.

"From Shék'ar going S.E. by way of Giudue (*Ch'un-tui*), Mapukia, and the Chungwu la mountain, the road leads straight to the Sakya monastery over level ground. This road is a general highway, over which travel the Nepalese and Kashmiri merchants.

"Two stages N. of Shék'ar one comes to the great Kia-ts'o mountain,[1] on which is the military post of Lolo t'ang (or station). The country to the W. of this mountain is called La-gu lung-gu (*i.e.* nine passes, nine valleys). To the N.W. of it is the original home of the Tibetans (Tangutans), and to the E. the Porung-pa nomads, who reach on the E. to Yanga la and on the W. to Kung-t'ang la, which in turn confines on the eastern border of Saka. The lake (on this mountain) is of strategical importance, and from its (waters) come pestilential emanations.

"One stage to the N. (lit. inside) of Shék'ar one reaches Latze, and two stages S.E. of Latze, over a level road, is Sakya. Ten stages N.W. of Latze, over a most difficult road, one comes to Dzongk'a. Five stages N. of Latze one reaches Trashil'unpo of Ulterior Tibet, by a road which is most dangerous and difficult in four places, namely,

[1] This should literally be translated "lake mountain," as *kia-ts'o* stands for Tibetan *jya-ts'o*, "lake." Further on, the words which I have translated "lake" are *kia-ts'o* in the Chinese text.

ing from W. to E.: Kópóla, Ridung pa, P'eng-ts'o ling, nd the gorges of mount Godeng. To the E. of P'eng-ts'o ng, the road running along a precipice, a wall has been uilt, behind which the road passes. Going from Trashi-unpo W. to Latze, the right-hand road is the one generally sed.

"Going due S.W. from the gorges of mount Godeng one ches Latze by a short cut, along which is the defile of ount Chu-ao-lung, through which only horsemen in single le can pass. This is the middle road; it is a most dangerous nd important one, and breastworks have been thrown up in which close the pass.

"From Trashil'unpo going W. by Nart'ang one passes over the table mountain of Tak'o la. It is 60 *li* from Trashil'unpo, and is an excellent location for an ambuscade. It also covers Trashil'unpo. Coming to the lamasery of Kangjyen the road divides—one branch going S.W. by mount Lang la (which covers the near approach to Trashi-l'unpo), on top of which there are 64 *obo* (*i.e.* "stone heaps") corresponding in number to the signs of the *pa-kua* system; thence through the Tibetan military station of Ch'alung, and Ch'üdo, Chiang gong and Ami gong, at which last three places are barriers. Passing over the big mountain of Ajung la and then turning to the W., this road brings one to Sakya. This is the left-hand road and a highway travelled by merchants.

"Going S.W. from Sakya one reaches Kata in five stages (Mapukia, Ch'untui, Yitsar, Ch'ugur, Lungmai). Following the frontier E. from Kata, one comes after four days to the frontier of Tingjyé.

"Going from Trashil'unpo south by way of Nart'ang, one enters the South Mountains, then through Rin-chentze, Tako, Lagulunggu, throughout which country the mountains nd passes are extremely dangerous and narrow and following ach other in rapid succession. Altogether four days bring ne to Tingjyé.

"Ninety *li* to the E. of Trashil'unpo is the military ost of Polang. Going thence S.E., one enters the moun-

tains, and passing the military post of Tui-ch'iung, the Jingur la and other mountains, all of which are of the greatest importance strategically, then Dzo-mujé, and along the south side of lake Tung, one comes after six days to Tingjyé.

"From Tingjyé going E. one stage one reaches Kamba dzong. Thence three days eastward and one comes to Pakri, which place was originally called Namjyé Kar. Here there grows neither barley nor rice. This place is the southern frontier of Tibet. . . . . The Tibetans say that their southern frontier is protected by a wall of water, and many troops are not needed for its defence. So in this case the important strategical points are outside the frontier.

"Four stages N. of Pakri dzong is Gyantsé dzong, and along the route thither are many important strategical points. Thus from Gyantsé to Gangnar and its environs are a series of rugged mountains, and from Gangnar southwards are defiles. To the E. W. and S. of Pakri dzong are mountains, and to the N. of it is a lake.

"At Gyantsé is a captain with a garrison of Chinese and Tibetan troops. The two posts of Tingri and Gyantsé are under the orders of the Assistant Amban resident at Shigatsé.

"Proceeding from Lh'asa in a south-westerly direction for seven days, a distance of over 600 *li*, one reaches Gyantsé, thence going W. by way of Palang, some 200 and odd *li*, one comes to Trashil'unpo. This is the direct road between Lh'asa and Shigatsé. As to the important points on this road, if one is going from Lh'asa, they are Ch'ushul, Patsé, and Giudue (*Ch'un-tui*), all N. of Gyantsé. E. of Gyantsé are Ts'oma and Kung-po, which are passes on the southern frontier of Anterior Tibet.

"There is a short route from Lh'asa to Trashil'unpo, which passes by Mount Patsé, thence N.W. along Lake Yamdok Palti, down the valley of Rin-pen. This route is two days shorter than the high road.

"There is yet a northern road between Lh'asa and Trashil'unpo, going N.E. from the latter place on the N

de of the Tsangpo and through the Yangpachan steppe—
n stages in all to Lh'asa. It is as good as the high road.
he important points along it are a defile to the E. of
Déching, the broad mountain of Pabulé, Marjyang and
at'ang, all of which are of strategic value.

"If one proceeds to the N.E. of Yangpachan for three
es, one reaches the steppes of the Dam Mongols. Thence
stage N.E., and one comes to the steppes of the 39
es (under the control of the Hsi-ning Amban. Thence
East one reaches the Kara ussu (or Nak-ch'u), whence
irect road, all the way over the steppes, leads to Hsi-
g (in Kan-su). If, leaving the Kara ussu, one goes
W. by way of Lecheng and Talung, one arrives at Lh'asa
nine days. Along this route are also important points
not of extreme interest."

To the above information may be added the following concerning the routes connecting Chinese Turkestan with Tibet, which I take from the *Hsi-yü kao ku lu* (Bk. 6). "There are four roads leading to Tibet from Chinese Turkestan: 1°. From Yarkand around the Ts'ung ling and thence through Nari to Ulterior Tibet (or Trashil'unpo). This route is made extremely difficult by the prevalence of noxious vapours.[1] 2°. From the Mahommedan town of Yashar in Kuché. It passes through marshes and morasses (in the Ts'aidam?) and is difficult. 3°. By way of the Muru ussu of the Kokonor region (the Dré ch'u of Tibetans). 4°. From the Mahommedan town of Kurlya in Khoten. This road goes due E. by way of Kopi to Galtsang guja. Thence, leaving Pang t'ang, across a lake 40 *li*, from whence 600 and odd *li* bring one to the Tengri nor. Here there is a most dangerous iron wire bridge to cross. 200 *li* more brings one to the Sang-ts'o (lake), and after 100 and some tens of *li* more, one reaches Yangpachan, from which place it is some 200 *li* to Lh'asa."

The preceding extracts, although taken from works of the

[1] By this expression, which continually recurs throughout this work, must be understood that the road is at such a high altitude that the rarefaction of the air seriously affects the respiration and the action of the heart.

last century, lose nothing of their value thereby, as referen
to memorials and despatches from the Chinese Minister
Lh'asa to the Emperor published in the *Peking Gazet*
during recent years will show. The supremacy of Chir
is more complete even than in the last century, especial
in all that concerns Tibet's foreign relations, and the press
of foreign powers to have the country opened to their sub
is causing a rapid extension of Chinese power over
remoter sections of it, as the people feel themselves un
to cope with such delicate and, to them, dangerous sub
and must needs call in Chinese assistance.

What other information I have been able to cull fr
Chinese works will be found in foot-notes to the translati
of the *Wei Ts'ang t'u chih* or in supplementary ones at
ends of the chapters; in the preceding pages I have
given such extracts as could not find their places there.

衛 藏 圖 識

Wei Ts'ang t'u chih.

INTRODUCTION BY LU HUA-CH'U.

A topography is a description of a country, and such a scription comprises that of the land and its inhabitants; tailed and succinct descriptions are both included in this tegory of works.

If a writer composes a work on simple hearsay, and does ot corroborate the statements he makes by personal investigation, critics may well doubt the accuracy of the facts he has stated. Consequently if in what one has seen, heard, or learnt by report, there be any strange facts, it is necessary that the record of such be substantiated by proofs, so that they may be believed and put beyond doubt.

The collection of books called the *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu*, published by imperial order, contains every description of materials; all the classics, histories, and local topographies are so fully studied, the history of every locality so thoroughly inquired into and made accessible through this compilation, that it is utterly impossible to add anything to it.

My friend Ma Shao-yün, in view of the fact that no work had heretofore been published on the country between Ta-chien-lu and the extremity of Tangut,[1] has, in collaboration with my friend Sheng Mei-ch'i, examined the section on the Western Regions in the Topography of Ssu-ch'uan (*Ssu-ch'uan t'ung chih*), the anonymous work entitled *Hsi-yü chi shih*, and the *Hsi-Ts'ang chih*. They have arranged all their multitudinous statements, collected their scattered remarks, and put them in order, using as their standard and chief authority the Institutes of the Ta Ch'ing dynasty (*Ta*

[1] The word Tangut is interchangeable with Hsi-Ts'ang, or Tibet, although since Colonel Prjevalsky's travels it has come to be used by Europeans as designating the Tibetan-speaking tribes in the Kokonor region, known to Tibetans as Andowa and Panak'a.

Ch'ing hui-tien). All these facts they have condensed into o book which they have entitled *Wei-Ts'ang t'u chih*, suppl menting the insufficiency of the maps by describing tersel but sufficiently the different subjects. Such a topograph cannot be deemed a work of no weight.

The people who owe allegiance to the great emperors wh now govern us, and who are inscribed on the official registe of the empire, are more numerous now than at any forme period, hence this book's range is vaster than that of previou ones.

In the fifty-first year (of Ch'ien-lung, 1786) I receive orders to proceed to Tibet in conjunction with the commissary department of the army. The distance from my home to Tibet (*i.e.* Lh'asa) is nearly 10,000 *li*,[1] and the voyage thither and back, together with my sojourn there, occupied four years, so I ought to be well acquainted with everything concerning this country. I would not have been unwilling to write a work on the subject myself, but in view of the present work of pacification of the savage tribes and the vast field of inquiry which military works cover, my description would perforce have been incomplete. So Shao-yün, Mei-Ch'i, and myself have carefully examined this work, and so vivid have I found its descriptions, that they carried me back to the days when I was travelling in Tibet.

At present the wild Gorkhas have everywhere shown their deceitfulness; the Imperial forces are advancing against them, and they can no more escape than fish at the bottom of a cauldron, so easy will be the task of putting out the flames of revolt and restoring order. If those who accompany our troops procure this book and study it, they will learn what relates to Wu and what to Tsang, the length of the road and the difficulties which beset it, the periods of prosperity and of decline of the country from days of old, the character of the natives, their strong and their weak points. The *T'u k'ao chih* contains notices on all such questions as chronology, the modes of address, the people's characteristics, the products

[1] It may be assumed for convenience sake that 3 *li* correspond to one English mile, but in a mountainous country the length of a *li* is much shorter.

the soil, the mountains and rivers, and the local customs. Everything which can contribute towards the pacification of the Barbarians (*i.e.* the Nepalese) is contained in this work. Finally there is a vocabulary of Eastern Tibetan (*Man* 蠻) words carefully compiled by Yang Sheng-an, giving the native words and their local pronunciation.[1]

Some future day, when the great object in view shall have been attained, and the barbarians (*i.e.* the Gorkhas) shall have been completely pacified, and it will be time to chant a hymn of victory and peace, then this book will be found to contain valuable materials for the selection of His Majesty's in his desire to become acquainted with remote parts of his Empire,[2] and will also be of much use to scholars and high dignitaries in their researches; hence the usefulness of compiling this work of reference is not inconsiderable.

Written in the 57th year of Ch'ien-lung (1792) by Lu Hua-ch'u from North of the Yang-tzŭ.

Preface by T'ieh Ling-Yüan.[3]

The *Wei Ts'ang t'u chih* was written by Ma Shao-yün, and corrected and revised by Sheng Mei-ch'i.

The Imperial army had valiantly overpowered the heads of the rebellion,[4] and nothing remained capable of arresting its progress. Though the Emperor's forces were on a warlike expedition, and there was no leisure to thoroughly investigate the stages, mountains, rivers, system of government,

[1] This section has been omitted in the present translation, as it only contains a few terms peculiar to the country.

[2] 上以備聖天子輶軒之採. *Yu-hsüan* is the name given to a light carriage which the emperors in olden times made use of in their tours of inspection through the Empire, especially in the remoter parts, the object of such journeys being to get acquainted with the customs of the people and the condition of the country. "Light chariot envoys" were, prior to the Han dynasty, sent out periodically to visit the different states subject or tributary to China, to note their ways of speech and manners, etc. See Th. Watters, *Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 32.

[3] This preface was omitted in Klaproth's translation.

[4] The author here refers to the Tibetan campaign of Kang-hsi, or Ch'ien-lung. He calls attention to the fact that the official report which must have been submitted after the campaign could not render the present publication useless.

archæology, customs, people, zoology, and natural productio of the different localities, still the record which was writte being of things seen, all it contains is likely to be exac Furthermore, a report on the victory was presented to th Throne without a moment's loss; it was necessarily, howeve only a composition extolling merit and proclaiming it to th world, and designed to present at a glance a complete résum (of the subject).

In order to imitate the achievements of my ancestors, accompanied my grandfather to Ta-chien-lu eleven year ago (1781 ?). I have carefully compared (the statements c the present work) with what I heard and saw (while in Tibet), and have added to or retrenched from passages of this book, so that it may now be compared with other works on the subject (and corroborated by them).

The book is divided into five parts, each preceded by maps. Detailed accounts of the routes, mountains, and rivers, a certain number of itineraries, the temples, and pictures of the different types of Tibetans, with explanations, are comprised in the *T'u-k'ao* (2 parts).

General accounts of the local customs and inhabitants, giving every particular, are next collected in the Supplement (*Chih-lüeh*) (2 parts).

There is also one part containing a Tibetan vocabulary, in preparing which—conscious of the incapacity of youth—frequent revisions have been made by Chin-chün Wen-loan Ch'ai Chün-feng, and Chang Chün-feng. If I myself had not visited Tibet, my words would not inspire confidence.

Such is the substance of the work which follows.

Preface by Ma Shao-yün and Sheng Mei-ch'i.

In the autumn of 1791 the Gorkhas commenced hostilities on the Tibetan borders. The Emperor, in order to strike them with terror, has ordered his troops to advance, and from Ch'eng-tu to Ulterior and Anterior Tibet, military depôts are everywhere being established. To enable those

ho have to join the army to become thoroughly well informed bout the roads, mountains, rivers, characters of the people, nd local customs along this immensely long route, these bjects have all been carefully set down in the present work.

Anterior Tibet is called *Wei*, and Ulterior Tibet *Tsang*, but he maps which accompany this work do not only give these eneral designations, but indicate the different localities in ach of these provinces; hence the title "Description of Wei nd Tsang" given to this compilation.

This part of the Western Regions did not formerly recog- nize the suzerainty of China; but the influence of the reign- ing dynasty has spread so far, that for the last century it has been a part of the Empire. There has existed for a long time past a section on the Western Regions in the Topography of Ssu-ch'uan (*Ssu-ch'uan t'ung-chih*); the present book is based on this work, and we have written nothing on our own authority.

Heretofore there has been the *Hsi-Ts'ang chih* and the *Hsi-yü chi*, both works of unknown authors. The general arrangement of these books is loose, and though the facts in them are exposed with precision and lucidity, they contain unfortunately a great many errors. These works not having been printed, the errors have gone on accumulating through the misconceptions of copyists. In the present work we have corrected these errors and have brought out the original meaning, for we would not impair the good work of former riters.

Those whom their duty compels to travel must needs cross mountains and rivers. The local customs, the characters of the people, are important questions for those who have to examine the border-lands. The distances from one place to another are made known by the maps and the explanatory text. The mountains, rivers, and antiquities are all given in the supplement (*Chih-lüeh*), in the preparation of which great care has been taken, and in which, to escape the censure of critics, we have omitted nothing.

In order to reduce this book to a small compass, so that it may be easily carried in one's luggage, we have omitted

from west of Ta-chien-lu any mention of small places o the road, and also the names of local officials. We have however, given after the itinerary pictures of the differen types of Tibetans.

The maps which accompany this work extend as far a Nielam. Ta-chien-lu, Lit'ang, Bat'ang, Ch'amdo, and Lar are the five most important stages on the route to Lh'asa and Nielam is near the frontier of the rebellious Gorkhas the Imperial forces must thus needs pass through them on their march against the rebels. Outside of this (route) we have given no details about other roads, so as to abridge as much as possible.

Next comes a chapter of Tibetan words, which we have obtained from competent persons who could make themselves understood by Tibetans, and in which the words and their signification are carefully written side by side.

We have given in this work only the most authoritative statements, so that it may be of service to those who will be with the army. We have prefaced the maps with a general description of the country, and have followed them up with itineraries. All that is not along the road travelled has not been dwelt on in detail. We hope that the *Chih-lüeh* which we have compiled and the Tibetan vocabulary, which together form three parts of this work, will all be examined, but we cannot assert that they are free from errors, but that is for our readers to decide.

This book was written in 1791, while the Imperial force were marching west in their irresistible advance, but the official report concerning the happy termination of the campaign has not yet been made, so that we cannot embody in the latter part of our work an account of the pacification of Tibet.

Our chief authority has been the Institutes of the Ta Ch'ing dynasty (*Ta Ch'ing hui-tien*), besides which we have had a number of other works, and have been able to avail ourselves of oral information. We fear, however, that the selections we have made were not the most judicious, and we entertain the hope that the good fortune will befall us of having some accomplished savant point out our errors.

I.

Itinerary from Ch'eng-tu fu to Lh'asa.—Lh'asa and its history.—Itinerary from Lh'asa to Shigatsé (Trashi-l'unpo).—Trashil'unpo and its history.—Itineraries.—Customs and dress of Tibetan and neighbouring tribes.

Ch'eng-tu is the Liang Chou of the Books of Yü (*Yü-ung*), it is under both the *Ching* and *Kuei* constellations, and overshadows the Hsi-yü as would a high building (the surrounding houses).

Ta-chien-lu holds the pass between China and the outer countries. Far to the west of it is Tibet. As to the country to the east of it, although extremely difficult and rugged, its people generally, as well as its productions and customs, being so similar to those of China, it becomes useless to dwell on them here, and it will only be necessary to give the route maps together with the names of the different places by which the road passes.[1]

1. Ch'eng-tu Hsien to Shuang-Liu Hsien. Halt.
Shuang-liu Hsien to Hsin-ching Hsien. Stage.

From Ch'eng-tu a road leads north to Ch'in-feng,[2] one eastward to Ching-hsiang,[3] one south to Lin-chao (Yün-nan), and to the west it borders on the T'u-fan country.

5 *li* from the S. gate of Hsien-cheng (Ch'eng-tu) the Wen li bridge is crossed. (Wu Hou accompanied to this spot Ching hou, envoy of the Prince of Wu.) 15 *li* farther the Tsu ch'iao is crossed (now the boundary between the Tsan-shih and Shuang-liu Hsien). 10 *li* farther the Chin-hua

[1] The road from Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa *viâ* Bat'ang, Ch'amdo, etc., is called by the natives *Jya lam* (ཇྱ་ལམ), or the "High road." The one *viâ* Hsi-ning Fu in Kan-su is called the *Chang lam* (བྱང་ལམ), or "Northern road."

[2] A department (*chou*) in Shensi. See Playfair, *Towns and Cities of China*, No. 1126.

[3] Hsiang-yang Fu in Hupeh. Playfair, *op. cit.* No. 2786.

bridge is crossed. 10 *li* farther one comes to Shuang-li Hsien (the Kuang-tu country of the Han dynasty). 5 outside the south gate Nan-lin p'u is passed. 10 *li* further one crosses the Huang shui river. (This river flows S. from Wen-chiang Hsien 40 *li*, crossing its eastern boundary, it enters P'eng-shan Hsien and falls into the Min chiang. 10 *li* farther is Chuan-tou p'u [1] (on the border of Hsin-ching Hsien). 15 *li* further is Hua-ch'iao-tzŭ.[2] After 10 *li* one comes to Hsin-ching Hsien (the Wu-yang of the Han).[3]

Total distance 90 *li*. The high road is level, the country fertile and spreading far away.

2. Hsin-ching Hsien to Hsia-chiang ho. Halt.
Hsia-chiang ho to Ch'iung Chou. Stage.

5 *li* from the S. gate of Hsin-ching to T'ai-ping ch'ang. 5 *li* to the T'ieh-ch'i bridge (under it flows the T'ieh-ch'i ho; Wu Hou established an iron forge here). 20 *li* to the Hsia-chiang river. (It takes its rise in Ta-i-Hsien, to the E. of the Ho-ming mountain, and derives its name from the sinuosities (*Hsia* 斜) of its course. It forms the boundary of Ch'iung Chou.) 15 *li* to Kao-ch'iao p'u. 20 *li* to Sheng-hua p'u. 15 *li* to the T'ien kuan bridge. 10 *li* to Ch'iung Chou.[4] It is the Lin-ch'iung of the Han. Here it was that Ssu-ma Ch'ang-hsing met Cho Wen-chün. In the south street of the town there is a Wen chün well.

Total distance 90 *li*. Flat country. After this the road gradually becomes rough.

3. Ch'iung Chou to Ta t'ang p'u. Halt.
Ta t'ang p'u to Po-chan. Stage.

Leaving by the south gate of Ch'iung Chou one crosses the ferry on the Nan ho (also known as the Ch'iung shui).

[1] Gill, *River of Golden Sands*, vol. ii. p. 420, calls it Chan-To-P'u, 13½ miles from Ch'eng-tu.
[2] Altitude 1532 feet (*Gill*).
[3] Alt. 1595 feet. 20½ miles from Ch'eng-tu (*Gill*). *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, II. 17 has 105 *li*.
[4] 18½ miles from Hsin-ching Hsien. Alt. 1637 feet (*Gill*). *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 110 *li*.

rom the Ta-t'ung street on to the brow of a small hill, 10 *li* the Shih li bridge. 10 *li* to Wo-lung ch'ang. 10 *li* to ao-hsi p'u (boundary of P'u chiang). 10 *li* to Ta t'ang p'u.[1] 0 *li* to Wan Kung hill. (In the Hung-wu period of the ing, Lan Yü on an expedition to Yün-nan cut a road hrough the rock, using over 10,000 workmen *(kung wan)*, ence the name.) 10 *li* to Tiao-fang p'u. 8 *li* to Mo-chu uan. 7 *li* the other side of Ho-chia-p'ing (boundary of ing-shan Hsien), one arrives at Pai-chan (called Pai-chang-i, corrupted into Pai-chan).[2] There are here the ruins of Pai-hang Hsien of the T'ang.

Total distance 90 *li*.

4. Po-chan to Ming-shan Hsien. Halt.
Ming-shan Hsien to Ya-an Hsien. Stage.

15 *li* from Po-chan is Hsi-ma-ch'ih. 10 *li* further Pai-t'u-kan (rocky uphill road). 15 *li* to Ho-shang nao ("Hoshang's brains"). 10 *li* to Ming-shan Hsien.[3] 15 *li* to Chin-chi kuan (there is a temple to Kuan-ti built on a low hill).[4] 15 *li* to Tung-tzŭ-lin. Leaving Tung-tzŭ-lin the Ping-ch'iang chiang is passed (it was thus called from Wu Hou's pacification of the Ch'iang—*ping Ch'iang*). 10 *li* further one arrives at Ya-an Hsien (the Yen-tao Hsien of the Han).[5]

Total distance 90 *li*.

5 Ya-an Hsien to Kuan-yin p'u. Halt.
Kuan-yin p'u to Jung-ching Hsien. Stage.

5 *li* outside the south gate of Ya-an Hsien is the top of Yen-tao shan (originally called Lu-chüeh shan. In the T'ang, Yuan, and Sung periods it had its present name). 5 *li* to the other side of the hill. 10 *li* to Feng-mu-ya. 10 *li* to Pa-pu-she. 15 *li* to Kuan-yin p'u (it is in the space

[1] Alt. 1681. 7¾ miles from Ch'iung chou (*Gill*).
[2] Alt. 1920. 14½ miles from Ch'iung chou (*Gill*). *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 105 *li*.
[3] Alt. 1660 feet. 14½ miles from Pai chang-i (*Gill*).
[4] Summit of pass Alt. 2036 feet (*Gill*). These temples are usually called Lao-yeh miao in China. They are found on nearly all important passes.
[5] Gill's Ya chou Fu. 21½ miles from Pai-chang-i. It is usually called Ya chou Fu. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 95 *li*.

between the mountain stream). 10 *li* to Fei-lung kuan[1] (the summit is an old convent called the Lung-hsing ssi 15 *li* down the hill to Ma-lin-wan (boundary of Jung-chin Hsien). 7 *li* from the temple on the summit, the Ch' tsung ho is crossed. (It takes its rise in the Wa-fang sha Here it was that Wu Hou first caught Meng-huo.[2]) 10 *li* t Jung-ching Hsien[3] (the Yen-tao Hsien of the Han).

Total distance 90 *li*.

6. Jung-ching Hsien to Hsiao kuan shan. Halt.
Hsiao kuan shan to Ch'ing-ch'i Hsien. Stage.

Leaving Jung-ching Hsien by the south gate, 10 *li* to Mo-tao-hsi. 10 *li* from Ching-kan chan, following the river course, the Ta-t'ung bridge is reached. 10 *li* to An-lo-pa (boundary of Ching-ch'i Hsien). 10 *li* to Huang-ni p'u. 10 *li* up hill to the Hsiao kuan shan.[4] From the torrent (the Ta-t'ung) the road is through dense woods. The ravines are dark and gloomy, here there is but little fine weather and much rain, usually clouds and fogs. The road is difficult, forming a perfect network, hanging over the very edge of the river. 15 *li* to the other side of the Ta kuan shan.[5] 5 *li* to Pan-fang, at the foot of the mountain. 15 *li* straight up the river to Chang-lao-p'ing (also called Hsiang ling,[6] from Wu Hou having established a camp here). In winter and spring the snow is deep. It is dangerously slippery, and travellers must be on their guard. 15 *li* to the foot of the mountain by a zigzag path of 24 bends (this is also called the Ch'iung-tso shan. The road is very dangerous and steep). 5 *li* to the Yang-chüan men. 5 *li* to Ch'ing-ch'i Hsien[7] (formerly

[1] Alt. 3583 feet (*Gill*).

[2] 七縱 "to let go seven times." The event here alluded to is a well-known episode in the "History of the Three Kingdoms" (*San kuo chih*).

[3] Alt. 2299. 12½ miles from Kuan-yin-p'u (*Gill*). *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 120 *li*. The name is usually pronounced Yung-ching.

[4] Alt. 4809 feet (*Gill*). See also Gill, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 57.

[5] Alt. of summit 5754 feet (*Gill*).

[6] Gill's T'ai Hsiang ling kuan, summit of pass, alt. 9366 feet.

[7] Alt. 5478 feet. 15 miles from Huang ni p'u (*Gill*). See also his remarks, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 58. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 120 *li*. They say in this country *Ch'ing feng, Yung kan, Ya shui*, "Ch'ing's wind, Yung-ching's dryness, Ya Chou's rain."

ien-li chun). It is a very windy country; every afternoon ere arise violent whirlwinds, which shake all the houses, nd make as much noise as if they were all falling down; ut the people who live here are accustomed to it and pay o attention to it. At this place the road branches off, the hien-ch'ang road passing by the south gate.

Total distance 110 *li*.

7. Ch'ing-ch'i Hsien to Fu-chuang. Halt.
Fu-chuang to Ni-t'ou. Stage.

Leaving Ch'ing-ch'i Hsien by the western gate, one goes down a low hill, across a stream, then up hill again, 10 *li*. 15 *li* to Leng-fan kou. 5 *li* the other side of Ssu-ya kou, one comes to Fu-chuang[1] (commonly called Man-chuang). 30 *li* to Tou-liu-tzŭ. 20 *li* to Ni-t'ou station (residence of the military commander of Ching-ch'i).

Total distance 80 *li*.[2]

After passing Ching-ch'i the path is winding and crooked. The difficulties of the road increase daily, dense vapours from the Man-tzŭ country and pestilential emanations hang over it marking out as you go the line of the frontier.

8. Ni-t'ou station to Lin-k'ou. Halt.
Lin-k'ou to Hua-lin-p'ing. Stage.

Leaving Ni-t'ou,[3] the valley is followed. 15 *li* from Lao-chün-chien (the water sweeping down as would a sword (*chien*) has given it the name). The country is inhabited by the Kuo-lo (猓 玀,[4] the ancient Ch'iang). A high bridge is crossed and the San-chiao-ping is ascended. 20 *li* to Lin-k'ou. 15 *li* down the sinuous course of the stream and up

[1] Altitude 3790 feet (*Baber*).

[2] *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 70 *li*.

[3] Altitude 5090 feet (*Baber*).

[4] This name appears to be a transcription of the Tibetan མོག་ལོག, pron. *Go-lo* or *Ko-lok*, very frequently applied to a large portion of the Eastern Tibetans, or K'am-ba. It may, however, like many of the compounds of 果, be read *lo*. Can the word Lo-lo be derived from the Tibetan term?

again to the Fu-lung ssŭ. 10 *li* to the top of the Fei-yü ling.[1] (The ruins of Fei-yüeh Hsien of the T'ang dynas are at the foot of this mountain.) This mountain is e ceedingly precipitous, a mass of wonderful crags and boulde force themselves everywhere on the traveller's gaze. Th whole year it is covered with ice and snow, and clouds han immovable over it. The road at the foot of the mountain like that over piled-up clouds. It is a most dangerous obstac On the summit of the mountain there is a narrow pass.

The pass crossed and down the mountain, the mountai side offering no resting place, to Hua-lin-p'ing [2] 15 *li*. Hua lin-p'ing is administered by the native officer of Shen-pien On the top of the mountain is a lake, 3 *li* in circumference its water is drunk by all the people of the country.

9. Hua-lin-p'ing to Leng-ch'i. Halt.
Leng-ch'i to Lu-ting ch'iao. Stage.

At Hua-lin-p'ing there is a high mountain range running to near the Chiang. It is crossed by a zigzag road, and 20 *li* the other side is Lung-pa p'u.[3] (The Yi kung kou bends round this place, flowing into the Lu ho.) To the right (of Lung-pa p'u) is Shen-ts'un, at present the residence of the native officer of Shen-pien, called Yü-kuo-hsi. Crossing a little stream on the left, after 10 *li* one comes to Leng-ch'i, which is now the residence of the native office of Leng pien, called Chou-ting-tung. 20 *li* to Wa ch'iao. 10 *li* to An-lo ts'un. 15 *li* to the Lu-ting bridge. Residence of a Hsun-ssŭ (township judge). The country is slightly warm.[4] The river is called the Lu shui. The bridge is of iron wire. It was built in the 40th year of Kang-hsi (1701). Its length from west to east is 31 *chang* 1 *ch'ih*, and its breadth

[1] Gill calls it also Wu-yai ling, alt. 9022 feet. Baber makes it 9410 feet high. The author draws considerably on his imagination; in July I found no snow on this mountain, and the road over it is comparatively easy.

[2] Altitude 7050 feet (*Baber*), 7073 (*Gill*). *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 65 *li*. Whe in the country I could find no trace of the lake referred to in the text.

[3] The Lung-hai p'u of Baber. The Lu ho is the river of Ta-chien-lu, which empties into the T'ung at Wa-ssŭ. The Yi-kung kou empties into the T'ung Shen-ts'un is now called by the people T'u-ssŭ.

[4] Pumaloes and lemons grow here, but do not reach maturity.

h'ih.[1] There are nine wires (chains) over which planks e laid. The river is very rapid and cannot be spanned by y other kind of bridge.

Total distance 75 *li.*

10. Lu-ting ch'iao to Ta p'eng-pa. Halt.
Ta p'eng-pa to T'ou-tao shui. Stage.

15 *li* from Lu-ting ch'iao to Ta kang t'ang. 5 *li* to Tsan- Residence of the native officer Ku-ying-hung. 5 *li* from uang-tsao-ping, Siao peng-pa[2] is passed. 10 *li* to Ta 'eng-pa. 10 *li* up hill to Leng-chu kuan. 15 *li* down the winding course of the stream to Wa-ssŭ k'ou.[3] 10 *li* to T'ou-tao shui.[4] High, precipitous cliffs, between which flows a river. All the people live at the foot of the mountain. The noise of the waters roaring and crashing is like thunder. Behind (the village) is a waterfall, which comes straight down as if poured out of a pot. It is a wonderful sight.

Total distance 70 *li.*

11. T'ou-tao shui to Liu-yang. Halt.
Liu-yang to Ta-chien-lu. Stage.

5 *li* from T'ou-tao shui to Je-ti t'ang. 25 *li* to Liu-yang. The road lies in a deep valley with dense thickets of shady willows. 15 *li* to Shen-k'eng. 15 *li* to Ta-chien-lu.

Total distance 60 *li.*

Total distance from Ch'eng-tu to Ta-chien-lu 920 *li.*[5]

[1] About 370 feet long and 10 feet broad. Gill, vol. ii. p. 69, gives it as 100 yards span. The chains are of $\frac{7}{8}$ inch round iron links and about 10 inches long. Altitude above sea-level, 4640 feet. Baber gives 4515 feet as the altitude. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 80 *li.*

[2] Altitude 4653 feet (*Gill*).

[3] Altitude 4933 feet (*Gill*).

[4] The Lu ho (Do ch'u), formed by the Dar ch'u and Che ch'u, which meet at Ta-chien-lu. The *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 22, makes one stage from the u-ting ch'iao to Ta-chien-lu by Ta p'eng-pa, Ta chiung shan, Chin-chai-pien, a hu-ti, and Hsiao hu-ti, where the road is very dangerous. It was repaired 1740 by the tea merchants. The whole road is made of wooden bridges, ong the sides of which are established a number of taverns. Distance from e Lu-ting bridge to Ta-chien-lu 130 *li.* *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, 85 *li.*

[5] Gill makes it 193 miles, but he did not follow the same road from Ch'ing- 'i Hsien to about Fu-lung ssŭ. Baber followed the road indicated in our

Ta-chien-lu is generally believed to be the place where Hou, of the Han dynasty, when on his expedition to the sou sent General Kuo-ta to establish a forge (*Lu*) for making arro (*ta chien*).[1] It is distant from the provincial capital (of S ch'uan) 1000 *li*, and is also under the *Ching* and *Kuei* co stellations. It is the extreme western point of China, a the extreme eastern one of Hsi-yü (Western Regions). T climate is generally cold, with very little heat. The mou tains which surround it are very high, with sheer precipic and overhanging cliffs, between which flows the Lu ho. is a very rugged country.

In olden times it formed a part of the Nan chao. Late on it was part of the Kokonor country. In the fifth year o Yung-lo (1407) the native chief A-wang chien-t'san, who ha assisted in putting down Ming Yü-ni, was recompensed (wit the government of) Ming-cheng, Ch'ang ho hsi, Yü-t'ung Ning-yuan. The soldiery and people being well pleased, the functions of governor became hereditary (in this family) from that time on without intermission.

On the establishment of the present dynasty, its widespread fame gained the fidelity (of the district). In the thirty-ninth year of Kang-hsi (1700) Chang-tse and Chi-lieh, commanders of camps in the Tibetan service, having committed great violences and depredations, the Provincial Commander in Chief of Ssu-ch'uan, T'ang Hsi-hsun, marched (agains them) at the head of his troops, and having put to rout and

itinerary. The *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu, loc. cit.*, makes the total distance 850 *li*; the *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, II. 17, 1020 *li*; the *Hsi-chaô t'u lüeh*, 970; the *Hsi-Ts'ang chih*, 865; and Huang Mou-tsai, in his diary written in 1878, 975 *li* and 13 stages.

The *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao* makes this last stage 65 *li*. Mgr. Biet gave me the distance from Ta-chien-lu to Ya-chou by this route as 190 kil., or 213 to Ch'eng-tu.

[1] The Chinese name is really but a transcription of the Tibetan one, Tar ch do (ཏར་ཆུ་མདོ) "the confluence of the Tar ch'u and Ché ch'u, the form coming from the Jeto ri, the latter from the Jyara ri. Below the town t river is called Do ch'u, an abbreviation of Tar-ché do ch'u. The town usually spoken of as *Do*, thus the natives say *Do mara gro-gi rê*, "I am goi down to Do." In like manner the Chinese call it *Lu*, and say *Chin Lu-li*, " enter Ta-chien-lu."

led Chang-tse and Chi-lieh, marched straight to Ta-chien- and re-established peace. The barbarians, generally well eased, welcomed him and made their submission. The rmer native chief, Hsi-la-cha-ko-pa, dying without issue, his fe Kun-ka (Kung-ka in the *T'ung chih*) succeeded him, and r successor, Chien-tsan t'ê-ch'ang, came and took up his idence at Ta-chien-lu. His son Chia-lo tsan-t'ê-chin suc- eded him, and was made native chief of Ming-cheng, governor the thirteen hamlets (鈔內 庄) of Ta-chien-lu, and Tu-ssŭ the recently subjugated tribes. Moreover, the country as divided into thousands and hundreds, and a census of he old and newly incorporated native population gave 28,884 ersons. The above-mentioned people pay a yearly tax in orses, grain, or money, which is handed in to the native fficer of Ming-cheng, and the sum levied is remitted to Ta- hien-lu.[1]

The walls of Ta-chien-lu are of stone; the Chinese and the natives live mixed together. All officials going to Tibet here take an escort of Tibetan soldiers, and pass the frontier at this place.

From Ta-chien-lu is exported a great quantity of tea, ught from China on the backs of porters. Ta-chien-lu is e general distributing point of the tea trade.[2] At present here is a sub-prefect residing here who has the direction

[1] The Regulations of the Colonial Office (*Li-fan-yüan tse-li*), B. 61, p. 10, ys that Ta-chien-lu sends a sum of Tls. 5000, derived from the local taxes, very year to the Talé lama for the support of the church. These taxes are most likely those levied by the native prince. The Tibetan name of the rincipality of Ming-cheng is Chag-la (ལྕགས་ལ); the prince has the title of King or *Jyabo* (རྒྱལ་པོ).

[2] On the tea trade of Ta-chien-lu, see Baber, *Archæological Researches in Western China*, p. 192 *et seq.* He estimates the export from Ta-chien-lu to t'ang at ten millions English pounds, which are worth over £148,000. Tea is d in Tibet in small bricks, called *parka*, weighing 3½ *ja-ma* (about 4¼ lbs.), in packages of four *parka*, called *k'o-dru*. I am told that the price of tea *parka* varies at Lh'asa from six or seven taels for the finest qualities down Tls. 2.0.0 for the poorest. The Ya-chou teas sold in Tibet are of different lities, the principal are: 1°. Dre-dong, 2°. Chu-ba, 3°. Gadän chamba, Jyé-ba, 5°. Goka, etc. See also *A Tea Trade with Tibet* (by Abbé sgodins), published by the Bengal Secretariat in 1883.

of native affairs and also control over the quartermaste
department. There is also a collector of customs dues, wh
officer is now under the direction of the Sub-prefect.

Although the people of this locality are very devout, st
they always like to make profits in trade; they are nev
theless trustworthy and just, their disposition is sincere a
obliging, and they would rather die than change. W
such natural good parts, the teachings of the Emperor ha
entered deep into their hearts, and they are all profound
devoted to him.

12. Ta-chien-lu to Chih-to. Stage.

10 *li* from the southern gate of Ta-chien-lu the barrier o
Kung chu is passed. All officials commence from this poin
to receive the customary allowances. 40 *li* over an even bu
rising and tortuous road brings one to Chih-to.[1]

At the foot of the mountain (of Chih-to) there is a post
station and an inn. The summit of the mountain seems so
lofty when one gazes at it, that the giddy height overcome
one. From this place on the size of the mountains
rivers, the desert, ice, and the snow-clad country often
the traveller's heart with dismay.

Total distance 50 *li*.

13. Chih-to to Ti-ju. Halt.
Ti-ju to A-niang-pa. Stage.

From Chih-to one crosses a mountain which, though broad
is not very high.[2] Rhubarb[3] grows on it; the odour of the
drug is so strong that it makes the passer-by gasp for breath

[1] Alt. 10,838 feet (*Gill*). The Tibetan name is Chedo (ཅེ་རྡོ).

[2] Alt. 14,515 feet (*Gill*).

[3] Called in Tibetan ཟ་སེར *laser*. See Prjevalsky's *Mongolia*, vol. ii. p. 8
et sqq. He there says that the Mongols call it *Shara moto*, "yellow wood," a
the Tangutans *Djumtsa*. This last expression, ཛིམ་རྩ *dzim tsa*, "fragr
root," is only used in Eastern Tibet and the Kokonor.

autumn and winter the snow stretches over the mountain broad, deep sheets.

After 30 *li* (from Chih-to) some ruined stone cabins are ssed, and after 20 *li* over a confused mass of boulders, ju[1] is reached, where there is a post station. 20 *li* to -wa-lu,[2] over a not very bad road.

Down hill and 15 *li* south brings one to A-niang pa,[3] a tile spot with all the appearance of prosperity.

Total distance 85 *li*.

14. A-niang pa to Wa-ch'ieh. Halt.
Wa-ch'ieh to Tung O-lo. Stage.

30 *li* from A-niang-pa over a level road brings one to Wa-ch'ieh.[4] Crossing the O-sung-to bridge and passing a little camp, the high road is again reached. 10 *li* farther on Ta-na-shih is passed, where live some tens of native families and where there is fuel and fodder. 10 *li* to Tung O-lo,[5] where there is a post station.

Total distance 55 *li*.

15. Tung O-lo to Kao-jih ssŭ. Halt.
Kao-jih ssŭ to Wo-lung-shih. Stage.

Going south from Tung O-lo, a great snowy mountain is passed.[6] There are (afterwards) two dense forests, thick and luxuriant, which look like jade, and through which it is not easy to make one's way. After 30 *li* one arrives at Kao-jih ssŭ, where there is a small lake. Thence south 30 *li* through

[1] Gill's Ti-zu or Hsin Tien chau. Alt. 13,335 feet.
[2] Gill's Nah shi.
[3] Alt. 12,413 feet. 21½ miles from Chih-to (*Gill*). In Tibetan called A-nya ཨ་ཉག).
[4] Gill's Tung che ka.
[5] Gill's Tung Golo. Alt. 12,027 feet.
[6] Gill's Ka-ji-la, or Ko-urh shi shan. Alt. (summit of pass) 14,454 feet. nd Do-ku la tza. Alt. 14,597 feet.

a great pine forest. 15 *li* down hill brings you to Wo-lu
•shih,[1] where there is an inn and a post station.

Total distance 75 *li*.

16. Wo-lung-shih to Pa-chiao-lu. Halt.
Pa-chiao-lu to Chung-tu. Stage.

Going west from Wo-lung-shih, over a level road throu
an extremely desert country, 60 *li* brings one to Pa-chia
lu,[2] where there is a post station and an inn, which
however, in ruins.

Again going 65 *li*, one comes to Chung-tu ("the Centr
Ferry"), or Ho k'ou.[3] On the other side of the ferry com
mences the Lit'ang territory. It is over the Nya-lung rive
(*Ya-lung chiang*). Here is stationed a corporal (*wai-wei*)
who has the management of the ferry boats. In summe
and autumn boats ply across, in winter and spring there is a
bridge of boats to facilitate travelling. The natives cross in
raw hide boats, in which they go up and down stream like
ducks paddling.[4] All officials passing here, and who rest for
the night on the east bank, are provided for by the native
officer of Ming-cheng. Those crossing the river who rest for
the night on the west bank, are provided for by the native
officers of Lit'ang.

Total distance 120 *li*.

17. Chung-tu to Chien-tzŭ-wan. Halt.
Chien-tzŭ-wan to Hsi O-lo. Stage.

From Chung-tu, passing the river, the road ascends

[1] Gill's Wu Rumshih, or Wu ru chung ku. Alt. 12,048 feet. The correct
pronunciation of the name is O-rong shé (ཨོ་རོང་ཤེས). At the present da
travellers usually make one stage from Anya to Orong-shé.

[2] Gill's Ker Rim-bu, or Pa-ko lo. Alt. 10,435 feet.

[3] Also called Nya ch'u k'a. Alt. 9222 feet (*Gill*), and Mä Nya ch'u l
(སྨད་ཉ་ཆུ་ཁ), "Ford of the lower Nya ch'u." The Chinese name Ya-lu
is Tibetan *Nya-lung* (ཉ་ལུང), "Valley of the Nya."

[4] There is no bridge at present, every one crosses in skin boats called *Ku dr*
like coracles, about five feet long and four broad.

ng 35 *li*, Ma-kai-chung[1] is reached, where there are e-built houses, fuel and fodder. This stage is very long, gerous, and difficult; moreover, there are numerous gands[2] on the way.

If travellers decide to stop for the night at Ma-kai-chung being half-way along this everywhere bad road, and for sake of taking care of their horses, it is possible, if the rty is small, but if it be numerous it is no easy matter. 40 *li* a big snowy mountain to Chien-tzŭ-wan, where there is a st station. The summit of the mountain[3] is very dangerous, d has pestilential vapours.

Down the mountain by a zigzag path and again up a ountain, 40 *li* to Po-lang kung-sun,[4] where there is a post tation and a guard house to provide protection against the ands of robbers (*Chakpa*). 10 *li* down the mountain, and 0 *li* further on, one arrives at Hsi O-lo,[5] where there is a ost station and a hundred families of aborigines. Here ll officials receive fuel and fodder and change the *ula*. There is a Chinese inn, where one can pass the night.

Total distance 135 *li*.

18. Hsi O-lo to Tsan-ma-la tung. Halt.
Tsan-ma-la tung to Huo-chu-k'a. Stage.

From Hsi O-lo the road passes over a low hill and enters a valley. Thence crossing a great snowy mountain[6] and

[1] Gill's Ma geh chung. Alt. 11,915 feet. Correct pronunciation Ma-gän rong (མ་རྒན་རྫོང).

[2] 夾壩 *Ch'ia-pa* is the transcription of the Tibetan word *chak-pa*, in onstant use for "thieves, brigands." In the translations of the *Peking Gazette* or 1885, p. 70, it is erroneously rendered by "Chia-pa aborigines."

[3] Gill calls it Ra ma la. Alt. of first summit, 14,915 feet; second summit, 5,110 feet.

[4] Gill's Mu lung gung, or P'u lang kung.

[5] Gill's Lit'ang Ngoloh, or Shih Wolo. Alt. 12,451 feet. Tibetans call it -t'ang go-lok (ལི་ཐང་དགོ་ལོག). The word *go-lok*, I have been told, ans "capital, chief town." It is not used in Central Tibet.

[6] Gill's Tang Gola. Alt. 14,109 feet.

down to Tsan-ma-la-tung,[1] 40 *li*. Here there are de
forests and deep ravines, also numerous robbers (*Chak*
There is a post station. 20 *li* to Man-k'a, thence ove
small mountain,[2] at the foot of which there is a nook call
"the Pit of rolled stones" (*Loan shih chiao*). Again up h
and on to a low plateau and down a valley to its foot, 30
Again crossing a big mountain,[3] 20 *li* to Huo-chu-k
where there are people, fuel and fodder, a guard house a
a post station.

Total distance 110 *li*.

19. Huo-chu-k'a to Huo-shao-po. Halt.
Huo-shao-po to Lit'ang. Stage.

From Huo-chu-k'a, crossing a little bridge, one follows th
river[5] by a winding road, up a small mountain[6] to Huo-chu
po, 25 *li*. Down hill and over a level country, 25 *li* t
Lit'ang. Here there is a guard house and a post station
The *ula* is changed. There is a bazaar. The natives and
the Chinese live together. There are over 200 houses.

Total distance 50 *li*.

Total distance from Ta-chien-lu to Lit'ang 680 *li*.[7]

Lit'ang is more than 600 *li* west of Ta-chien-lu. Th
climate is cold, and there falls much rain and snow. Formerl
it was attached to the Kokonor country (for administrative
purposes). It is a very mountainous country, with peak

[1] Gill's Cha-ma-ra don. Correct pronunciation Tra-ma-ra-dong (ཁྲ་མ་ར་
གདོང་).

[2] Gill's Deh-re la. Alt. 14,584 feet.

[3] Gill's Wang-gi la. Alt. 15,558 feet.

[4] Or Ho chu k'a. Alt. 13,250 feet (*Gill*). Hor ch'u k'a (ཧོར་ཆུ་ཀ
in Tibetan.

[5] Which Gill thinks must fall into the Chin-sha chiang after being joined
the Lit'ang river, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 154.

[6] Gill's Shie-gi la. Alt. 14,425 feet, or 1170 feet above Huo chu k'a.

[7] 650 *li*, according to the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*. 130½ miles according to Capt
Gill. Alt. 13,280 feet. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, II. 19, makes the last stage 45

ng above peak; among them winds and twists the road; ce it is an important part of Tibet.

Lit'ang has an earthen rampart, and it is the residence of uartermaster. The popular religion is that of the lamas, l there is a presiding high lama of the yellow sect.[1] He a *K'an-po*, and a special object of reverence in the country. ormerly) he appointed a priest and a layman to manage affairs of their respective classes.

In the forty-seventh year of Kang-hsi (1708) the Talé ma was re-incarnated at Ch'a-ma-chung (in the Lit'ang untry); he was removed thence, and went to reside at the 'a-ehr-ssŭ of Hsi-ning.[2] Later on Tibet was conquered by he Sungan Tzu-wang A-la-pu-tan, and he sent Che-ling un-to-pu there (*i.e.* to Lit'ang).

In the fifty-seventh year of Kang-hsi (1719), Wen-P'u, Captain General of the Guards, left Ta-chien-lu with a corps of Manchu and Chinese troops, passed to Ya-lung chiang, and marched straight to Lit'ang.[3] He published a proclamation setting forth the great righteousness of the Emperor's cause, and re-established tranquillity among the people of the district. He had erected and filled granaries and a treasury, and awaited the advance westward of the great army.

The following year, the Tibetan generalissimo Ka-ehr-pi amped at Ta-chien-lu. The commander of his vanguard

[1] T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 232, says there are 3500 lamas in this Lit'ang convent. The chief convent is called Chamba ch'ü k'or ling. Here resides the K'anpo, who is appointed for a term of three years. To the right of this lamasery is the Ch'ujong k'ang, and to the left the Dorjé ling. The *Lit'ang chih-lüeh*, p. 18, says there are 2845 lamas on the registers (*t'o*) of the convent, and over 3000 non-registered ones.

[2] Some 50 *li* south of Hsi-ning on the T'a shan. This convent is the chief one of the Gélupa sect, and is built on the spot where Tsong-k'apa was born. *Sheng wu chi*, V. 7. It is better known to us under its Tibetan name of Kumbum.

[3] A census of the population of Lit'ang district made in 1719 gave 15 hamlets nd villages, 20 headmen, 5320 families, 3270 lamas, and 45 lamaseries. nother census, made in 1729, gave 36 localities with resident officials, 529 families, and 3849 lamas. See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p 37. In 1719 the xes levied at Lit'ang and forwarded to Ta-chien-lu were Tls. 452 and 0 piculs of barley, besides certain sums for the native officials and lamas, which 1740 amounted to Tls. 600.9.4 in money, 1754 piculs of grain, 470 head cattle, and 958 catties of butter. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, I. 19. Gill, . *cit.* vol. ii. p. 189, says that Lit'ang has 1000 families and 3000 mas in the principal lamasery, but he must have been misinformed, as it is rtainly smaller than Bat'ang, which has perhaps 300.

led his troops ahead into Tibet, passing by Lit'ang. Me
while Ta-wa-lang Chang-pa was secretly sent to seize Lit'
by surprise. An officer of the (Chinese) camp hearing of
plot, the commander of the troops arranged a plan, came
the (Tibetan) camp, and had Ta-wa-lang Chang-pa and t
of his officers put to death. He also degraded the K'an-
lama. The native population, kept in awe by the prese
of the troops, remained quiet, and after deliberating, th
chose a new K'an-po. The commander of the camp w
moreover appointed to manage affairs conjointly wi
him.

In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) seals wer
bestowed on the ecclesiastical and civil officials. The civi
officer An-pen was made a Hsüan-fu-ssŭ, the ecclesiastica
one Kang-ch'üeh chiang-tsŏ a Fu t'u-ssŭ.

In the tenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1745) the native official
in charge of the administration of Ming-cheng, the Shou-pei
Wang-chieh, having distinguished himself previously in
action against rebels, representations were made to the end
that he be appointed to fill a vacancy of Cheng t'u-ssŭ. In
consideration of his having taken part against the rebels
in the time of Chin-chiu, the T'u-ssŭ Wang-ehr-chieh was
given an appointment and was made a Fu t'u-ssŭ. All Fu
t'u-ssŭ and Cheng t'u-ssŭ are like hereditary officers (in thei
prerogatives), without being, however, hereditary. They
receive the taxes, and socage is due them.

At present the Cheng t'u-ssŭ of Lit'ang is Ye-pa-cha-shih,
the Hsüan-fu t'u-ssŭ is A-chüeh-tso-shih, the Fu t'u-ssŭ is
Ao-chê-cheng, the Déba is Peng-tso. Under the control o
Lit'ang and receiving orders from it are the four T'u-ssŭ o
Ch'ung-hsi, Mao-ya, Mao-mao-ya and Chü-teng, the head-
men of which places have always from of old inculcated int
their people a proper sense of duty (to the Emperor). Thes
(localities) are now called the Four Wa-shu.[1]

[1] The *Hsi-yü k'ao ku lu* distinguishes six Wa-shu districts; it gives Sha
t'eng instead of Chü-teng and Keng-ping and Ssŭ-ta as additional divisions.

0. Lit'ang to T'ou-t'ang. Stage.

oing S.W. from Lit'ang 30 *li*, a great wooden bridge is ssed,[1] and then one ascends the A-la-po-sang shan,[2] a y, precipitous mountain rising in a succession of ledges. e sun's rays and the glittering snow blend their brilliancy it). 20 *li* bring one to T'ou t'ang or Kung-sa t'ang[3] called Tibetan O-wa-pen-sung, where there is neither fuel, fodder r inhabitants. There is only a post station master, and re the Lit'ang *ula* and pack animals are changed. The veller has to avail himself of the tents and provisions ich he may have brought along with him.

Total distance 50 *li*.

21. T'ou t'ang to Kan hai-tzŭ. Halt.
Kan hai-tzŭ to La-ma-ya. Stage.

At T'ou t'ang blows a piercingly cold wind, which freezes nd cracks the skin, and the more one advances, the more ntense becomes the cold. Ascending by Huang-t'u kang o Kan-hai-tzŭ[4] 40 *li*; passing this one comes to Lan-wo-pa nd Hu-p'i kou. Then one descends by a zigzag path which makes five bends, by great rocks, which look like a forest of rooked trees. The road is muddy, and trees cover it with eir interwoven branches; a rivulet crosses it time and again, d it is the lurking place of many brigands (*Chakpa*). 40 *li* bring one to La-ehr t'ang,[5] where there is a post station.[6] 25 *li* to the top of La-ma shan and to La-ma-ya,[7] where there s fuel, fodder, and habitations.

Total distance 105 *li*.

[1] Gill's Che zom ka, which I take for Tibetan *ch'u zam-pa*, "river bridge."

[2] Gill's Nga ra la ka. Alt. 15,753 feet.

[3] Jambu t'ong (འཇམ་བུའི་ཐོང་) must be the same place.

[4] Or "the dry lake," Gill's Dzong-da.

[5] Probably Gill's Ma-dung-la tza.

[6] These stations are known in Tibetan by the name of *Jya-tsu'g k'ang*; they ly afford shelter to the traveller, who must use his own provisions, etc.

[7] Gill calls it also Ra nung. Alt. 12,826 feet. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao* makes stage of 150 *li* from Lit'ang to Lamaya. The Tibetan name is Ra-nang ·སྣང་).

22. La-ma-ya to Ehr-lang-wan. Halt.
Ehr-lang-wan to San-pa t'ang. Stage.

From La-ma-ya, up the valley to the top of the mountai over four snowy ridges composed of loose, broken rocks, a no trees. When the range has been crossed, one comes o thickly-wooded, well-watered,[2] grassy country. After goi a total distance of 55 *li*, one comes to Ehr-lang-wan,[3] wh there is a post station, but no habitations.

Leaving the foot of the mountain, one enters a vall which is followed down on nearly a level road 55 *li* to t other side of the Chu-tung t'a (pagoda), when one comes to t Lit'ang zam-pa[4] (the boundary between Bat'ang and Lit'ang *Zam-pa* is the Tibetan word for "bridge"). Here there is post station, but fuel and fodder are scarce.

Total distance 110 *li*.

23. San-pa t'ang to Sung-lin k'ou. Halt.
Sung-lin k'ou to Ta-so t'ang. Stage.

Leaving Zam-pa, the road passes over a confused mass o rocks and boulders, while pine-trees hide the sun. Pa shan, on which there is a lake, is passed. On the other side of th mountain are some dead trees, some of which are still stand ing, but no singing of birds can be heard. 50 *li* to Sung-li k'ou.[5] 50 *li* down the valley, over a level road by the Pa-lung ta river to the Ta-so station, which is at the lower end of the valley. Here there is a post station (*t'ang*), stone-built houses,[7] fuel and fodder.

Total distance 100 *li*.

[1] Gill's Yi-la-ka. Alt. 14,246 feet.

[2] Gill calls it the Dzeh dzang chu. See *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 165. It is Néd (གནད་མདའ) in Tibetan.

[3] Probably Gill's Cha chu-ka, which is Tibetan *ts'a-ch'u-k'a*, "hot spring."

[4] The text does not tell us if there is really a bridge here. If there is, is probably over the Neu chu of Gill, called further on the Pa lung (*rung*) ta.

[5] Probably Gill's Mang-ga la. Alt. 13,412 feet.

[6] I take it to be Gill's La ka ndo. Tibetans speak of a place near this cal Rat'eu (རྟ་སྟེགས).

[7] It might perhaps be best to translate the Chinese *lou*, which is h

4. Ta-so to Peng-cha-mu. Halt.

Peng-cha-mu to Siao pa-ch'ung. Stage.

Leaving Ta-so, one enters a valley, and then ascends a at snowy mountain, 30 *li* to the summit.[1] This is the hest and most dangerous of all (the mountains one has to s). Frozen snow spreads over it. Across the mountain down it; then comes a forest. Following a circuitous d 60 *li*, one comes to Peng-ma-chu,[2] where there is a post tion, but no habitations. The road is very dangerous. *li* down hill to Siao pa-ch'ung,[3] where there are stone ins, fuel and fodder. The headman supplies coolies.[4]

Total distance 130 *li*.

25. Siao pa-ch'ung to Bat'ang. Stage.

Following the valley from Siao-pa-ch'ung, then ascending low hill covered with a variety of trees, up and down hill or 50 *li*, one reaches the mouth of a valley and arrives t Bat'ang,[5] which is a well-watered country of a thousand *li* (in extent), covered with springs, with a lovely climate nd pleasant breezes. It fills the heart and the eye with gladness.

Total distance 50 *li*.

Total distance from Lit'ang to Bat'ang 545 *li*.[6]

ndered by "stone built house," by "native dwellings," all of which are nade of stone, and are several storeys high. See *infrà*. Ta-so is in Tibetan Dasho (སྟག་ཤོད).

[1] Alt. 16,568 feet. Gill also calls it J'rah-la-ka. See also T. T. Cooper, *p. cit.* p. 238 *et sqq.*

[2] Gill gives as an alternative Pun jang mu. Alt. 13,158 feet. The correct Tibetan name is P'ong-tra-mo, written (སྤོང་ཁྲ་མོ).

[3] Called also Ba-jung shih. Alt. 10,691 feet (*Gill*).

[4] 役 may also be translated by *ula*.

[5] Called in Tibetan Ba (འབའ). Bat'ang is a hybrid word of Chinese coining.

[6] 520 *li* according to Hsi-Ts'ang fu. 95¼ miles according to Gill. The *I-t'ung-ih* says that Bat'ang is 2500 *li* from Lh'asa, and as it makes the total distance m Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa 3480 *li*, Bat'ang would be 980 *li* from Ta-chien-lu. lowing four *li* to the mile, in a hilly country a close approximation, we find 5 miles between Bat'ang and Ta-chien-lu, agreeing closely with Gill, who kes this distance 226 miles. Gill gives its altitude as 8546 feet, the lowest level . of Ta-chien-lu.

Bat'ang is over 500 *li* S. of Lit'ang. The land is fe
and picturesque, the climate warm and pleasant,[1] the sea
as in China. The town has no fortifications. A quar
master (*Liang-t'ai*) is stationed here. The Chia-ka is
highest of its mountains; the streams which water it f
into the River of Golden Sands (Chin-sha chiang). Form
it was under the rule of La-tsang Khan of Tibet.

There is a large lamasery, the head of which is a K'an
of the yellow sect, who receives his appointment from
Talé lama. A Déba used to be in charge of the local affai
he was appointed by La-tsang Khan, and was changed eve
few years. This system was followed for some length
time.

In the fifty-seventh year of Kang-hsi (1718), Wen P'
general in command of the guards, led his troops fro
Lit'ang to Bat'ang. Arriving at Taso (Ta-shuo in the *T'ung
chih*), the Déba (of Bat'ang), together with the priests an
people, came to his camp to offer him their homages. H
ordered a census to be taken of them.[2] When he marched
westward, the native coolies willingly exerted themselves in
hastening on the transport of supplies.

In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) the Commanders
in-Chief of the forces of Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan, who both
had had commands in Tibet, met for the delimitation of th
Ssu-ch'uan, Yün-nan (and Tibetan) frontiers. The followin

[1] According to observations made by the French missionaries in 1875–6–7, the
average maximum temperature of Bat'ang is 32°15 (*Cent.*), the average minimum
8°8. See Desgodins, *Le Thibet*, second edition, p. 469.

[2] A census made in 1719, probably the one referred to, gave for the Bat'an
territory, 33 hamlets, 29 headmen, 6900 families, and 2100 lamas. Anothe
census made in 1729 gave 25 chiefs (*t'ou-mu*), 426 headmen, 28,150 (!) families
9480 lamas, 11 An-fu-ssŭ and 7 Chang-kuan-ssŭ. Taxes, annually, 3200 Taels
Hsi-Ts'ang fu, p. 36. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, I. 18, says that in 1731 th
native population of Bat'ang was 3769 families, paying a yearly tax into th
Ta-chien-lu Tung-chih's yamen of the value of Tls. 1915, plus Tls. 581
money, 435 piculs of grain, 1615.7 ounces of quicksilver, 235 *ch'ih* of hemp
fabrics, and 390 piculs of red and white salt paid to the native officials for loc
purposes. There were also rations, etc., for 80 soldiers, and for the lam
Tls. 849 for clothing and supplies. The figure given by the *Hsi-Ts'ang*
for the population in 1729 must probably be an error for 2815. At pres
Bat'ang has about 6000 inhabitants, inclusive of the lamas. Cooper, *Tra
of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 248. Gill, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 189, says: "
Bat'ang, where there are only three hundred families, the Lamasery conta
thirteen hundred Lamas."

they sent officers to point out the Talé lama's territory, the Tibetan frontier was indicated by boundary-stones, ch were erected at Nan-tun and Tung-ching shan (also ed Mang ling). At Hsi sung-kung shan and Ta-la the mits of the mountains were chosen as marking the tier, all to the east of the mountains belonging to 'ang, all to the west to the Talé lama. The number of abitants was inquired into, and the dues and taxes ulated.

n the seventh year (1729) the native official Tra-shi pen- (the *T'ung chih* calls him Cha-shih peng-chu) was made Isüan-fu-ssŭ, and the headman A-wang-lin ch'ing was de a Fu t'u-ssŭ, with (functions) like those of hereditary fices, but not hereditary.

The present Cheng t'u-ssŭ Peng-tso ch'ŭn pei-lo and the u t'u-ssŭ Cheng-tsai ch'un-ping have been chosen from mong the headboroughs to fill these offices.

Passing Bat'ang some 900 odd *li*, one comes to a country alled Cha-ya, which used to be under the rule of the Tibetan h'an-chiao Hutuketu and his vicar. Since the fifty-fifth ear of Kang-hsi (1719), when Tibet was subjugated, the ountry has passed under the rule of the Talé lama, and uartermasters have been appointed in the different localities. the tenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1745) it was joined on to h'ari.[1]

Although all the localities from Ta-chien-lu to west of the Iang ling, far away from Ch'eng-tu, may be found on the fficial register of the reigning dynasty, and though for years ople have gone and come over this road in great numbers, ill there is no exact record of the distances to the different tive villages, of the mountain paths and byways. Not- thstanding this, if one asks (the natives), they will all give iform answers, which are so clear and precise that they swer as well as if one had visited the spot oneself.

[1] Conf. *Peking Gazette*, May 4th, 1886. The head lama of Draya was made *omen Han* in 1720, a *Hutuketu Nomen Han* in 1760, and received further s in 1856–1866, etc. The name of this place is usually pronounced *Drayag Draya* by Lh'asa people. The French missionaries write it Tchra-ya.

26. Bat'ang to Niu-ku. Halt.
Niu-ku to Chu-pa-lung. Stage.

Going S.W. from Bat'ang one crosses a small mountai
From Bat'ang all the way to Lh'asa there is a ho
intoxicating grass (醉馬草). If horses eat it, they bec
intoxicated, and lose all power of locomotion.[1]

Passing Ch'a-shu-ting, one again ascends a big mount
the road hanging over a river and extremely danger
40 *li*, and one arrives at Niu-ku, where is the river (Ch
sha Chiang), by which one may go directly to the stage.

Along the base of the mountain, where the view is especia
beautiful when the sun is shining, by a very circuitous ro
50 *li*, brings one to Chu-pa-lung.[2] The climate is war
It has stone houses, fuel, fodder, a guard house, and a po
station.

Total distance 90 *li*.

27. Chu-pa-lung to Kung-la. Halt.
Kung-la to Mang-li. Stage.

At Chu-pa-lung one crosses the Chiang, also known as th
Chin-sha chiang ("the River of Golden Sands"), the Ma-h
chiang of Ssu-ch'uan. 40 *li* bring one to Kung-la, whe
there is fuel and fodder. The headman supplies cooli
Following between the mountain ridges 50 *li*, Kung-tzu
ting[3] is passed, where there is a post station.

[1] It is called in Tibetan *duk tsa* (དུག་ཚ) This recalls to my mind a spec
of herb common throughout the S.W. prairie lands of the United States gener
called *loco weed*. I believe that it is a species of wild carrot,—horses which h
eaten it become absolutely useless and frequently die from its effects. *H*
Ts'ang chien wen lu, II. 25, says this weed grows at Chia-k'ung (stage 51
this route), and that horses which have eaten it fall down as if dead. It
found around the Kokonor and all over Eastern Tibet, but no one could p
it out to me.

[2] Cooper's Soopalang. See *op. cit.* p. 276. Desgodins' Tchrou-pa-long.
Le Thibet, second edition, p. 299. Correct pronunciation Drubanang (གྲུ་པ་ང

[3] Cooper's Kung-ze-din, *op. cit.* p. 277. K'on-djin-k'a (ཁོན་འདྲིན་
is the correct pronunciation.

en comes a big mountain infested with brigands; cross-
it, one arrives, after 40 *li*, at Mang-li or Mang-ling,
re there are inhabitants, fuel, and fodder, also a *Je-wo*,
supplies coolies (*Je-wo* and *Déba* are Tibetan headmen[1]).
e the *ula* is changed.
otal distance 130 *li*.

28. Mang-li to Nan-tun. Halt.
Nan-tun to Ku-shu. Stage.

eaving Mang-li, the Lung-hsia shan is crossed; in spring
autumn there is a great accumulation of snow on it. 30
o Pang-mu,[2] where there are stone houses, fuel, fodder,
a post station. Half-way along the road is mount Ning-
ng, on which is a Tibetan boundary-stone. Going S. by
big mountain 50 *li*, you reach Nan-tun, where there is a
inese temple. Every year during the seventh month all
e people of Bat'ang and Ch'amdo come here to hold a
ir like the temple fairs in China.[3] 40 *li* over the mountain
ings one to Ku-shu, where there are habitations, fuel,
lder, and a post station.
Total distance 120 *li*.

29. Ku-shu to P'u-la. Halt.
P'u-la to Chiang-k'a. Stage.

Leaving Ku-shu, the Mang-shan is crossed. The road over
e mountain is everywhere overhung with clouds and mist
xed with pestilential emanations; it is moreover rugged
d steep. 40 *li* brings one to P'u-la,[4] where there are

[1] *Je-wo* represents the Tibetan རྗེ་དཔོན, an expression only used in Eastern Tibet,
re Jyé-sung and Jyé-pön are also frequently heard.

[2] Cooper's Pa-moo-tan. The Yün-nan and Assam road here leaves the highway
strikes south.

[3] Desgodins, *op. cit.* p. 300, calls this place Lanten, Laden or Lamdun. He
that it is a large village and the first one belonging to Central Tibet (or
a) as one comes from the east. He adds that the fair is no longer held.
ame of the place is spelt ལྷ་མཛོད, pronounced *Lh'amdun*.

[4] Written རུ་མདོ།

inhabitants, flat-roofed houses, fuel, and fodder. The la
supply the coolies (or the *ula*). There are a good m
black tents and Fan-tzŭ here. Ascending by an
gradient, 60 *li* brings one to Chiang-k'a,[1] where there
stone cabins, fuel, fodder, and a post station.

Total distance 100 *li*.

30. Chiang-k'a to Shan ken. Halt.
Shan ken to Li-shu. Stage.

40 *li* from Chiang-k'a the Lu ho is crossed. 10 *li* furt
on one comes to Shan ken (or "to the foot of a mountain
Up a great snowy mountain, which all the year is cove
with snow, and on which even in summer there blows a c
wind, which pierces one to the bone. Again over a sm
mountain and to Li-shu[2] (from Li-shu to Wang-k'a is calle
O-pa-chan). Here there are habitations, fuel, fodder, a guar
house, and a post station. The *ula* is changed.

Total distance 110 *li*.[3]

31. Li-shu to A-la t'ang. Halt.
A-la t'ang to Shih-pan-kou. Stage.

Leaving Li-shu, one crosses a succession of hills cover
with trees. 50 *li* to A-la t'ang (belonging to A-pu-la), wh
there are inhabitants, fuel, and fodder, and where the *ula*
changed. The natives are very wild and lawless.

Passing two little snowy mountains, the road up and do
which is very tortuous, 60 *li* brings one to Shih-pan-ko

[1] Chiang-k'a is perhaps better known as Gartok; it is also called, accordi
to Desgodins (p. 300), Merlam. He says that it is the residence of a govern
general, who has 16 Déba under his orders. The word Gartok is writ
སྒར་ཐོག.

[2] Rishọ (རི་ཤོད) in Tibetan.

[3] According to *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 1, 120 *li*.

[4] 石板溝 means "Stone slab ditch." The Tibetan name of this st
is Nyéba (ཉེ་བ).

e there are inhabitants, fuel and fodder, a guard house, a post station. There is a headman who supplies coolies. otal distance 110 *li*.

32. Shih-pan-kou to A-tsu t'ang. Stage.

oing S.W. from Shih-pan-kou, two great snowy mountains are crossed, where the intensity of the cold is so great t it pierces the eye so that one cannot see. There is no ting place going up or coming down them. The traveller to have his provisions sent ahead. After 80 *li* one comes A-tsu t'ang (belonging to Draya). The character of the ives (*Man*) is difficult and intractable; they are considered y tricky, and their customs and usages are in keeping. here is a guard house, a post station, and a headman who pplies coolies.[1]

Total distance 80 *li*.

33. A-tsu t'ang to Ko-ehr t'ang. Halt.
Ko-ehr t'ang to Lo-kia tsung. Stage.

On leaving A-tsu t'ang, two hills and the A-tsu river, a ushing torrent, are passed, 50 *li* to Ko-ehr t'ang.[2]

Going through a level, well-watered country for 20 *li*, then cending 30 *li* by a very bad road, one comes to Lo-kia ng,[3] where there is a post station. The headman supplies e *ula*.

Total distance 100 *li*.

34. Lo-kia tsung to O-lun-to. Halt.
O-lun-to to Chaya. Stage.

From Lo-kia tsung the road leads up a stream, following e hill-side by an ill-defined path, but of easy gradient, to e top of the mountain; there are many bridges leaning over

[1] There used to be stationed here a Chinese post of one sergeant and fifty ers. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, II. 24. Correct pronunciation Adjo (ཨ་ཇོ).

[2] Or Ka-ehr, *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 3.

[3] The name given this place by Tibetans is, I believe, Rad jong (རྡ་རྫོང).

the edge (of precipices); 40 *li*, and having passed ov wooden bridge, one comes to O-lun-to, where there is fodder, and inhabitants.

Again going 40 *li* S.W., one comes to Chaya, where th is a convent called in the *Hui-tien t'u chu* "Chaya miao There are stone houses, fuel, fodder, a guard house, an post station. Here the *ula* is changed. The natives proud, domineering, and difficult to manage.

Total distance 80 *li*.

35. Chaya to Yü-sa. Halt.
Yü-sa to Ang-ti. Stage.

From Chaya the road follows the river; it is but a sto path, with many bends and obstructions. 35 *li* to Yü-s where there are inhabitants, fuel, and fodder.

Again going W., a great snowy mountain is crossed, th road over which is very dangerous. The masses of sno look like silver, and the mountain exhalations make th Chinese sick.[2] Up and down 60 *li* to Ang-ti, where there i a guard house and a post station. The lamas supply th *ula*.

Total distance 95 *li*.

36. Ang-ti to Ka-ka. Halt.
Ka-ka to Wang-k'a. Stage.

Following the river course from Ang-ti, 30 *li* to Ka-ka one ascends a great snowy mountain over a confused mass

[1] The superior of the Draya lamasery is known as the Lé-pé-shé-rab. native name of this locality is Chyam-dun (བྱམས་མདུན).

[2] This sickness experienced on high mountains is called in Tibetan *la* (ལ་རྨུགས) "pass poison." I am told by natives that it is more frequent summer, and many of them attribute it to the smell of the medicinal plants wh grow at these heights, especially rhubarb. The remedy used is garlic, whic supposed to give instant relief. Dr. Bellew when travelling to Kashghar found g relief by taking doses of chlorate of potash. *Kashmir and Kashghar*, p. 16

[3] Ga, in Tibetan (རྒྱང).

s by a very dangerous trail covered with sheet upon t of snow. In autumn torrents of water rush furiously n it. The road is winding. Going up and coming n, the cold wrinkles up one's flesh and cracks the skin of hands. 60 *li* bring one to Wang-k'a,[1] where there are itations, fuel, and fodder. The headman attends to the nge of *ula*. There is a post station.

Total distance 90 *li*.

37. Wang-k'a to San-tao ch'iao. Halt.
San-tao ch'iao to Pa-kung.[2] Stage.

Leaving Wang-k'a, one passes Je-shui t'ang (or "Hot Water Station"), 20 *li* to San-tao ch'iao over a level road, 5 *li* by a circuitous road, up hill. The road makes a bend-ack around the summit. 5 *li* to Pa-kung t'ang, where here is a post station, fuel, and fodder. The headman upplies the necessaries (or coolies).

Total distance 50 *li*.

38. Pa-kung to Ku-nung shan. Halt.
Ku-nung shan to Pao-tun. Stage.

Leaving Pa-kung, one ascends a big mountain, sometimes escending, sometimes mounting. The whole day one travels rough desert mountains. 60 *li* to the foot of the Ku-nung han, which is also called Ku-lung shan on account of many the rocks on the mountains having holes (*ku-lung*) in em. The big ones look like halls and corridors, the small es like bells, dishes, or gongs, when one looks at them ainst the sun. Up hill, by a twisting and turning path, en down hill. 40 *li* to Pao-tun, where the headman pro-des the *ula*.

Total distance 100 *li*.

[1] Wang-K'a (ལྷང་ཁ).

[2] Correct pronunciation Ba-gong (འབའ་གོང).

39. Pao-tun to Meng-pu. Halt.
Meng-pu to Ch'a-mu-to. Stage.

Leaving Pao-tun, one follows a river; after 10 *li* one to pass a big mountain and two small ones, all with bri hanging over the sides,[1] and looking like sheds of cl (雲棧). The path is dangerously steep and difficult. 60 and down to Meng-pu (or Meng-p'u),[2] where there are s cabins, fuel, and fodder. It is in a mountain hollow, mountain side close to the river.

Again along the river side, up hill, 20 *li* to a great mo tain, where there is a locality called Hsiao-ên-ta. All bridges along the ravines are of wood and stone. The r is dangerously narrow, so that one cannot ride. 60 *li* to t Ssu-ch'uan ch'iao (bridge), and one arrives at Ch'a-mu-t (or Chang-tu), which has an earthen wall and 200 hous The *ula* is here changed.

Total distance 150 *li*.

From Bat'ang to Ch'a-mu-to 1405 *li*.

Ch'a-mu-to (the old name of which is K'ang 康) is sep rated from Bat'ang by over 1000 *li*—Draya being half wa and it is N.W. (of the latter town). The climate does n differ from that of Lit'ang. Three mountains surround and two rivers meet here. It is the gate to Central Ti from Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. Over the northern river the Ssu-ch'uan bridge, over the southern one the Yün-n

[1] Whenever the road passes through a gorge along the side of which it is possible to make a path, holes are made in the rock in which logs of wood are and a flooring of planks rests on them. These bridges are very common thro Tibet and the Himalaya. See the frontispiece in T. T. Cooper's *Travels Pioneer of Commerce*.

[2] Correct pronunciation Mong-p'u (མོང་ཕུད).

[3] In 1861 Mgr. Desmazures, Vicar Apostolic to Tibet, and Messrs. Renou Desgodins, left their mission at Kiang-k'a to go to Lh'asa. They were sto at Ch'amdo and had to return to Bonga. See *Annales de la propagatio la Foi*, Nos. 220, 221, 1865. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 22-24, states Ch'am-do is 2345 *li* W. of Ta-chien-lu; the text makes this distance 26 The *Hsi-chao t'u lüeh* gives the distance from Gartok to Ch'amdo as 995 *li* author's distance is 975. My Tibetan itinerary calls Ch'amdo Pudé dang Ch (སྤྱོང་དས་དང་ཆབ་མོད).

ge,[1] where the Yün-nanese formerly established a guard; present they have established a station (臺站) in junction with the Ssu-ch'uanese. A quartermaster is ointed (to Ch'a-mu-to). The town has an earthen ll.

This country used originally to belong to the Ch'an-chiao tuketu. In the fifty-eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1717), en the army entered Tibet to subjugate it, it made its sub-ssion. The head Hutuketu received letters of investiture, d was installed in the great lamasery of Ch'a-mu-to.[2] The sistant Hutuketu was installed in the lamasery west of en-pa. *Chya-dzo-pa* (*i.e.* Treasurers) (called in the *T'ung ih Ch'ang-chu-pa*) were also appointed. Five families vided among them the management of the great and tle lamaseries. At present the head Hutuketu (is styled) *a-ke-pa-la*,[3] the Assistant Hutuketu *Hsi-wa-na*. The head hya-dzo-pa is Tan-chung tsé-wang, the assistant Chya-zo-pa To-ching ang-chieh.[4]

The people believe in Buddha, and half of the children ecome lamas.[5] They like to eat raw food, and care not bout its flavour. The customs differ but slightly from those f Bat'ang and Lit'ang.

When one enters Tibet from the steppes (of N.E. Tibet), e comes to the town of Lei-wu-chi (La-wo-shé). It has an

[1] The northern river is the Za ch'u, the southern, or rather western, the n ch'u. The *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao* (III. 5) states, however, that the first is lled Chang ch'u, the second T'u ch'u, from which the name Chang-tu, the old me of the town, is derived.

[2] The great lamasery of Ch'amdo is called the Chamba ling, *Hsi-Ts'ang chien lu*, II. 14.

[3] In Tibetan འཕགས་པ་ལྷ, pron. *P'a-pa-lh'a*, the second Hutuketu is the ་བ་ལྷ, pron. *Dzi-wa-lh'a*.

[4] These are the names, not the titles of the Chya-dzo-pa. The first is bably སྟན་སྐྱོང་ཚེ་དབང, pron. *Tan-chong tsé-wang*, the second རྗེ་ཨང་མཆི, pron. *Dor-je ang-ch'i*.

[5] I have been told by the K'anpo, who was chief of the mission from amdo, which visited Peking in 1887, that there were about 7000 lamas in Ch'amdo district, and four Hutuketus, the two mentioned above being the hest.

earthen wall over 200 *chang* in circumference, insid
which is a large temple with very high porches and b
eaves, a most imposing and striking building. A Hutu
resides here; he belongs to the red hats (*i.e.* Nyimapa s
but used formerly to profess the yellow doctrine. The gre
part of the Tibetan tribesmen (who live here) dwell in bl
tents.[1] In the fifty-eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1717)
place, together with Lo lung tsung (Lh'o-rong dzong), wl
is S.W. of it, submitted and gave in their allegiance.

West of Lh'o-rong dzong is Shobando,[2] which belongs
the Central Tibetan country (*i.e.* Lh'asa). It has two Dé
who direct the affairs of the yellow sect. When the Sung
had made the conquest of Central Tibet, T'o-t'o tsai-sang w
sent to rule over this region. He treated both priests a
people in a most barbarous way. In the fifty-eighth year
K'ang hsi (1719) the general-in-chief of the western force
Ka-ehr-pi, entered Tibet with his troops, and everywhere t
Déba and people came and made their submission, so T'o-t
tsai-sang fled to Central Tibet. Then the general-in-chie
sent officers in disguise, who, assisted by the Déba of Sho
bando as guide, got to So-ma-lang, where they captured hi
So the troops were at rest, and all the people willingly use
all diligence in the carriage of supplies.

The three districts referred to above were all conferred
the Talé lama by the Emperor.[3]

Ta-lung tsung (*Ta-rong dzong*), which is S. of Shoban
and a dependency of Central Tibet, and Lo-lung tsung (*Lh'o
rong dzong*), both of which districts had made their submissio
together, being very extensive countries, the native gover
ment service (羌役, *i.e.* the *ula*) was difficult to manage,

[1] The dwellers in black tents are semi-nomadic herdsmen, and are cal
throughout Tibet Drug-pa (འབྲོག་པ་). The tents are made of yak ha
which is blackish-brown; the Chinese name *Hei Fan*, "Black Fan"; t
Mongol *Kara Tangutu*, with the same meaning, probably have their ori
in this peculiarity.

[2] It used to have a Chinese garrison of one sergeant, one corporal, and 50 m

[3] In 1726. See *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 10. Ch'amdo is independent
Lh'asa.

e deputy Jé-wo were appointed to divide the administra- between them. They live in official several-storied dences. The country is poverty-stricken, wild, and ren, and we know nothing more of its customs.

40. Ch'a-mu-to to O-lo ch'iao. Halt.
O-lo ch'iao to Lang-tang kou. Stage.

Leaving the southern river of Ch'a-mu-to, one follows a ry precipitous road, along which there are many bridges, d where the traveller must be on his guard. The streams e numerous, and the mountains follow one another, the road ssing on the territories of different Tibetan tribes. 40 *li* ings one to O-lo ch'iao,[1] where there are habitations. 35 *li* er a comparatively level road brings one to Lang-tang kou,[2] here there are dwelling-houses, fuel, and fodder. One can st here.

Total distance 75 *li*.

41. Lang-tang kou to La-kung. Halt.
La-kung to En-ta-chai. Stage.

20 *li* from Lang-tang kou one passes Kuo-ch'iao t'ang. valley is ascended over bridges along the precipices. he travelling is as dangerous as before, the frozen snow aking it very slippery, and there being also pestilential pours. 80 *li* to La-kung,[3] where there is a post station, one cabins, fuel, and fodder. There is a headman who pplies coolies. 20 *li* further on one passes the Sung-lo[4] h'iao (bridge) (belonging to Ch'amdo). 40 *li* up hill, and e comes to En-ta-chai, where servants and porters are pplied by the Chya-dzo-pa of Lei-wu-chi.

Total distance 160 *li*.

[1] Jya ling appears to be the Tibetan name.
[2] Lamda (ལ་མདའ་) is the Tibetan name. Lungdha on Pundit A— K—'s p. Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. vii. February, 1885.
Lagang. This was the farthest point W. reached by the French missionaries 862 when trying to get to Lh'asa. See Desgodins, *op. cit.* p. 104.
Nulda of the maps. Correct pronunciation, Nyulda (ཉུལ་མདའ་ "silver ow").

42. En-ta-chai to Niu-fen kou. Halt.
Niu-fen k'ou to Wa-ho chai. Stage.

20 *li* from En-ta-chai one passes En-ta t'ang, where th
is a post station. 20 *li* to La-kung shan,[1] and 20 *li* to Niu-
kou. 20 *li* further one crosses the Wa-ho shan, by a v
circuitous road. It is an exceedingly high mountain, on
summit of which is a lake. The fog and mist are so de
that sign-posts have been erected all around on top of earth
mounds, so, if there is deep snow all over the mountain, th
will help one to keep on the road. While passing this mou
tain one must be careful not to make any noise; if one d
not mind this, ice and hail will suddenly come down. Neith
birds nor beasts dwell here, for it is cold the whole year, a
for a hundred *li* around it there are no habitations. 20
further on one passes Ko-po liang.[2] Down hill 30 *li*
Wa-ho t'ang, where there is a post station. Again 20
and one comes to Wa-ho chai, which belongs to Lei-wu-ch
Here there is a headman who supplies the *ula*.

Total distance 150 *li*.

43. Wa-ho chai to Ma-li. Halt.
Ma-li to Chia-yü ch'iao. Stage.

Going S.W. from Wa-ho ch'iao 40 *li* one comes to Ma-
(*Mari*), where there are houses, fuel and fodder. 10 *li* furth
one comes to a very high mountain. Following a river dow
hill with many bridges hanging over its course, 30 *li* bring

[1] Gam la in Tibetan. The *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao* gives a number of poeti
effusions (*shih*) by Yang Kuei (楊 揆) descriptive of the scenery and peo
along this road. One called the Ode of the Skin Boat is really very good. T
idea that noise causes avalanches is common throughout Tibet and most mou
tainous countries. See Samuel Turner's *Account of an Embassy to the Co
of the Teshoo Lama*, p. 44. On the upper Dré ch'u a K'amba chief would
let me fire my gun too often, as he said it would cause rain or snow to fall.

[2] Kopola in Tibetan. Wa ho is ག་ཧོ་ in Tibetan. *Chai* (寨) in this
other Chinese names of places along this route means "a small military stat
a camp."

to the Chia-yü bridge,[1] which the Tibetans call *zam-pa*, "bridge." Here there are houses, fuel and fodder. A am flows by between two encircling mountains. The nate is warm, the country rich and beautiful. There is a st station.

Total distance 80 *li*.

44. Chia-yü ch'iao to the foot of Pi-pen shan. Halt.
Foot of Pi-pen shan to Lo-lung tsung. Stage.

Going S.W. from Chia-yü ch'iao one comes to the T'ê-ung la[2] mountain, which is high and precipitous. 25 *li* up d down it, the road twisting and turning like a snake, rough pine forests. The road is both dangerous and rrow and with frequent quicksands. 5 *li* further on one osses a bridge and arrives at the foot of the Pi-pen shan. 0 *li* to Lo-lung tsung,[3] where there are houses, fuel and odder. The *ula* is here changed. There is a post station.

Total distance 80 *li*.

45. Lo-lung tsung to Ch'ü-ch'ih. Halt.
Ch'ü-ch'ih to Shuo-pan-to. Stage.

Going W. from Lh'o-rong dzong one crosses a low hill, p which the road is very bad. 20 *li* brings one to Tieh-a t'ang,[4] where a great mountain rises aloft. Here there a post station. Following a valley over a tolerably level oad, 20 *li* to Ch'ü-ch'ih (or Tzŭ-t'o),[5] where there is a big amasery, in which one can rest or pass the night. Recently

[1] Shao Zamba (ཤའུ་ཟམ་པ). Shang ye Jam of our maps. A toll of one *anka* per person, not travelling on official business, is levied here. The French issionaries call it Sel-yé sam. Wa-ho and Ma-ri are both on Lei-wu-chi awoshé) territory. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 8.

[2] Tibetan Chu-tsu la (?).

[3] Lh'o dzong (ལྷོ་རྫོང). There is a lamasery here. A— K— gives its tude as 13,140 feet. Lei-wu-ch'i is N.E. of it. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 9.

Tibetan Tsé-ba t'ang.

A— K—'s Jithog. Djit'ogon (འཇི་ཐོག་རྒོན).

a road has been opened, which goes S.E. In the sp
and summer, during the inundations, one makes this det
50 *li* to Shuo-pan-to, where there is a large populati
It is a fertile spot with stone houses, fuel and fodder,
a guard house. Here the *ula* is changed.

Total distance 160 *li*.

46. Shuo-pan-to to Chung-i-kou. Halt.
Chung-i-kou to Pa-li-lang. Stage.

One follows up the river bank by a level road 50 *li*
Pa-la shan,[2] a not very high mountain, and one comes
Chung-i-kou by a level road. 50 *li* to Pa-li-lang,[3] whe
there are stone houses, fuel and fodder, and a post statio
The headman supplies the *ula*. The habitations being ve
much scattered, the traveller only notices lonely mounta
peaks.

Total distance 100 *li*.

47. Pa-li-lang to So-ma-lang. Halt.
So-ma-lang to La-tzŭ. Stage.

Leaving Pa-li-lang one enters a valley, 30 *li* up to th
top of the Sai-wa-ho shan (called in the *T'ung chih Shu*
ma-la shan), on whose flanks the winds blow wildly. It
a confused *massif* of mountains. 25 *li* to So-ma-lang
45 *li* further is Na-tzŭ (or La-tzŭ),[5] the road following th
sinuous course of a stream; there are many quicksands o
which the foot cannot rest. This place has a post statio
and the headman supplies the *ula*. The price of fuel an

[1] A— K—'s altitude for it is 12,470 feet. Correct pronunciation Shuba
(ཤུག་པ་མོད).

[2] Ba-ri la is the Tibetan name.

[3] A— K's Bari Giachug; it is generally called Bari nang (བ་རི་ནང).

[4] Su-ma-ling (*gling*).

[5] Correct pronunciation Lh'a ché (ལྷ་འཅེ).

er is high, the mountains being barren and transporta- difficult.

otal distance 100 *li*.

48. La-tzŭ to Pien-pa. Halt.
Pien-pa to Tan-ta. Stage.

Going W. from La-tzŭ one follows the mountain side to e top. Crossing Pi-ta la shan by a good level road, 10 *li* ings one to the foot. The road down is very narrow, account of a stream which runs straight down it; the ter is clear and so shallow that one can cross it by lding up one's clothes. 40 *li* brings one to Pien-pa[1] (also lled Ta-rong dzong), where there is a post station. It crossed by two chains of mountains, and four rivers compass it about. It is the largest plain in Tibet. 60 *li* Tan-ta,[2] where there is a post station and a camp. The éba supplies coolies (or the requisites) and the *ula* is anged here.

Total distance 110 *li*.

49. Tan-ta to Ch'a-lo-sung-to. Halt.
Ch'a-lo-sung-to to Lang-chi tsung. Stage.

At the foot of Tan-ta is a temple.[3] There is a legend to e effect that a certain paymaster from Yün-nan, who died the discharge of his official duties while passing this way ith army funds, repeatedly performed miracles (after his eath); so the natives worship him here, and those who oss the mountain address a prayer to him. 15 *li* further, d one has to ascend the Lu-kung la, a high and precipitous ountain, with the road running along a precipice, in which

Penba (སྤྲེན་པ). It has a lamasery with some 200 or 300 lamas. Pemba the maps.

[2] In Tibetan Er-gyän dam-ta (ཨེ་རྒྱན་དམ་བཏག). See, however, next note.

[3] This mountain is called Shar-kon la by natives. They say that the temple erected to U-jyen rin-po-ché (Ujyen Pamé) locally called Ujyen Damta. mountain is called Shiar-gang la on A— K—'s map. See *infrà*.

flows a little stream whose course is very sinuous. In summer the road is muddy and slippery, in winter it is covered with ice and snow. Travellers cross it with st and go the one behind the other (lit. like a string of fi for there is no room for them to travel otherwise. This the most dangerous part of the road to Lh'asa. 30 *li* dow hill, then 5 *li* to Ch'a-lo-sung-to. 50 *li* to Lang-chi tsung where there are stone houses, fuel and fodder, also a po station. The Déba supplies coolies.

Total distance 100 *li*.

50. Lang-chi tsung to Ta-wo. Halt.
Ta-wo to A-lan-to. Stage.

Lang-chi tsung[2] (also called Lang-chin kou) is in a bro desert plain. The *ula* is changed here. One follows embankment down hill. The road branches here; o branch, which is narrow and dangerous, crosses the mou tain, the other follows the valley and is tolerably level, but i summer it is impassable on account of the inundations.[3] 4 *li* brings one to Ta-wo, where there is a Déba, who suppl coolies. Though the road is level, it is as narrow as a gorg Following a river down 55 *li* brings one to A-lan-to,[4] whe there is a post station, stone houses, fuel, and fodder.

Total distance 95 *li*.

51. A-lan-to to P'o-chai-tzŭ. Halt.
P'o-chai-tzŭ to Chia-kung. Stage.

Going S.W. from A-lan-to one climbs up a valley alon the whole of which there are bridges hanging over the side

[1] Nam jyalgon in Tibetan (རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྒོན).

[2] A— K—'s Arig gomba probably. Alt. 12,480 feet.

[3] The mountain road, which is 60 *li* in length, is very dangerous and difficu The road along the valley is much shorter, being only 20 *li*, and level. *H Ts'ang chien wen lu*, II. 25. Ta-wo is probably the same as the Nyul-dru (ཉུལ་གྲུ་ཁ) of the Tibetan itineraries.

[4] Alado on our maps, which call the river the Daksang-chu. Correct pr nunciation Arando (ཨ་རྡོ་མདོ).

road up the mountain is so dangerous and narrow that traveller is afraid of falling off. 30 *li* to P'o-chai-tzŭ called A-nan-k'a), where there are some rocks which e the shape of an animal, and are therefore commonly led "the Parrot's beak" (*Ying-wu tsui*); through them the ad has been cut. 45 *li* to Chia-kung[1] (belonging to 'ari), where there is fuel, but no fodder. There is a post tion, and the Déba supplies coolies.
Total distance 70 *li*.

52. Chia-kung to Ta-pan ch'iao. Halt.
Ta-pan ch'iao to To-tung. Stage.

The road winds about after leaving Chia-kung along the ountain side. Passing it, a little hill is crossed which is ther wild and cold. 40 *li* to Ta-pan ch'iao (bridge).[2] 40 *li* To-tung,[3] a desolate place with no habitations, but a post ation. People who pass here have to put up with the ation people. There is neither fuel nor fodder.
Total distance 10 *li*.

53. To-tung to Ch'a-chu-k'a. Halt.
Ch'a-chu-k'a to La-li. Stage.

To-tung is near the bank of a river up which runs the ad. 20 *li* to the top of a big mountain which is very high d precipitous.[4] The snow and ice make it dangerously ppery, it is just like the Tan-ta. 60 *li* brings one to h'a-chu-k'a,[5] where there is a pool of hot water. Passing e mountain, there is a lake on the way down, nearly seven eight *li* broad and over ten *li* long. In winter and spring is frozen as hard as the earth, and travellers can cross it

[1] Alachiago on the map. Correct pronunciation Cha-gong (ལྕགས་གོང་).
[2] Or "big board (plank) bridge."
[3] Do-tu in Tibetan.
[4] Nub-gang la of A— K—. Alt. 17,940 feet.
[5] Ts'a-ch'u-k'a, "hot spring," in Tibetan. The Chachukha of the map.

without fear. 60 *li* brings one to-Lh'ari.[1] The clima cold, and fuel and fodder scarce. There is a guard ho and a post station. The K'an-po (of the lamasery) prov the requisite rations, and the *ula* is provided by Lei-wu (La-wo-shé).

Total distance 140 *li*.

From Ch'a-mu-to to Lh'ari, 1500 *li*.

Lh'ari (also called La-li) is N.W. of Ta-rong dzo (Piemba) and over 1000 *li* distant from Ch'a-mu-to. T climate during the whole year is cold, and its mountains a all rugged. Originally it was an open town of Tibet. quartermaster is stationed here. The different convents a under the rule of a *ta lama* (*i.e.* abbot) who also discharg the duties of Déba.

When the Sungar Sereng Donduk (*Ché-ling tun-to-p'* conquered Tibet, the black men (*i.e.* the people) and t lamas alike offered resistance—(the latter) giving out th they were Ho-chou lamas,[3] went and acted as guides (to t Chinese army), while underhand they sent messengers the Tibetans to carry off the army supplies. This comi to the knowledge of the General commanding the Weste forces, he seized them, and appointed another lama to ru the district.

At present the K'an-po is Lin-hsi chiang-ts'o (*Rin-ch' jya-ts'o*) and the great Yeh-ehr-pa (*Nyer-pa-ch'en-po*) Ch'üeh-chieh cha-shih (*Ch'ü-jyé tra-shi*).

Since the above events Lh'ari has always belonged Central Tibet.

S.W. from Lh'ari is Kung-pu Chiang-ta.[4] Kung-pu a small, secluded place, and Chiang-ta is on the highway

[1] A— K—'s Lharugo giachug. Alt. 13,690 feet. Correct pronunciati Lh'a-ri go (ལྷ་རི་སྒོ).

[2] Chinese guard of one sergeant and twenty men. A Liang-t'ai comman the garrison.

[3] This may mean that the lamas said they were Kan-su Tibetans, or else t they were Mohammadans. The former meaning seems the more probable.

[4] Kong-po jyam-da in Tibetan.

, and its climate is warm. Here grows rice, and the are irrigated. The soil is the most productive in the e land. When in former times the Sungars conquered et, the people of Kung-pu resisted them stubbornly, that they were unable to enter. Later on, when the at army entered Tibet, they came to meet it and re- ined peaceful. Since that period it has continued under rule of Central Tibet.

4. Lh'ari to A-tsan. Halt.
A-tsan to Shan-wan. Stage.

From Lh'ari one follows a valley to the top of a great untain, whose peaks rise one above the other, and which whole year round is covered with masses of ice and w. Its high precipices, with heaps of snow piled by the wind, look like cliffs along the sea. It is danger- ly slippery, and difficult to travel over. 50 *li* brings to A-tsan,[1] where there is a post station. The Déba vides coolies. Again, going 30 *li*, one comes to a lake r 40 *li* long.[2] It is popularly reported that there are this district unicorns, a curious species of animal. 80 *li* ngs one to Shan-wan, where there is a post station, but e fuel and fodder.
Total distance 160 *li*.

5. Shan-wan to Ch'ang-to. Halt.
Ch'ang-to to Ning-to. Stage.

Leaving Shan-wan, one ascends the Cho la,[3] a high, danger-

A-tsa is the Tibetan name (ཨ་རྩ).

A— K—'s Archa cho. Alt. 14,680 feet. The unicorn referred to is the *u* of Hooker, *Himalayan Journal*, vol. ii. p. 157, and of Hodgson. It is a ies of antelope, fawn-coloured on the back, with white on the belly. The is black, tapering with annular rings at the base. This horn has been n to attain a length of 18 inches. See Klaproth, *Description du Tibet*, 0. It is called *chusing* in Eastern Tibet. Shan wan is Koleb (ཤན་ལེབ) e Tibetans.

Yi-dro la or Tola la of the maps. Alt. 17,350 feet.

ous, and difficult mountain, something over 40 *li*, with a deal of ice and snow, piles of rocks and abrupt cliffs. a total distance 60 *li*, one comes to Ch'ang-to,[1] where weather is generally wintry, and the mountains without vegetation. Here there is a post station. The inhabita make their houses of tree bark, and one but rarely see signs life. This forlorn place, which belongs to Chiang-ta, ha Déba, who provides the *ula*. 60 *li* over a comparatively le road brings one to Ning-to,[2] where there is a post station.

Total distance 120 *li*.

56. Ning-to to Kuo-la-sung-to. Halt.
Kuo-la-sung-to to Chiang-ta. Stage.

Following a level road along a valley from Ning-to, c descends 40 *li* to Kuo-la-sing-to (also called Wang-pa-kang A bridge is crossed, the water rushing noisily over roc The country to the east of the bridge belongs to Chiang-t The climate is not very cold. There is a guard house, a p station, fuel, and fodder.

Total distance 80 *li*.

57. Chiang-ta to Shun-ta. Halt.
Shun-ta to Lu-ma-ling. Stage.

Chiang-ta is S.W. of Lh'ari[5] in a hole at the foot o mountain. It is a dangerous-looking place. The Déba Kong-po supplies the coolies for travellers. Following t

[1] Correct pronunciation Dramdo (སྒམ་མདོ).

[2] Lindo in Tibetan.

[3] Wan-pa-ko. But a lama friend says that E. of Wan-pa-ko are two h mountains, Dro la and Benda la. Kuo-la-sung-to is probably the same p as La-dub (ལ་རྡུབ) of the Tibetans.

[4] Jyam da, or Giamba. A— K— obtained for its altitude 10,990 f Chinese guard used to be one lieutenant, one corporal, and 120 men. *Hsi-Ts chien wen lu*, II. p. 25.

[5] *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 34, counts 5735 *li* from Chiang-ta to Ch'eng-tu. Cor pronunciation Gyam-da (རྒྱ་མདའ).

down[1] 60 *li* to Shun-ta,[2] where there is a post station, enters a valley where flows a river in several branches. e is (also) a densely thick forest. 100 *li* brings one to -ma-ling,[3] where there is a post station. The mountain[4] high, but not dangerous or steep—about 40 *li*. The nges of icy and snowy mountains which one has already ssed, the sight of which has filled one with dismay, make is one appear very insignificant.

Total distance 160 *li*.

58. Lu-ma-ling to Tui-ta. Halt.
Tui-ta to Wu-su-chiang. Stage.

One enters a valley on leaving Lu-ma-ling, and goes up d down hill for about 40 *li*.[5] The mountain road is nerally level, but there are some pestilential emanations ich the Tibetans call "*p'u-ko tsang.*"[6] A cold wind cuts e's face, and there is never any really warm weather here. *li* brings one to Tui-ta (also called Pu-lu tsang), where ere is a post station, and a few inhabitants; fuel and fodder scarce. Following the sinuosities of a river, one passes the way down by Chu-kung. 60 *li* brings one to Wu-su iang,[7] the road being everywhere level. There is here a post tion and a subaltern Déba, who looks after fuel and fodder, en and sheep. When one has passed this place one is nigh

According to the map it should be *up*.

Probably A— K—'s Gam gia chug.

Nu-ma-ling, A— K—'s Nimaring; Tibetan itineraries mention as Ra-nang • གནང) here.

The Nu-ma-ri. A— K—'s Gia la.

My lama mentions Kung-po-pa-la between Nu-ma-ri and Tui-ta.

There must be some mistake here. *P'u-ko tsang* can only be something *p'ug ts'ang* (ཕུག • ཚང), meaning "a cavern." These pestilential vapours always called *la-dug*. The *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 16 reproduces exactly text of our author.

The station must be the Chomorawa Giachug of A— K—. It is called si-gyang in Tibetan (ཨེ • སི • གྱང).

the country of the Buddha of Tibet, a beautiful co
different from all those which one has passed through.

Total distance 180 *li*.

The next day's journey being very long, some perso
stop for the night at Tui-ta.[1]

59. Wu-su-chiang to Jen-chin-li. Halt.
Jen-chin-li to Mo-chu-kung-k'a. Stage.

The current of the river of Wu-su-chiang is very slo
One follows the river westward, and though the road
rather narrow, still it is tolerably level, not dangerous li
those one has previously travelled over. 60 *li* brings one
Jen-chin-li[2] (Halt at the lamasery). There is a post stati
here. If the travellers, servants, aud horses are mu
fatigued, they can rest here. Going up hill 70 *li* in a N.
direction, one comes to Mo-chu-kung-k'a,[3] where there is
post station and a Déba who provides the requisites (or coolie

Total distance 130 *li*.

60. Mo-chu-kung-k'a to La-mu. Halt.
La-mu to Tê-ch'ing. Stage.

Due N. from Mo-chu-kung-k'a is the road to the steppe
Ch'a-mu-to. A river flows west to Ts'ang (*i.e.* Lh'as
hence it is called the Ts'ang ho. The river is crossed in sk
boats (coracles).[4] 40 *li* brings one to La-mu[5] (also called N
mo), where there are habitations, but fuel and fodder a
scarce. Its temple is in a secluded spot, the country dense
populated. Following down the sinuosities of the rive

[1] This means that between Lu-ma-ling and Mo-chu-kung-k'a (distance 310
some travellers make three stages instead of the two laid down in the Itinerary

[2] Rin-ch'en ling; the Jing cho of our maps (རིན་ཆེན་གླིང་).

[3] Me'tri gong, Medu Kongkar Jang of our maps (མེ་དྲི་གོང་).

[4] For a description of these boats, which are built exactly like the Ir
coracles, see T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 227. T
Tsang ho is the Kyi-ch'u.

[5] La-mon in Tibetan.

to Chan-ta t'ang,[1] and again going W. 30 *li*, one comes
ê-ch'ing.[2]
otal distance 120 *li*.

61. Tê-ch'ing to Ts'ai-li. Halt.
Ts'ai-li to Hsi-ts'ang (Lh'asa). Stage.

At Tê-ch'ing there are many inns, travellers generally
pping here. The post station is by the road-side. A
rcuitous road of 40 *li* down hill brings one to Ts'ai-li.[3] It
popularly called (by the Chinese) Kao-lao chuang, under
hich name it is mentioned in the work entitled *Hsi tsun*
en ch'üan (西 游 叅 詮). Here there is a Déba who supplies
el and fodder. It is separated from Lh'asa by a river.
li, and one arrives at Lh'asa, where there is a Chinese
rrison. North of Ts'ang (*i.e.* Lh'asa) is the San-chu-kang-
'a.[4] It (*i.e.* Lh'asa) is surrounded by four mountains as
a wall. The streams are crystalline and the mountains
gh. Of a truth it is a blessed land!
Total distance 60 *li*.
From Lh'ari to Lh'asa 1010 *li*.[5]

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he details on the road from Ch'eng-tu to Lh'asa furnished
the (*Ssu ch'uan*) *T'ung chih*, from Selections from the *Yü-*
ng chih-lüeh and the *Hsi-shih pien-lan*, differ slightly the
e from the other. 'Tis probably an account of the distance
m the frontiers, and the wildness of the country, which
ke it difficult to hear and to see everything. (But) all the

[1] Chamba t'ang, or Cheumba gompa.
[2] Dé ch'en ling, the Dhejen Jong of our maps (བདེ་ཆེན་རྫོང).
[3] Tibetan Tsa-ling.
[4] Or more correctly "the cross roads of Zam-ch'u-kang."
[5] The total distance from Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa is, according to our author, 40 *li*. The *I tung chih* makes it out 3480 *li*, and the *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu* 35. Natives generally travel the whole distance in two months, couriers in one, even less.

halts and the stages are recorded in them. So we have selections from these works, and have controlled their s ments by inquiries made of travellers. Though using utmost care, we cannot assert that there are no mista Let only the traveller keep this book with him and exam the maps, and he cannot be much perplexed about his rou

II.

The country for over a thousand odd *li* west of Lhar is called Wei (or Ch'ien Ts'ang, "Anterior Tibet"). It under the *Ching* and *Kuei* constellations. Formerly t country was divided into three parts called K'ang, Wei a Tsang. *K'ang* is K'ams, to which belongs the pres *Ch'amdo Ch'ang-tu*. *Wei* is Wu, and comprises the Jok'a of Lh'asa. *Tsang* takes in Trashil'unpo.

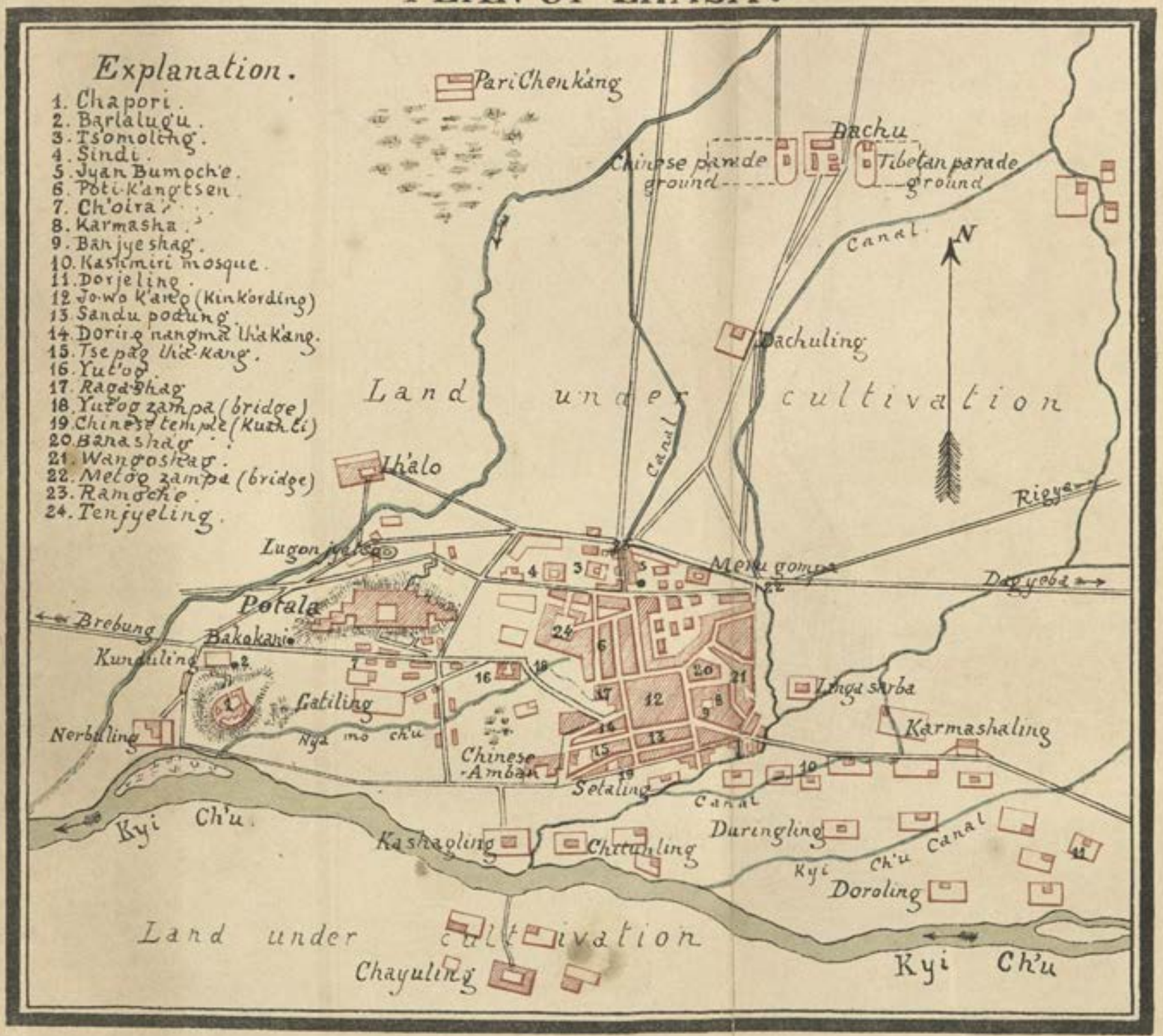
The country in which is situated the Jok'ang (*i.e.* Lh'a is an open plain spreading out some 40 *li* from N. to and some 400 or 500 *li* in extent from E. to W. To t East it is conterminous with Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. the N.W. it touches the Kokonor;[1] to the N. it confines the Ho (*i.e.* Yellow River). Its western frontier is the hai, and to the S. it touches Ta-ka-ssŭ (Central India).

A myriad hills encircle it and a hundred streams mean through it, making it the most beautiful country in t Western Regions.[2] A temple has been built on top of Mou

[1] *i.e.* the country under the control of the Hsi-ning Amban, whose titl Controller-general of the Kokonor.

[2] The plain in the immediate vicinity of Lh'asa is frequently called Wo-ma t'ang (ནེ་མ་ཐང་), or "Milk plain." The *I-tung-chih* estimates lay population of Lh'asa at 5000 families. Nain Sing, p. xxvi, reports t a census made in 1854 gave, exclusive of the military (1500 men) and pri (27000?), 9000 women and 6000 men. There is a tradition current am the people that there is a lake underneath Lh'asa. In the Jok'ang is an open which communicates with it. It is said that this lake was confined to present bed by Padma Sambhava, after which it became possible to bu

PLAN OF LH'ASA.



Approximate scale of 3 li to the inch.

1½ 1 ½ 0 1½ li

Potala, and there the Talé lama resides. Its gorgeous green and dazzling yellow colours fascinate the eye. Around it have been built the lamaseries of Drébung, Séra, Gadän and Samyé, facing it on the four sides. The pavilions, the streets and markets (of Lh'asa) are all most admirable. The Tibetans call it Lh'asa, and their successive Talé lamas dwell here.

In olden times it used to have fortifications,[1] but in the sixtieth year of K'ang-hsi (1721) the Generalissimo of the West Chih-wang no-ehr-pu (*Jyé-wang Nor-bu*?) had them pulled down, and in their place he built a stone dyke from the foot of Mount Lang-lai to Chapori, a total distance of 30 *li*. Inside of it is Potala, the outside arrests the river. The Tibetans call it the "spirit-mound." Every year in the first month, the priests of all the lamaseries assembling for the reading of the sacred books in the Jok'ang, carry some earth or stones and pile them up on this dyke.[2] This is the only personal service which lamas have to perform during the year.

The popular religion is that of the yellow sect (*Gélu*), and there is great reverence shown such lamas as the Talé lama and the Pan-ch'en erdeni, who are the most famous of all. There are also Hutuketu, incarnations with perfect intellects and very superior men, but in Anterior Tibet the Talé lama is pre-eminently venerated. It is popularly believed that he is an incarnation of Srong-tsan gam-po, who married a princess of the T'ang dynasty, and was an emanation of Avalokiteshwara. In the revolution of rebirth the

over it. Every year in the second month precious offerings are thrown down the hole in the Jok'ang, out of which comes a great noise of wind. If this were not done, the waters—or rather the Lu jyal-po (*Nagarāja*)—would cause the waters to rise up and engulph the city. On this legend, conf. Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage*, etc., vol. ii. p. 193.

[1] In olden times Lh'asa had a wall and nine gates; it was destroyed by General Karpi. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 26.

[2] This obligation to pile stones on the dyke seems to hold no longer good. At all events the lamas whom I have questioned on the subject say they never did such a thing, or heard of such a custom. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, I. 21, says that on the 9th of the first month they put stones on a stone heap (石堤) which is in front of Potala, stretching out from E. to S. some 13 *li*. There may be here a misapprehension of the well-known custom of adding stones to *mani* walls. *Sheng wu chi* (written in 1842) mentions this custom, but the author's information was at second-hand.

Talé lama does not forget anterior events. He has gone through a number of rebirths, but is always known as *Talé lama*.[1] His doctrine teaches that detachment is the chief requirement, his main object is love of mankind, his nature is pure and his mind all-embracing; he is as unfathomable as a god. Although he has prescience, he never glorifies in his power. If any of his disciples perform such tricks as swallowing swords and vomiting fire,[2] he degrades them. 'Tis for all these reasons that every one reveres him and calls him "The living Buddha."

In the reign of T'ai-tsung-wen Huang-ti, in the seventh year of Ch'ung-t'ê (1642), he (the Talé lama) memorialized the Throne to be allowed to send a yearly tribute.[3] After this, in the reign of Shun-chê, on the appearance of the fifth Talé lama, the Emperor in an audience conferred on him letters of investiture and a seal, also the title of *Hsi-t'ien Fo Chiao-p'u-chüeh kan-chi Ta-leh La-ma*. At this time the Mongol Gushi khan defeated Ts'ang-pa han[4] and conquered Tibet. He was succeeded by his son Dayan khan and his grandson Talé khan, all of whom respectfully obeyed the orders of China. Afterwards the Dési Sang-jyé created trouble, but Gushi khan's great-grandson Lh'a-zang killed him, and sent an envoy to inform the Emperor. By the grace of Sheng-tsu jen Huang-ti (K'ang-hsi) he was made Khan, and the Talé lama, who had again been incarnated at Lit'ang under the name of Kal-zang jya-ts'o[5] (*Ka-ehr-tsang*

[1] See supplementary note, *infrà*.

[2] The Buddhist canon law forbids priests to perform magical feats.

[3] This Emperor reigned in Moukden, and the embassy arrived by way of Mongolia, its object being to welcome the rising power of the Manchus, with whom the Talé lama had a religious sympathy.

[4] I do not know who is meant by Ts'ang-pa khan unless the words be intended to mean "the King of Tibet." Gushi Khan of the Khoshotes had as his allies in the conquest of Tibet the Sungans and the Torguts. Dayan Khan sent an embassy to the Indian Emperor Aurungzeb. He died about 1670. Dalai Khan acted as commander-in-chief of the forces, but not as controller of the civil administration. The Dési Sang-jyé is credited with being the natural son of the fifth Talé lama. See Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. p. 518, from whom the above remarks are taken.

[5] His full name is Lo-zang kal-zang jya-ts'o (ལོ་བཟང་·སྐལ་བཟང་·རྒྱ་མཚོ་). He was born in 1708, according to the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*. The sixth

chia-mu), was proclaimed (a genuine) *hubilh'an* (*i.e.* incarnation). Two years after his birth the Mongols of Kokonor requested him to take up his residence at the T'ar convent of Hsi-ning (*i.e.* Kumbum).

After this the Sungan rebel Tsé-wang Arabtan (*Ch'ih wang a-la-pu-tan*) found a pretext for sending his lieutenant Chih-ling tun-to-pu[1] with troops to Ts'ang (*i.e.* Lh'asa). He killed Lh'a-zang khan and made captive his son Suehr-cha.[2] The pretext he had given (for sending these troops) was the restoration of religion, but in reality he destroyed it.[3] The people of Central Tibet supplicated their Government to ask the Emperor for assistance; in consequence General O-lun-to was sent in command of troops. The rebels wanted to retreat northward, but, deluded by the rebel priests and black lamas (or "by laymen and lamas"), who incited them, they behaved like the mantis (which tried to stop a carriage),[4] and attacked our troops. Sheng-tsu Jen Huang-ti (K'ang-hsi) was greatly incensed, and ordered the Fu-yüan ta chiang-chün Wang to take the command of six army corps and to punish them. Moreover, the Emperor conferred on Kal-zang j'ya-ts'o, who was at the T'ar convent, the title of Talé lama, and granted him letters patent. He also sent General Yen Hsïa, who had been sent to reduce the rebels, with troops to protect him. (The General) crossed

Talé lama, Ts'ang-chyang jya-ts'o, a creature of the Dési Sang-jyé, died of dropsy in Manchuria, where he had been exiled.

[1] Howorth writes it Sereng Donduk.

[2] The name is written *Sur-tsa* (ཟུར་ཚ་) in Tibetan. Correctly it should be Sur-cha.

[3] Sereng Donduk crossed the mountains S. of Khoten, marched past the Tengrinor, and appeared in November, 1717, before Lh'asa, which was attacked. It was captured by treason, and the Sungars were welcomed by many as deliverers. Latsan Khan had taken refuge at Putala, but he was captured and put to death, and his son Sur-dzu was taken prisoner."—Howorth, *op. cit.* p. 523.

[4] 螳螂之背 is an expression of contempt in use to the present day. The story which gave rise to it is related in the *Han shih wai ch'uan*, acc. to K'ang hsi's Dictionary, s.v. *T'ang*, it is that Chi chuang kung driving out once saw a mantis pushing at his carriage, hoping thereby to stop it.

the frontier at Hsi-ning, routed the black lamas[1] and the Tibetan usurper Prince Ta-ko-tsan, and having pacified Tibet, sent for the Talé lama to come and take up his residence at Potala. Then the Emperor ordered that the temporal sovereignty of Tibet be vested in the Talé lama. This he did on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the fifty-ninth year K'ang-hsi (1720). He also ordered that the old ministers of Lh'a-zang Han, K'ang-ch'en-né, Na-p'öd-pa, Lum-pa-né, P'o-lh'a-né,[2] and the Chya-dzo-pa of the Talé lama Chyar-ra-né[3] be made Pei-tzŭ, Pei-leh, and Tai-chi, and that they should hold the position of *Kalön* with the government of Tibet divided among them.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), the Talé lama received from the Emperor the title of Hsi-t'ien ta shan tseu-tsai Fo. In the fifth year (1727) Na-p'öd-pa, Lum-pa-né, and Chyar-ra-né formed a plot to kill the Pei-leh, but K'ang-chien-né would not take part in their treachery The Emperor sent the President of the Censorate Cha-lang-a and others, who entered (Tibet) by different routes, but no troops had yet reached Tibet when the Tai-chi P'o-lh'a-né who governed Ulterior Tibet from Trashil'unpo came to Lh'asa,[4] seized the rebels Na-p'öd-pa, and others. While waiting for the arrival in Tibet of the Imperial Envoy, he addressed a report to the Emperor on what he had done, and having put to death Na-p'öd-pa, Lum-pa-né,

[1] The Chinese divide the lamas into four sects, which they call Yellow, Red, Black, and White. The Tibetan names of these sects are G'elupa, Nyimapa, Karmapa, and Sachyapa. The text may possibly refer to one of these, but 黑人 *hei jen* means also "the laity."

[2] In Tibetan Na-p'öd-pa do-jé jya-po (ངོ་ཕོད་པ་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་པོ). For the Tibetan forms of the names of the ministers of Lh'a-zang Han, see note, *infrà*.

[3] His full name is (according to *Hsi-yü tung-wen-chih*, B. 24, p. 5) *Chyar-ra-né-nös-dru jya-po* (སྤྱར་ར་ནས་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོ) or *Ngos-dru jya-po* from *Chyar-ra*.

[4] The text has 詔地 "the country of the Jok'ang." Lh'asa is sometimes called 西招 *Hsi chao*. *Chao* represents the Tibetan ཇོ་བོ *Jo-wo*.

and Chyar-ra-né, the pacification of Tibet was completed. In consequence of this, the Emperor conferred on P'o-lh'a-né the title of Pei-tzŭ, and made him the head official in the Tibetan government. The troops were retained for the control of Tibet, and the Hui yüan miao having been built at Ka-ta,[1] near the town of Ta-chien-lu, the Talé lama took up his abode there.

In the eleventh year (1733) the town of Tra-shi k'ang (*Cha-shih*) was built,[2] and in the thirteenth year (1735) the Sungans having been forced to submit, the Emperor gave orders for the Talé lama to take up his abode at Potala.

In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739) P'o-lh'a-né was made a Chün-wang, retaining the administration of Tibet. After the death of P'o-lh'a-né, his second son, Jyur-mé nam-jyal, succeeded him in his office, but in the fifteenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1750) he rebelled, was put to death, the royal dignity was abolished in Tibet by Imperial order, and all Tibetan affairs were managed conjointly by an Imperial Minister Resident in Tibet and the Talé lama; and so was tranquillity re-established in the country. Troops were stationed on the frontiers, and the people were at peace in their homes. Chinese and Tibetans traded together; every kind of valuable goods was exposed for sale, and the capital of the south-west became a great commercial emporium.

The word *Lh'a-sa* translated means "The land of gods."[3] Innumerable mountains surround it, and emerald streams

[1] Kata, also called Tai-ling, is two days N.E. of Ta-chien-lu, on the road to Dergé. I passed through it in 1889. The lamasery is a very fine one.

[2] Probably Tra-shi k'ang, the former residence of the Chinese Amban and the camp of the Chinese forces, seven *li* S. of Lh'asa. See *Sheng-wu chi*, V. 29, and also, *infrà*.

[3] 佛地 in the text. The character *Fo* must not be understood as always meaning "Buddha," at least in modern parlance. A Chinese will say of a sacred rock or tree that it is *Fo-yeh*. A Tibetan will use the word *lh'a* ལྷ in exactly the same way, only intending to convey the idea of the object or place being sacred or haunted by spiritual beings.

flow through it. Whichever way one goes, 'tis fertile, and the roads are level and easy. To the west Mount Potala rises abruptly up. The Indian books say that there are three Mount Potalas,[1] Tala (*i.e.* Potala) is one of them. 'Tis a wondrous peak of green, with its halls perched on the summit, resplendent with vermilion, thus combining natural beauty and (architectural) charm—'tis a most exquisitely beautiful place! Facing it are mountain peaks, and Mount Chapori flanks it. In front of the Mount (of Potala) stand pagodas, and behind it is a beautiful limpid lake. A little to the north is the Lu-gon jya-ts'o (*Lu-kang ch'a-mu*)[2] in the midst of which has been built a lake-pavilion. Those who visit it must go by boat; the view is very beautiful.

Going from the Jok'ang to Potala, one comes to the Liu-li ch'iao ("The glazed-tile bridge"). Under the bridge rushes a raging torrent called the Ka-ehr-chao mu-lun (*Galjao muren*?), or the Ts'ang chiang;[3] on both sides the people live the model of prosperity and happiness. In the transparent waters of the river are turquoise, coloured rocks, whose bluish tinge seems on the point of dissolving into water; the tops of the stones are bowl-shaped; if once dug away from the mud around them, they would look as big as elephants. One cannot take pebbles out of this river as an amusement as easily as in other streams.[4] 5 *li* east of the mountain (of Potala) is the Jok'ang, resplendent

[1] P'u-t'o shan in the Chusan group of islands. Potala (now Tata) at the mouth of the Indus, a former residence of Shenrézig (Avalokiteshwara) and the Lh'asa Potala, originally called Marpori or the "Red hill."

[2] ཀླུ་གོང་ཁ་མཚོ "the lake of the Naga King."

[3] I am told that it is called the Nya-mo ch'u by natives. The name of the bridge in Tibetan is Yut'og zampa. See map for its position. The text is wrong about it being the Galjao Muren (Kyi ch'u in Tibetan).

[4] "15 *li* S.W. of Potala is the Nerbuling k'ang on the N. side of the Kyi ch'u. In it is a large stone tank in which the water of the river flows. It is surrounded by dense foliage and has many paths. It has a one-storied house, beautifully ornamented, with flowers, etc. Here the Talé lama passes some twenty days in the warm season and enjoys the bathing." See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 24. The embarrassed phrase about the waters of the Nya-mo-ch'u is adapted from the Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu (II. 15). "At the foot of Marpori meanders the Kyi ch'u, whose azure bends encircle the hill with a network green as the dark green bamboo; it is so lovely that it drives all cares away from the beholder."

with gold and green; close to it is the Little Jo-wo (*Ramoch'é*). 7 *li* south of the mountain one comes to Tra-shi k'ang (*Cha-shih ch'eng*), where the Chinese troops are quartered.

The large convents of Séra, Drébung, Samyé, and Gadän are the finest in this part of the world, and the most beautiful for far around. The Tsung-chiao ch'ia, the Chi yüan, and the Ching yüan are also very beautiful, and are situated in close proximity to one another.[1] They are the promenade grounds of the Talé lama. In spring and winter (*i.e.* all the year round) peach trees, willows, pines, and cypresses afford a delightful shade. The quiet retreats and flowered terraces do not differ from those of China. Truly this is the "Western abode of joy" (*Sukhavatī*)!

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1. Lh'asa to Teng-lung-kang. Halt.
Teng-lung-kang to Yeh-tang. Stage.

Going 40 *li* over a level road from Lh'asa, and crossing a big bridge, one arrives at Teng-lung-kang, where there are habitations. Following the river[2] course over a level road 40 *li* more, one comes to Yeh-tang, where there is a post station and habitations. The Déba provides fuel and fodder.

Total distance 80 *li*.

2. Yeh-tang to Chiang-li. Halt.
Chiang-li to Ch'ü-shui. Stage.

Again one follows the river from Yeh-tang, in three places the road running along precipices, which are not, however, very dangerous. 40 *li* brings one to Chiang-li.[3] 50 *li* more,

[1] The first-mentioned place is 2 *li* N. of Potala; it is the Ch'ung-ch'u-lu k'ang (?) of Tibetans. Chi Yüan is the Chya dzo ling-ka, 4 *li* N. of Potala, and the Ching Yüan is the Ch'ü ji k'ang, 7 *li* W. of Potala.

[2] The river here alluded to is the Chyi ch'u, or Ki ch'u (ཀྱི་ཆུ), which meets the Yaru tsang po S.E. of Ch'u-shu. Yeh-tang is Nyer-tam (གཉེར་སྟམ).

[3] The Jañglot of Pundit No. 9.

due south, following the sinuosities of the river, one comes to Ch'ü-shui.[1] Here there is a scorpion's cavern, in which criminals condemned to death are thrown bound, and stung to death. It is a fertile country of a hundred *li* in extent. There are habitations, fuel, and fodder. The Déba furnishes supplies.

Total distance 90 *li*.

3. Ch'ü-shui to Kang-pa-tzŭ. Halt.
Kang-pa-tzŭ to Pai-ti. Stage.

15 *li* beyond Ch'ü-shui one comes to an iron wire (suspension) bridge. The river rushes along so that it is dangerous to cross it in boats. 35 *li* the other side of the river one comes to Kang-pa-tzŭ,[2] where there are habitations, fuel, and fodder. After crossing a big mountain,[3] very high and steep, 40 *li* up and down it, one comes to Sha-ma lung,[4] where fuel and fodder are scarce. 50 *li* over a level road brings one to Pai-ti,[5] where there is a post station, fuel, and fodder.

Total distance 140 *li*.

4. Pai-ti to Ta-lu. Halt.
Ta-lu to Ka-lang-tzŭ. Stage.

35 *li* from Pai-ti one passes Yeh-ssŭ, and 15 *li* brings one to Ta-lu, where there are habitations, fuel and fodder. Here the road branches, one branch coming from Gyang-tsé dzong (*Chiang-tzŭ*), the other from Rampa (*Jan-pa*). In spring and summer merchants pass by the Rampa road, but in

[1] The Ch'u shu (ཆུ་ཤུ) of Tibetans. Pundit No. 9 calls this place Chusul-jong. The *I-tung-chih* makes it 115 *li* from Lh'asa.

[2] The Khamba barchi of Pundit No. 9. Also called Kam-pa la cha (ཀམ་པ་ལ་ཆ). The river crossed in the Yaru tsang po.

[3] The Kampa mountain.

[4] More correctly Démalung or Tama lung. Lung (ལུང) means "valley."

[5] This is the Piah te dzong of European maps, also called Pe-té. It is on the shore of lake Pai-ti (Parché jya-ts'o). Correct pronunciation Pé-di (སྤེ་དི).

winter the snow and ice make it impracticable. Abundant supplies are procurable at Weng-ku[1] and the surrounding country. Already in the *wu-shen* year (1668?) supplies sent westward went by way of Ka-lang-tzŭ,[2] and it is still followed at the present day. 55 *li* brings one to Ka-lang-tzŭ, the road being all the way level. Here there is a Déba and inhabitants.

Total distance 105 *li*.

5. Ka-lang-tzŭ to Weng-ku. Halt.
Weng-ku to Je-lung. Stage.

55 *li* over a level road from Ka-lang-tzu brings one to Weng-ku (Zara?), where there is a Déba and inhabitants. Crossing a mountain[3] one comes to Je-lung after 65 *li*; here there is a Déba and inhabitants. The road is also level; if one takes the left-hand road (from this place), it brings you to the Brukpa country (*i.e.* Bhutan).

Total distance 120 *li*.

6. Je-lung to Ku-hsi. Halt.
Ku-hsi to Chiang-tzŭ. Stage.

Ku-hsi[4] is 70 *li* from Je-lung, and Chiang-tzŭ[5] 70 *li* from Ku-hsi. Chiang-tzŭ is an important centre. At both places there are Débas, inhabitants, fuel and fodder, the latter being more abundant at Gyantsé. The road is level all the way.

Total distance 140 *li*.

[1] Probably of the Zara our maps.

[2] Kalang-tzŭ must be Na-gong (སྣ་གོང་), Nagar tsé dzong of the maps. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao* (III. 22), gives the name as Lang-ka-tzŭ, with Ka-lang-tzu as an alternative reading.

[3] The road passes by the Kharola pass; alt. 16,600 feet. Je-lung is Ra-nang (ར་སྣང་).

[4] Gorch of our maps. Correct pronunciation Gé-shé (སྒེ་ཤེས).

[5] The name is written (རྒྱང་ཙེ) or (གྱམ་མཛེ). It is 120 *li* from Shigatse, and has a population of over 30,000 (!) families and more than 7500 soldiers. See *I-tung-chih*. 140 *li* to the W. of Gyangtsé is Kamba djong, and Kushi djong is 70 *li* S. of it. *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 24.

7. Chiang-tzŭ to Jen-chin-kang. Halt.
Jen-chin-kang to Pa-lang. Stage.

It is 55 *li* to Jen-chin-kang[1] from Gyangtsé, and 60 *li* from Jen-chin-kang to Pa-lang. There are Débas, inhabitants, fuel and fodder (at both places), and the traveller can rest or pass the night at either of them.

Total distance 115 *li*.

8. Pa-lang to Ch'un-tui. Halt.
Ch'un-tui to Cha-shih-lun-pu. Stage.

From Pa-lang the road, crossing a big bridge (over the Nyang ch'u), goes over level ground. 70 *li* brings one to Ch'un-tui,[2] where there is a Déba and inhabitants. 40 *li* the other side of this place, one comes to Trashil'unpo (also called Cha-shih-lung-pu or Hou Ts'ang, *i.e.* Ulterior Tibet) the residence of the Pan-ch'en erdeni.[3]

Total distance 110 *li*.

From Lh'asa to Hou Ts'ang 900 *li*.

Eight days' journey south of the Jok'ang of Lh'asa brings one to the capital of Ulterior Tibet called Trashil'unpo, where is the *Jeng-chung ning-weng chieh-pa ssŭ*.[4] The country is very beautiful, the soil good and fertile. Here resides the Pan-ch'en erdeni. The convents are very majestic and

[1] Jen-chin-kang (Rin-ch'en-gong) must be the Dong-tsé of our maps. Pa-lang corresponds with Péna dzong. Correct pronunciation Pal-lam (དཔལ་ལམ).

[2] The Giudue, or Ch'u-ta-chang-ma of our maps, seems to correspond with this place. Correct pronunciation K'ir dö (ཁིར་རྡོ).

[3] The I-tung-chih says that Shigatsé is 533 *li* from Lh'asa, about 133 miles, at four *li* to the mile.

[4] A Chinese name for Trashil'unpo. "The convent of Trashil'unpo was built by Gédun drub-pa: it is on a hill which resembles in shape a crab's claw. N.W. of it rises abruptly a mountain resembling the Lung-tung-pei in Ssu-ch'uan. The convent buildings are four stories high, resplendent with gold and yellow bricks. There are three halls." See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 12. The I-tung-chih says Shigatsé has a population of over 23,000 families and over 5300 soldiers (natives and Chinese?). Turner, *Embassy to Court of Teshoo Lama*, says there were 3700 gélong at Trashil'unpo.

beautiful, the images of the gods, all made of the seven precious substances, have a most imposing look. The sound of saintly songs and the burning of incense by the Bhikshus is not surpassed by that on Mount Gridhrakuta (in India).

The people of Ulterior Tibet revere the Pan-ch'en Buddha, as those of Anterior Tibet do the Talé lama. It is popularly said that the Pan-ch'en is an incarnation of the *Vadjra* (*Chin-k'ang*), and that he has passed through more than ten regenerations. He is of his nature dispassionate, a strict observer of the commandments, learned in the sacred works, and a disliker of the turmoils of the world. All lamas who have completed their theological studies receive the benediction of the Pan-ch'en, if they are desirous of possessing the real *dharma*.[1]

In Tibet, when the Talé lama has passed away and is coming to life again, the Pan-ch'en discourses about it according to the tenets of the Mahāyāna school. The Talé lama acts towards the Pan-ch'en in the same manner (in case of his death), and thus do they mutually act for the preservation of the Yellow faith.[2]

In the seventh year of Ch'ung-tê of the present dynasty (1642), the Pan-ch'en having declared that a Holy sovereign had appeared in the East, he together with the Talé lama sent envoys who journeyed 40,000 *li* to come to Court and make a treaty and establish relations of amity. T'ai-tsung-wen Huang-ti (Ts'ung-Tê) received them with pleasure, as lending support in establishing the new dynasty, and he

[1] See supplementary note, *infrà*. The Pan-ch'en erdeni and the Talé lama are supposed also to be the reincarnations of the two chief disciples of Tsong-k'a-pa, who charged them to continue from generation to generation to re-enter the world so as to watch over the Yellow church. See *Sheng wu chi*, V. 2. Tibetans say that the Pan-ch'en lama is the incarnation of Wu-pa-mé (*Amitābha Buddha*) and not of any of the eight *Dorjé* or *vadjra*, but he is usually considered an incarnation of Manjushri (or *Jam-byang*). The Pan-ch'en Rin-po-ch'é ordains lamas *gélong*. See Huc, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie*, vol. ii. p. 283. He has not understood the ceremony, and calls the *gélong* the *élan* or *kélan*.

[2] The facts more clearly stated are that on the reappearance of the Talé lama he is examined by the Pan-ch'en Rin-po-ch'é to see if he is really the sought-for incarnation of Avalokiteshwara, and, in the case of the Pan-ch'en, he is examined by the Talé lama. The Talé lama is also installed at Potala by the Pan-ch'en Rin-po-ch'e, and ordained a *gélong* by him when he has reached the prescribed age.

sent them continually presents of tea (while stopping at Mukden).

In the fifty-third year of K'ang-hsi (1714) (the Pan-ch'en) received the title of Pan-ch'en erdeni.[1]

In the *keng-tzŭ* year of Ch'ien-lung (1780) he came in person to Court. The Emperor and he being both lovers of righteousness, the Emperor bestowed on him all that he could wish, but he passed away,[2] and was reborn in Tibet, and returned to reside at Trashil'unpo. 'Tis now eleven years since this event (*i.e.* his reincarnation) took place, and every one agrees that he is virtuous, dignified, intelligent, and of ready wit.[3] All Tibetans admire him and instinctively love him. From Trashil'unpo to Niélam, more than 3000 *li*, as also among the neighbouring rebellious Gorkha tribes, every one reveres the Pan-ch'en as his spiritual guide; but what can prevent the destruction of those who oppose the Sovereign's armies?[4]

I have carefully examined this far-removed, barren, and wild country, and I openly declare my great reverence for the doctrines of the country of the Buddha.[5]

Of a necessity there are very remarkable monuments, different mountain roads, and passages of rivers, which I have not fully reported (in these pages), for I have not heard of the more recently discovered ones in that vast wilderness; but I have worked with the most painstaking care.

[1] *Erdeni* = *Rin-po-ch'é*, "most precious, excellent."

[2] This was Paldan Yé-shé (see supplementary note, *infrà*). The Huang-ssŭ outside the N.E. gate of Peking was given him. The *ch'örten* erected to his memory in the West Huang-ssŭ is one of the finest monuments at Peking. See Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, vol. i. p. 79. The bas-reliefs around it represent well-known scenes of the life of Gotama Buddha, his conception, birth, flight, etc., and his death, at which a lion is weeping. Williams, *loc. cit.*, is wrong in his interpretation of them.

[3] The Pan-ch'en here alluded to was called Paldan tän-pé nyi-ma.

[4] An allusion to the issue of the then pending campaign against the Gorkhas.

[5] Capt. Turner in 1783 visited Paldan Tan-pé nyi-ma, then eighteen months old. He was much struck by the dignity of his behaviour. See *Mission to Court of Teshoo Lama*, p. 333 *et seq.* On the death of Paldan Yé-shé see the same work, p. 443 *et seq.*

ITINERARY FROM TRASHIL'UNPO TO NIELAM.

	li
1. Trashil'unpo to Nai-t'ang.[1] Halt.	
Nai-tang to La-ehr. Stage.	90
2. La-ehr to Ssŭ. Halt.	
Ssŭ to Nai-an. Stage.	100
3. Nai-an to Jê-lung. Halt.	
Jê-lung to Cha-shih-k'ang.[2] Stage. . . .	110
4. Cha-shih-k'ang to Pan-ta. Halt.	
Pan-ta to P'eng-tso-ling. Stage. . . .	95
5. P'eng-tso-ling to Cha-shi-sung. Halt.	
Cha-shi-sung to Cha-tang. Stage. . . .	100
6. Cha-tang to Sha-pa-tu. Halt.	
Sha-pa-tu to Na-tzŭ. Stage	100
7. Na-tzŭ to Pai-chia-chi-kang. Halt.	
Pai-chia-chi-kang to Tsa-wu. Stage . .	95
8. Tsa-wu to Shan-ken (or "the foot of a mountain"). Halt	
Shan-ken to Chia-tso-pai. Stage. . . .	110
9. Chia-tso-pai to Yu-kung-yu. Halt.	
Yu-kung-yu to La-ku-lung. Stage . . .	100
10. La-ku-lung to Lo-lo. Halt.	
Lo-lo to Hsieh-ka-ehr. Stage	105
11. Hsieh-ka-ehr to Mieh-meng	80
12. To Ti-li-lang-ku	90
13. To Mi-mu-ehr	90
14. To Cha-mu-ta	120
15. To Hsia-ma-k'a	90
16. To Ka-pa chiao-ehr han	120

[1] Nart'ang lamasery. This is the high road between Tibet and Nepal. It appears to be that followed part of the way by Nain Singh. The Chinese names do not admit of accurate identification.

[2] Tra-shi-k'ang. Five miles W. of it there is an iron chain bridge across the Yaru-tsang-po. The *Hsi-chao t'u lüeh* gives the following indications concerning this road: "From Trashil'unpo W. to Nart'ang. Thence N.W. to the Kang-chien lamasery (*ssŭ*), thence N. to Hua-sai-tzŭ. Then W. to the Ko-teng shan gorge (*chia*), where there are two roads. The main road leads W., from Pengtsoling due S. by Chia-tang to La-tzŭ, the other W. a little S. by Chu-o-lung to La-tzŭ. From La-tzŭ the road leads S. to Chia-tso shan, thence down the mountain a little N. to To-chia. Thence W. to Lo-lo, thence due S. to Hsieh-ka-ehr. Here, having crossed the river, one goes S.W. to Mi-ma, thence S. to Ting-ri. Then S.W. to Tung-la-shan. Then due W. to Pa-tu-ehr. Again W. to Ta-ehr-chieh-ling. Then S.W. to Pa-chia-ling. Then S. to Nieh-la-mu. See *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 31.

	li
17. To Shuo-ma-la-tu	80
18. To Chung-ka-ehr	120
19. To Tsung-k'o	90
20. By a tortuous road to Ma-ehr	90
21. To Kun-ta	120
22. To Cho-tang	80
23. To Chu-t'ang	115
24. To Chi-lung	80
25. To O-lung by a tortuous road	86
26. To So-jung	120
27. To Cha-lin-to	75
28. To Jung-hsia	85
29. To Nieh-la-mu	115
From Trashil'unpo to Nielam	2851
From Ch'eng-tu to Nielam	9811

According to a decision of the quarter-master's office in the fifty-third year of Ch'ien-lung (1788), the distance from Trashil'unpo to Hsieh-ka is 1005 *li*. East of Hsieh-ka all the halts and stages have been put down, but west of it only the distances have been recorded, for travellers are rare over this road, and it is difficult to procure information.

FROM TA-CHIEN-LU BY THE HORBA AND DERGÉ COUNTRY (*HUO-EHRTÊ-KÒ TS'AO-T'I*) TO CHA-MU-TO.

1. Ta-chien-lu to the foot of Chih-to-shan	50
2. Across Chih-to-shan to Ti-ju (road branches)	50
3. To Ya-chu-k'a	70
4. To Lang-tzŭ-pu	40
5. To Pa-sang-tzŭ	40
6. To Shang-pa-i (road branches)	50
7. To Ka-ta[1]	60

[1] Called Tai-ling by the Chinese. It was probably originally a camp created during the Chinese Tibetan expedition in 1720. *T'ang* (塘) means "a post station," perhaps it would be better to thus translate it, at least in some cases. Chia-sa, the Jasa, is a small affluent of the Nya-ch'u.

	li
8. To Hsün-ma t'ang	50
9. To Chiao-ya	30
10. Across a mountain to La-ti t'ang	50
11. To Tz'u-lung	60
12. To Chia-sà-chu-k'a	70
13. To Chi-ju-chu-k'a	50
14. Across a small mountain to Huo-ehr Chang-ku[1]	30
15. Down hill to Chiang-pin t'ang	50
16. To Chu-wo[2]	50
17. Across a mountain to Lo-kung-sung-to	35
18. Across the P'u-wang lung to Kan-tzŭ[3]	20
19. Crossing a river to Pai-li[4]	30
20. To Lung-pa-kuei (Rung batsa?)	50
21. To A-chia-la-lo	40
22. To I-lung	60
23. To frontier of Tieh-ko (or T'ê-ehr-ko-t'ê, also called Ch'i-teng (七登), "the seven ridges"[5]	40
24. To Lo-teng (Lo-dong)	60
25. To Chi-ma-tang (Simatong)	60
26. To Lin-ts'ung[6]	50
27. To Chu-mi-la-to	60
28. To Ch'un-keng-hsi-ho	50
29. Uphill to Pan-ti-chu-k'a[7]	40
30. Down hill to Pa-jung	30
31. To frontier of Chia (*i.e.* Draya)	60
32. To Ch'iang-tang	70
33. To Tsao-la (Chaola)	60
34. To Tsao-li-kung	30
35. Across a low mountain to Chia-lung-t'a	30
36. To Ha-chia	50

[1] Chango in the Horba country, a good-sized village on the Za-ch'u, with a very large and influential lamasery.

[2] The chief village of the Chuwo Déba, one of the five principal chiefs of the Horba.

[3] The capital of Horba Kangsar.

[4] Bérim, the residence of one of the Horba Débas. The river is the Za-ch'u. A-chia-la-lo is Aja-golok.

[5] Sder-gi (pron. Dergé), the most influential State in Eastern Tibet.

[6] Also called Ko-ts'ung, *Hsi-Tʻsang tʻu kʻao*, IV. 1. The same work gives Ch'un-ko-hsi-ho as an alternative name of No. 28.

[7] Called, I was told in the country, Korchink'a or Déchink'a.

	li
37. To the Ha-chia gorge (*Chia-kou*) . . .	30
38. To Chung-sa-t'ê.	30
39. Across a mountain to Je-ya	60
40. Across a mountain to Cha-mu-to . . .	40
Total distance[1]	1885

Along this road there dwell many Fan in black tents, occupied with cattle raising.[2] There is not much pestilential vapour along it.

FROM CHA-MU-TO BY THE LEI-WU-CHI STEPPE TO LH'ASA.

1. Cha-mu-to to the O-lo bridge (road branches) .	40
2. To Shao-to	60
3. K'ang-p'ing-to	40
4. To Lei-wu-chi	50
5. To Ta-t'ang	50
6. To Chia-la-tsu	80
7. To Chiang-ch'ing-sung-to	100
8. To San-kang-sung-to	80
9. Across a little chain of four mountains to Sai-ehr-sung-to	80
10. To La-tsan	60
11. To Chi-lo t'ang	50
12. To Cha-lung-sung-to (or Ch'un-pen-ssŭ-cha) .	70
13. To Chiang-t'ang bridge	70
14. To La-kung-tung	50
15. To Wang-tsu	60
16. To Chi-shu-pien k'a	80
17. To Ta-pien kuan	50
18. To Ka-tsan t'ang	80
19. To K'o-hsien-to	70
20. To La-li-pu (to the right one enters a valley) .	70
21. To frontier of Lh'a-ri	60

[1] The *Ts'ang chih* counts 39 stages and 1775 *li*, *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 26.

[2] The road is really a very good and easy one, and much travelled at the present day.

		li
22.	Across a mountain to Chi-ko-k'a . . .	70
23.	To Sha-chia-lo	70
24.	To Chi-hua-chi	70
25.	To Ha-ka-tso-k'a	70
26.	To Pan-shu	60
27.	To Chung-na-san-pa (bridge?)	60
28.	To Na-ting tung-ku	60
29.	To Mo-chu kung-k'a[1] (joins the Lh'asa high road)	70
	Total distance	1880

FROM LH'ASA BY THE TA-LU CROSS-ROAD TO TRASHIL'UNPO.

1.	From Ta-lu, where the road branches, one by Gyantsé dzong (*Chiang-tzŭ*) to Trashil'unpo, the other by Ranang (*?Jan-pa*) to Trashil'unpo, to Jan-pa	20
2.	To Chia-ma k'a. (This place is considered half-way between Anterior and Ulterior Tibet)[2] .	50
3.	To A-mi	45
4.	To Jen-po tsung (Ra-nang dzong?) . . .	20
5.	To Ku-lu lang-hsi	40
6.	To Nien-mu ha-ta	50
7.	To Chung-pa k'a	60
8.	To Shui-hsia-ma	45
9.	To La-ku	45
10.	To Trashil'unpo	45
	Total distance	420

FROM TRASHIL'UNPO BY THE NAI-T'ANG CROSS-ROAD TO NIELAM.[3]

1.	Trashil'unpo to Nai-t'ang	40
2.	To Chia-jeh	30

[1] Métri gong.
[2] *i.e.* between Lh'asa and Shigatsé.
[3] Road between Shigatsé and Kathmandu.

	li
3. To Cha-hsiung	40
4. To Tê-ch'ung-tsai	50
5. To Hsia-ka-ehr	30
6. To Cha-lung-i-k'a	30
7. To Cha-hsi k'ang	30
8. To Sse-tsu	40
9. To Sa-chia[1]	80
10. To Pu-tsung	50
11. To Ma-chia	50
12. To Ch'un-tun	40
13. To I-hsi-ehr	50
14. To Ch'ang-so	60
15. To Ts'un-a	40
16. To Chi-hsiung	40
17. To Hsieh-ka	110
18. To An-pa	40
19. To Ting-jeh	40
20. To Tu-lung	70
21. To Hsia-lo	40
22. To Tai-chi-ling	30
23. To Tsung-cheng	40
24. To Nieh-la-mu	50
Total distance	1120

FROM TRASHIL'UNPO BY TSA-TANG TO LH'ASA.

1. Trashil'unpo to Lo-kuei	40
2. To Ssŭ-mu-to	100
3. To Nien-mu hu (ha) ta	120
4. To Neng-mu tsung	90
5. To Sha-ch'u-k'a	80
6. To Tsa-tang	70
7. To Pai-ti (Pédi)	70

[1] Probably the Sakya convent.

	li
8. To Kang-pa-tzŭ[1]	90
9. To Ch'ü-shui	50
10. To Chiang-li	50
11. To Teng-lung-kang	80
12. To the Jo-k'ang of Lh'asa	40
Total distance	880

FROM SUNG-P'AN[2] BY HUANG-SHÊNG KUAN TO LH'ASA.

1. From Huang-shen kuan to Liang ho k'ou (road branches)	60
2. To Ch'u-tsao	80
3. To Chia-wang ma-wang (or Chia-wa)	70
4. To Sha-lu t'ang (or Sa-lu)	50
5. To Pa-ma	60
6. To Chiang-ti ko-li-ma (or Lo-wa)	60
7. To Lung-hsi-tou	80
8. To Wu-lang-mang	70
9. To Tsung-ko-ehr	80
10. To Cha-han tu-hui	70
11. To Sha-na-wu-chia	70
12. To Ch'i-chi-ha-lai	60
13. Across a great snowy mountain to An-ting-ta-pa	70
14. To T'u-lung t'u-lao	70
15. To T'a-mang-ta-lo-hai	50
16. To Tan-chung-ying	60
17. To Lower Tieh-lun-tun	60
18. To Middle Tieh-lun-tun	80

[1] The K'ampa-partse of our maps. This itinerary is taken from *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, II. p. 33. In the original the last three stages are (8) Pai-ti to Pa-tzŭ, 110 *li*; (9) Pa-tzŭ by Ch'ü-shui to Neng kung-pa, 90 *li*; (10) Neng-kung pa by Tu-lung ch'iung to Lh'asa, 70 *li*. Total distance from Trashil'unpo, 840 *li*.

[2] Sung-p'an is a subprefecture in Lung-an Fu, Ssu-ch'uan. See Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, No. 6753, p. 315. This road is only followed by a few pilgrims from around the Kokonor and by the Sung-p'an traders (called Sharba) among the Golok and the other Tibetan tribes of N.E. Tibet.

	li
19. Across a big snowy mountain to Upper Tieh-lun-tun	80
20. To Wu-lang-tieh-lun	70
21–24. From Wu-lang-tieh-lun there are four stages of 60 *li* each to Kurfen su-lo-mo,[1] where the Hsi-ning road to Lh'asa meets the Yellow River	240
Total distance	1590

FROM LH'ASA BY YANG-PA-CHAN TO GALTSANG GUJA.

1–5. From Lh'asa to (the pass of) Yang-pa-chan (*Yang-pa ching*),[2] where the road branches, there are five stages, of a total length of 200 *li*. From Lh'asa to Trashil'unpo, by the Yang-pa-chan steppe, is shorter than by way of Gyantsé and Ranang, but the number of *li* is not stated.	
6. To Chia-pu	40
7. To Sang-to-lo-hai	70
8. To Chu-ting ma-pen	50
9. To Sang-chi ma-ting	40
10. To La-ting chu-to	50
11. To frontier of T'eng-ko na-ehr[3] (on shore of a great lake)	50
12. To Lang-tso (or Tsu-lung-chüeh)	50
13. Across a great mountain, on the summit of which is a lake, the Kuo-chung[4]	60

[1] Also called *Huang ho* (Yellow River), *Hsi-Ts'ang tu k'ao*, IV. 4. Soloma is the Mongol name of the Upper Huang ho, called in Tibetan Ma ch'u (རྨ་ཆུ). The place referred to is at Karma t'ang, the Hsing su hai of the Chinese.

[2] This is N.W. of Lh'asa, the road is still used to go to Trashil'unpo (see *Peking Gazette*, January 21, 1886). Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 43, says it is the river Yang-pa-chan ch'u, but our text and all Chinese works I have consulted, speak of it as a pass (口). Galtsang guja is on one of the branches of the Murus, the Dré ch'u of the Tibetans.

[3] Tengri nor probably.

[4] Probably Karchen of our maps.

	li
14. Across two mountains to Chang-tso, where there is a lake[1]	80
15. To Hai-tzŭ t'ou (or "head of a lake")	45
16. To Cho-tê-ehr	60
17. To Pang-tang	50
18. To Pa-yeh-ya	50
19. To Tung-tso	70
20. To Ka-ehr-tsang ku-cha (or Hu-cha)[2]	70
Total distance	1035

FROM HSI-NING (IN KAN-SU) ACROSS THE FRONTIER TO LH'ASA.

1. Crossing the frontier at Hsi-ning to A-shi-han	160
2. To Ha-ehr ka-ehr	70
3. Huo-ehr	60
4. To Ch'ai-chi-kou	70
5. To Ku-ku ku-tu-ehr	60
6. To Kun o-ehr-chi	60
7. To I-ma-ehr	50
8. To Shuo-lo kou	60
9. To Siang-lo ta-pa	50
10. To Hsi-la-ha-pu	60
11. To T'ê-lun nao-ehr (Dulan nor)	70
12. To Ku-ku ku-t'u-ehr	50
13. To A-la ka-sha-ehr	60
14. To Pi-liu t'u	60
15. To Ho-ya ku-t'u-ehr	70
16. To ford of the Huang-ho	70
17. To Na-mu-ka	60
18. To Ho-to-tu	60
19. To Chi-ehr sa-to lo-liu	50
20. To Ho-ya-la-ku-t'u-ehr cha-tu	60

[1] The Chomora lake of our maps (?).

[2] Appears to be at or near the Atag hopchiga of Prjevalsky. Cf. Dutreuil de Rhins, *L'Asie Centrale*, pp. 354, 390, etc., and *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, II. 31.

	li
21. To Pai-ehr ch'i-ehr	70
22. To La-ma-to-lo-hai[1]	60
23. To Pa-yen ha-la-na-tu	50
24. To Sha-shih-lung	60
25. To I-ko a-li-k'o	50
26. To O-lan-o-ehr-chi	70
27. To Ku-kai-sai ford	60
28. To Mu-lu-wu-su (river)[2]	60
29. To Cha-han o-ehr-chi	50
30. To T'ê-men ku-chu	60
31. To Pai-ehr ch'i-t'u	70
32. To Tu-hu-lu to-lo-hai	50
33. To Tung (or East) p'u-lo-t'u-kou	60
34. To Tung (or East) p'u-lo-t'u-ta pa-na-tu	60
35. To Tung (or East) p'u-lo-t'u-ta pa-cha-tu	50
36. To Hu-lan kuo-ehr	60
37. To T'ê-ehr-ha-ta	50
38. To Shun-ta	60
39. To To-lo-pa-t'u-ehr. (It is on the Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan border. When the grand army entered Tibet, it was here that the Kan-su depôts stopped)	50
40. To Pu-la sai-lo	55
41. To Ha-la ho-lo	55
42. To A-mu ta river	45
43. To Yin-ta-mu	45
44. To Chi-li pu-la-k'o	45
45. To I-k'o-no-mu-han[3] wu-pa-shih	75
46. To East side of Su-k'o	55
47. To Pa-mu-han	70
48. To Pao-ho-lao	55
49. To Sha-k'o-yin kuo-ehr	70
50. To Meng-tsa	45
51. To Meng-ku hsi-li-k'o	45

[1] Lamatolha, "lama's head." There is a hill of this name about twenty miles S. of the Yellow River, near the Tsa-ka nor (*i.e.* Karma t'ang).

[2] Called Dré ch'u by the natives. The Upper Yang-tzŭ.

[3] Iké nomoran, "the big Nomoran (pass)." *Nomoran* means "easy" in Mongol.

	li
52. To Cho-no-kuo-ehr	70
53. To Ch'u-mu-la	90
54. To Kuo-lung	55
55. To Ha-la wu-su[1] (river)	55
56. To Ka-ch'ien	70
57. To Shih-pao no-ehr	70
58. To K'o-tun hsi-li-k'o	70
59. To Ta-mu	90
60. To Yang la	70
61. To Chia-tsang chü (or "dyke" ?)	70
62. To Ta-lung	45
63. To Sha-la	50
64. To Kan-ting chün-k'o-ehr	70
65. To Tu-men	90
66. To Lang la	55
67. To Lh'a-sa[2]	45
Total distance	4120

APPENDIX TO PART I.

I. ITINERARY FROM LH'ASA TO THE LAKCHAN BARRIER.

(From *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu*, II. 29, *et sqq.*)

1. From Lh'asa to Chia-shou lang-tzŭ to La-tsan-ehr	120
2. Latsar to Tsu-pu	50
3. Tsu-pu to Ngari	70
4. Ngari to Chia-chung	80
5. Chia-chung to Ni-mu ken-chü	70
6. Ni-mu ken-chü to Tsu-kung	60
7. Tsu-kung to Pa-ko	70
8. Pa-ko to foot of a great snowy mountain	50
9. From foot of snowy mountain to Lin-tsung-k'a	90

[1] *Kara usu*, "Black River." In Tibetan *Nag ch'u* has the same meaning.
[2] Cf. *infrà*, where this itinerary is given from another source with some detail.

		li
10.	Lin-tsung-k'a to Lan-k'a	50
11.	Lan-k'a to Rétang	80
12.	Rétang by Chia-hsi to Lo-teng	120
13.	Lo-teng to Yü-ku-po	40
14.	Yü-ko-po to Ka-la	120
15.	Ka-la to Ho-lo	50
16.	Ho-lo to Ch'a-t'ang ts'u-ku	70
17.	Ch'a-t'ang ts'u-ku to Réteng	70
18.	Réteng to Mu-ch'ing	90
19.	Mu-ch'ing to Po-lin-pa	80
20.	Po-lin-pa to An-lieh	80
21.	An-lieh to Lakchan	50
	Total number of stages 21, and total distance	1560

Along the whole road there are pestilential vapours. Fuel and forage are scarce. From Lakchan there are four small customs barriers.

From T'ê-pu-t'o-lo-hai to Lakchan there are 14 stages, a total length of over 500 *li*.

From Lakch'a to T'ê-pu-to-lo-hai there are seven stages, of a total length of over 300 *li*.

From Ku-ko-ch'a to Lak'cha there are thirteen stages, covering over 500 *li*.

Along the three routes there are pestilential vapours. Each of the (local) chieftains sends troops to protect these posts.

From Lakchan to Kukach'a there are eight stages, covering over 400 *li*. This post is not garrisoned, but it is patrolled every month.

II. LH'ASA THROUGH THE LINES TO PENGKA-LAMAR.

1.	From Lh'asa by Karpa to Mengu	80
2.	Mengu by Cha-ri chang-mo to Chüeh-chung	80
3.	Chüeh-chung to La-mu	60

		li
4.	La-mu to P'eng-to	80
5.	P'eng-to by Récheng to Chamusang	80
6.	Cha-mu-sang by Bata to Polang-ku	110
7.	Polang-ku by Sam-pa (*i.e.* the bridge) to To-lo-te-pa	100
8.	To-lo-te-pa to the Kara usu (where there is a Daichi)	70
9.	Kara usu to P'ang-mi-ma	60
10.	P'ang-mi-ma to Amdoa	80
11.	Amdoa to T'o-shun-no-wa	60
12.	T'o-shun-no-wa by Hsia-mu nor-ma to T'ur-chü	100
13.	T'ur-chü to Réma lasa	70
14.	Réma lasa to Pa-ssŭ la-mo-ch'i	80
15.	Pa-ssŭ-la-mo-ch'i to Pai-ku-shu-ma	80
16.	Pai-ku-shu-ma to the Pu-ku-chiang (river)	60
17.	The Pu-ku-chiang to Chih-lung	70
18.	Chih-lung to Ch'u-lung	80
19.	Ch'u-lung to P'eng-k'a	60
20.	P'eng-k'a to P'eng-k'a-lamar	50
	Total distance	1510

III. FROM THE TENGRI-NOR THROUGH THE LINES TO THE BARRIER OF SHENG-KEN WU-CHÜEH.

1.	Tengri-nor by Halung to Ya-chiao	100
2.	Ya-chiao by Tsolung-chüeh to Ch'i-ma-to-lung	80
3.	Ch'i-ma-to-lung by Ta hai-tzŭ (or "a big lake") to Pa-no-hsing	90
4.	Pa-no-hsing to Pa-ka ha-li-ch'iu	60
5.	Pa-ka-ha-li-ch'iu to Chi-tu lieh-lu	70
6.	Chi-tu-lieh-lu by La-k'ar-kung-to to Pa-la	110
7.	Pa-la by Cha-mu-ha to Lang-k'a	100
8.	Lang-k'a by the Ta-yen lake to K'a-yü-ha	110
9.	K'a-yü-ha by Hsi-yü-kung-pu to Ha-yü cheng-pu	90
10.	Ha-yü cheng-pu by Ta-tzu o-so to En-ta-ha	90

	li
11. En-ta-ha to Hsing-tzŭ ha-ch'iung . . .	60
12. Hsing-tzŭ ha-ch'iung to Sêr-sung-do . . .	80
13. Sêr-sung-do to Sheng-ken wu-chüeh . . .	50
Total distance	1090

Along the whole route there are pestilential vapours, and fuel and fodder are scarce.

IV. TU-LO-CH'UNG-K'U BY SO-HU-LU TO HSI-NING-FU.

1. Tu-lo-ch'ung-k'u by Wu-tsang to So-hu-lu[1] .	100
2. So-hu-lu to Ch'a-han-pai-sheng	70
3. Ch'a-han-pai-sheng by Pu-lo-ha-shu to Hsia-na-t'u	120
4. Hsia-na-t'u by Pa-ha-hai no-t'u to An-che-ko-t'u	100
5. An-che-ko-t'u to Wu-lang	60
6. Wu-lang across a big mountain to Na-mu han .	60
7. Na-mu-han to Pa-lo-pu-ha	70
8. Pa-lo-pu-ha across a mountain to Mang-na. .	80
9. Mang-na to Lang-an	70
10. Lang-an to Kuei-t'ê ch'eng[2]	80
11. Kuei-t'ê ch'eng by the Nieh ho to Kuo-mi[3] .	60
12. Kuo-mi across a mountain to K'ang-ch'eng-kou .	80
13. K'ang-ch'eng-kou to Chin-lan-men-shen-chung[4] .	50
14. Chin-lan-men-shen-chung to the town of Hsi-ning	60
Total distance	1060

[1] So-hu-lu may possibly be for So-lo-ma, *i.e.* the Yellow River. Horace della Penna (Markham's Tibet, p. 312) speaks of the Zoloma, and Capt. Samuel Turner, *op. cit.* p. 274, refers to this river as Sullum.

[2] Kuei-tê t'ing on the Yellow River, a border post in S.W. Kan-su.

[3] Locally called Kajar, Kashan on our maps; it is N. of Kuei-te. Or else Kuo-mi = Gomi.

[4] In the Nan ch'uan, about two miles E. of Kumbum (T'a-ehr ssŭ).

V. PA-HA-HAI NIU-T'U TO LAKE KOKO-NOR.

	li
1. Pa-ha-hai niu-t'u to Wu-lang-lo-ko . . .	60
2. Wu-lang-lo-ko to Pa-han-t'u-lo-ko . . .	70
3. Pa-han-tu-lo-ko to I-kai-t'u lo-ko . . .	60
4. I-kai-t'u-lo-ko to Ch'a-han lung-mu-han . .	70
5. Ch'a-han-lung-mu-han across the Nieh ho to Ch'a-han-to-hai	60
6. Ch'a-han-to-hai to the Koko-nor	130
Total distance	450

VI. RÉTANG TO HO-CHOU IN KAN-SU.

1. Rétang to Chiang-to	60
2. Chiang-to to Chao-ho-nao	60
3. Chao-ho-nao to To-ti	80
4. To-ti to Hei-tso	50
5. Hei-tso to She-na	80
6. She-na to Sha-ma kuan	80
7. Sha-ma kuan to the town of Ho-chou. . .	70
Total distance[1]	480

II.

ITINERARY FROM HSI-NING FU TO LH'ASA.

(From *Hsi-ning Fu hsin chih* of Liu Hung-hsü.)[2]

150 *li* from Hsi-ning Fu one comes to Sharakuto (*Ho-la-ku-to ying*).

20 *li* across the Jih-yueh shan to Ho-shih-ho shui in the Kokonor country. Here is grass, but no fuel, and both

[1] This and the preceding itinerary are in Western Kan-su.

[2] 劉洪緒 Written in the twenty-seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (A.D. 1759). This road is no longer followed by caravans to or from Lh'asa, except W. of the Dré-ch'u.

Sifan and Kokonor Mongols. Here the road branches into a northern and southern route; after six stages over the northern route or five by the southern, they again meet.

By the northern route:

60 *li* to K'anput'an. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
70 *li* to Alawut'u. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
70 *li* to Hato (? *Ha-t'ao*). Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
50 *li* to W. of Hato pass (*Hsi Ha-t'ao chia*). Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
70 *li* to Muhur. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
60 *li* to Niukotu. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.

By the southern route:

50 *li* from Ho-shih-ho shui to the Bayan nor. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
50 *li* to Ch'ia-pu-ch'ia. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
40 *li* to Sini nor. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
60 *li* to Kunga nor. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
60 *li* to Niukotu, where it joins the northern route.
50 *li* to Shalatu. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
60 *li* to Imatu. Grass, no fuel. Kokonor Mongols.
50 *li* to Tengnurté. Grass, no fuel. Arik Fan-tzŭ.[1]
60 *li* to Holung usu. Grass, no fuel. Arik Fan-tzŭ. Noxious exhalations (*yen-chang*).
70 *li* to Tiehli nor. Grass, no fuel. Arik Fan-tzŭ. *Yen-chang.*
70 *li* to Tieh li bulak. Grass, no fuel. Golok Fan-tzŭ.
60 *li* to Piliutu kou.[2] Grass, no fuel. A hundred families of Golok Fan-tzŭ (*Ko-lung*).
60 *li* to Alungatala River (*ch'uan*). Poison weed. Little water, spare grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south of it are Golok Fan-tzŭ (*Ko-lei Fan-tzŭ*), to the north two commercial agents (*tsonpön*) of the Talé lama.
70 *li* to Kolima[3] river, or Sources of the Yellow River. Grass,

[1] Arik is probably the Mongol Alang, or Areki, S. of the Burhan bota pass in the Ts'aidam.
[2] *Kou* means "ditch, gutter."
[3] Or Soloma.

no fuel. *Yen-chang.* To the north and south of it are *tsonpöns* of the Talé lama.

60 *li* to Gasun-apatu. Grass, no fuel. A hundred families of Ishapao (?) Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to the Jyékonor (*Ch'ieh-ko*). Grass, no fuel. *Yen-chang.* Mongols and Eurching (?) Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Hala huliutai. Grass, no fuel. Mongols and Eurching (or Eurtsing) Fan-tzŭ. *Yen-chang.*

50 *li* to Hala River. Grass, no fuel. To the south are Namts'o Fan-tzŭ (*Nien-mu-tso*); to the north is the Hsing-su hai (*Karmat'ang*). *Yen-chang.*

50 *li* to Ulanteshi (? *Wu-lan huo-li*). Grass sparse, no fuel. To the south are Pieh-li Fan-tzŭ, to the north is the Hsing-su hai. *Yen-chang.*

60 *li* to Alataiji. Grass sparse, no fuel. To the south are Pieh-li-Fan-tzŭ, to the north is the Hsing-su hai. *Yen-chang.*

60 *li* to Lamatolha (*La-ma-to-lo-hai*).[1] Grass, no fuel. To the south are Pieh-li-Fan-tzŭ, to the north is the Hsing-su hai. *Yen-chang.*

50 *li* to Iké bayan hara. Grass, no fuel. Tolo-notu Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to the Uhona pass (*chai*). Grass, no fuel. Tolonotu Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to foot of Bahan Bayen-hara. Grass, no fuel. Nahasio (?) Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Hala holo. Grass, no fuel. Nahosio Fan-tzŭ. *Yen-chang.*

60 *li* to ferry of Kojisai (*Dré ch'u rabden* ?). Grass, no fuel. Fan-tzŭ. From here three roads lead to Lh'asa. The river is here crossed in skin boats, of which there are seven. When the water is low, pack animals can ford the river. All troops going to Lh'asa take the road given below. From Hsi-ning to the Murus river there are thirty stages, or 1710 *li*. Thirteen localities have noxious exhalations (*yen-chang*).

[1] This name, meaning "lama head," must be a common one in the country for bare hills of a rounded form.

50 *li* from Kokosai to Kokotoni. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Inhabited by peaceful (*shoŭ*) Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Ta-hu-t'an (or "rapids of great lake"). Grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south and north of it are peaceful Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Tohuoliutolha. Grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south are Ani daiji's Fan-tzŭ.[1] The road leads north along the course of the Chi-yo (?) river.

50 *li* to Chung-han hata. Grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south are Ani daiji's Fan-tzŭ. Following along the course of the Muru usu.

40 *li* to Dungbula. Grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south of it are Kalchi Fan-tzŭ.

70 *li* to Sekopen (*Ssu-k'o-pen*). Grass. Kalchi Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Hulan nihuo. Grass. Kalchi Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Dolon bakur. Grass. Kalchi Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Buhan niseni. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Kalchi Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Hujionitu. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Kalchi Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Ahotan. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Penba Fan-tzŭ.

40 *li* to Yin-tam. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Penba Fen-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Tieku tolo. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Penba Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Iké nomohan. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Penba Fan-tzŭ.

70 *li* Ssŭhu. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Penba Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Bahan nomohan. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Shorichan jyékung (*Shuo-li chan chieh k'ung*) Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Beihusha. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Shorichan jyé-kung Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Chahan hata p'o-huo. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Shorichan jyé-kung Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Jéhan hata. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Shorichan jyé-kung Fan-tzŭ.

40 *li* to Shago. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Shorichan jyé-kung Fan-tzŭ.

50 *li* to Manja shiri. Grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south and north is Tungbatu. The road leads west.

50 *li* to Chiona nihuoliu. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Hara-us (Nag ch'u) Kanpo Mongols.

[1] Or "Anidaiji" may be the name of a tribe.

60 *li* to the Hara-usu (Nag ch'u). Grass. Hara-usu Kanpo Mongols.

40 *li* to Panti penti. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Kanpo Mongols.

50 li to Halatalo. Grass. Western Kanpo Mongols.

60 *li* to Kuei-tien shila (?). Grass. *Yen-chang.* Kanpo Mongols.

60 *li* to Panilung. Grass. *Yen-chang.* To the south are Yopayo (?) Fan-tzŭ. Going W. by the Tengri (?) nor (T'ien k'ai ?).

40 *li* to Naimansébulaha. Grass. River Yopayo Fan-tzŭ. All to the W. of this place is under the Lh'asa authorities.

50 *li* to Tam. Grass. To the S. are River Yopayo Fan-tzŭ. To the W. Tam Fan-tzŭ; under Lh'asa rule.

50 *li* to Yangala. Grass. *Yen-chang.* Tam Fan-tzŭ.

60 *li* to Rating lamasery (*Lai-ting ssŭ*). Grass scarce, little soil. Tam Mongols.

40 *li* to iron wire (suspension) bridge. Grass scarce. Going S. by a big river (or "the Ta chiang").

50 *li* to Hohala. Grass scarce. To the S. are two rivers' mouths.

50 *li* to Suntung putsung. Grass scarce.

40 *li* to Lang-tang. Grass scarce. Southern Lang-tang Fan-tzŭ and Tung ti-pa ta-ho chia Fan-tzŭ, all of whom are under the rule of Lh'asa.

80 *li* to Lh'asa (*Hsi-ts'ang*). Going E. one has the Ssu-ch'uan high road. To the S. are the Lohua Fan-tzŭ.[1] To the W. is Ulterior Tibet. To the N. is Yang-pa-chan.

From the Murus to Lh'asa there are thirty-seven stages, the total distance is 1960 *li*; twenty-three localities have *yen-chang.* Along the whole route there is water, but nowhere any fuel, save *argal* (*i.e.* dry dung).

From Hsi-ning to Lh'asa there are sixty-seven stages and 3670 *li.*

[1] *i.e.* Mishmis, Abors, Lepchas, etc., between Tibet and India.

III.

ITINERARY FROM LH'ASA TO HSI-NING.

(From *Hsi-chao t'u lüeh*, I.)[1]

Lh'asa.

1. Sa-mu-to ling (or mountain).
2. Ch'ia-li cha-mu.
3. Ch'ia chung.
4. Lun-chu tsung.
5. Sha-lien-to. Before reaching this last place the Cha-la mountain is crossed.
6. P'eng-to. Before reaching it the Ta-lung mountain is crossed. The six preceding localities belong to Lh'asa.
7. Fa-kang t'ung.
8. Ts'o-lo ting.
9. Na-lung ka-ehr-ma. Before arriving here mount Cho-tzŭ is crossed.
10. Chung-la-ku. The four preceding localities belong to the Hu-ch'eng Hutuketu.
11. Ko-wa chu-k'a. Before arriving here the Lang-li mountain is crossed.
12. Cha-mu ch'u-k'a. Before arriving the Yo-k'o ch'u river is crossed.
13. O'-to pu-la-k'o.[2]
14. Ha-la-wu-su. There is a chief of a camp (*ying kuan*).
15. Pa-lu. The Cha ch'u river is crossed before arriving here.
16. Ts'o-ma lá. The To-na river is crossed before reaching it.
17. Ch'a t'sang. The seven preceding stages belong to the Ha-la wu-su (district).
18. Ch'u-na-kan. The Ch'a ts'ang mountain is crossed before arriving.

[1] Also given in *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, IV. p. 7.
[2] *Bulak*, Mongol for "source of river, spring."

19. Su-mu-to. The Ch'ia-pen o-lo mountain is crossed before reaching this place.
20. Hsiang-ti. The Sha-k'o ch'u (river) is crossed before arriving. The three preceding localities belong to the Po-ch'ang (head of a hundred) Kung chu-k'o na-mu chieh (Kon-ch'ok nam-jyé), a ruler of wild tribes subject to Lh'asa.
21. Ch'a ka-ehr pu.
22. P'eng ch'u-k'a.
23. Ni-ku-la.
24. Sok ch'u-k'a.
25. Tang la. The five preceding stations belong to the Po-chang Pi-wu lang ka-ehr, who rules wild tribes subject to Lh'asa.
26. Pi-pa lu yü.
27. Ting-ku ma-li.
28. Pa-ka[1] an-ta-mu.
29. I-k'o an-ta-mu. The four preceding stations are on the pasture lands of Pu-mu pa-ko chieh, a Fan-tzŭ chief under the jurisdiction of Hsi-ning.
30. To-lun pa-t'u-ehr.
31. Mi-to.
32. San-yin ku-pen.
33. Tung-kuo.
34. Na mu-ch'i.
35. Ch'a-ts'ang su-mu-to. The six preceding stages are on the pasture lands of Pi-li lu-wa, a Fan-tzŭ chief under the jurisdiction of Hsi-ning.
36. K'o-k'o sa-li.
37. Chih-k'uei-to.
38. Ch'u-na-kan. The seven branches of the Chih ch'u are crossed before arriving here. This place is also called Ha-tun kuo-lei.
39. Ch'u-ma-ehr.
40. Lieh-pu-la kang.
41. Ssŭ-wu su-mu-to.

[1] *Baga*, in Mongol, means "little"; *Iké*, "big."

42. Ko-pa wen-pu.
43. La-ma lung.
44. Pa-yen ha-la. The nine preceding stations are on the pasture lands of the chief of the Yu-shu Fan-tzŭ and under the jurisdiction of Hsi-ning.
45. Ka-ka.
46. La-ma to-lung-ku.[1]
47. Ka-ta su-ch'ih lao. The sources of the Huang ho are near here.
48. Ka-ehr-ma tang.[2] The four preceding stages are on the pasture lands of the Fan-tzŭ chief Nam-tso To-ma (or To-ma of the Nam-tso), and under the jurisdiction of Hsi-ning.
49. La-ma cho-k'o-cho.
50. Ts'o ni-pa-ehr.
51. La-ni pa-ehr.
52. Cha-k'o ta-ch'ang.
53. Ma-ehr ch'u cha-mu.
54. Li-pu. At T'u-k'o tang it is a level country with much poison weed.[3] Travellers make this stage at night and muzzle their horses.
55. Sha-pa-ehr t'u.[4]
56. Ko-pa-ka chung. The eight preceding localities originally (or have always) belonged to the Pan-ch'en Rinpo-ch'é. They are desert and without human habitations.
57. T'e-men k'u chu.[5] Here one enters the Kokonor (Ch'ing hai) region. There are Mongol guard houses (*k'a fang*).

[1] Probably Lamatolha, S. of Karma-t'ang.

[2] *i.e.* Karma-t'ang (ཀརྨ་མ་ཐང), the "Starry plain," the Odontala of the Mongols.

[3] Li-pu is Shang in S.E. Ts'aidam.

[4] Shabarté is a little Mongol camp north of the Bayan gol, and about 40 miles from the village of Baron.

[5] Probably the Kashu ossu, which flows out of the Timurté range into the Dabesun nor, S. of Dulan-kuo; this village did not exist when this itinerary was written. It was built about forty years ago.

58. Ma-ehr ch'ing la-mi.
59. T'u-lei no-ehr (Dulan nor).
60. A-li t'ang ch'üan (or sources of the A-li).
61. So-ku-la kang.
62. Te-ehr-tun.
63. K'ang-ang la.[1] To reach here the Ya-ma-t'u river is crossed. The seven preceding stages are on the grazing lands of the Ch'ing-hai Dsassak Ch'u-le-ma cha-pu.
64. Sha-la-t'u. To arrive here the Kun-ko-ehr ch'i river is crossed. Belongs to the Ch'a-kan Noméhan.
65. Chu-ehr lang chang-ka. Belongs to the Ch'i-k'o-mo-mu Beileh.
66. Yen-ta-t'u.
67. Ha-t'ao la.
68. Ch'a han o-po.[2] One crosses the Ha-t'ao mountains to arrive here. The five preceding stations and the three following ones are on the pasture lands of the Ch'eng-lei Beileh.
69. Huo-yüeh to-lo-hai.
70. Huo-ehr-t'u.
71. Jih-ya-la shan (Jih-yueh shan ?). The three preceding stations are on the grazing land of Ken-tun Kung (*i.e.* Duke).[3]
72. Ni-ya-mu ch'i. Belongs to the Tung-k'o-ehr Hutuketu.
73. Tung-k'o-ehr (棟 科 爾), also called Tan-ka-ehr (丹 噶 爾).[4] Here one enters China proper (內 地).

[1] A pass over the South Kokonor range into the Buha gol valley.

[2] *Tsahan obo*, in Mongol, "the white *obo*." Obo is a Mongolized Tibetan word, and means "pile of stones." In Tibetan *Do-bong* (རྡོ་བོང), or, according to other authorities, *Do bum* (རྡོ་འབུམ), "a hundred thousand stones," referring to the large number which goes to to make up one of these monuments. I prefer the first etymology. This locality is probably near the N.W. corner of the Kokonor.

[3] Stages 71 and 72 are to be looked for in the Hsi-ning ho valley.

[4] Huc's Tang-keou-Eul, Prjevalsky's Donkir or Tonkir. Horace della Penna (Markham's Tibet, p. 313) calls it Tongor. He also speaks of Kumbum, calling it Kung-bung. Turner, *Embassy to Camp of Teshoo Lama*, p. 459, calls it Coomboo goombaw (*gomba* = lamasery).

The 75 (73) preceding stages have a total length of over 5000 *li*. If rains have made the river very high, there is a by-road from Hsiang-ti (No. 20), *viâ* Mount Tang-la kung, to Ko-ma, 21 (18?) stages in all, to Ch'u-na-kan (No. 38), where it rejoins the high road.

Hsiang-ti.

1. Ko-ma-ehr. Crossing the Tang-kung la mountain. This is called the upper road.
2. Na-mu-ch'i.
3. Mien ch'u k'a.
4. La-tsan. The five[1] preceding stages belong to A-jya tsu-ka-ehr cha-pu-sang, a ruler over wild tribes subject to Lh'asa.
5. Tang ch'u-k'a. To arrive here the Tang-la mountain is crossed.
6. Kang-la ch'u-k'a.
7. Chi ch'u. Also called Ha-tun kuo-le.
8. Li-po. Ferry across the Lu-pu-la pu.
9. Ch'a ch'u-k'a.
10. Mi-to.
11. Ch'a-na kung.
12. Tung-pu-li-yeh.
13. Tung-k'uo. To arrive here the Tam-pa-ni la mountain is crossed.
14. To-ehr.
15. Li-ma-ehr ch'a-tung-han Ch'i-li-ch'ia-mu-na.
16. Se-ku-kuo-mai.
17. Ch'i-hsiung. From Tang ch'u-k'a to this point is an uninhabited waste.
18. Ch'u-na-kan.

[1] Cf. what is said previously about Hsiang-ti.

IV.

ITINERARY FROM PA-KO-LI IN ULTERIOR TIBET TO CHU-LA-PA-LI.

(From *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 38, 39.)

In the eleventh year of Kuang-hsü (1885) the Envoy sent to Tibet for the tea ceremony (in connexion with the Empress's death), having heard that this road was a convenient and short one to return home by, got the following minute information about it. (Note of the author.)

From Pakri, following the river[1] in a southerly direction

60 *li*, one reaches Ka-lin-ka, where there are forty odd families. On the road there are poisonous exhalations; the forests are extremely thick, and the mountain roads amidst a mass of rocks befraught with danger.

15 *li* brings one to the palace of Kuo-teng, rajah of Che-meng-hsiung (*Drémojong*).[2] Here there are ten odd families of Tibetans. Going S.

15 *li*, one comes to Jen-ching-kang (*Rin-ch'en kang*) by a perfectly level road, with a great many trees on the side of it.

Continuing S. along the river, then W. up hill, there is a large pine forest, where travellers pass the night. From this resting place to the top of the range

15 *li*, then down hill.

15 *li* to a place called Kuo-pu, where there is a mud house for travellers to rest in (dak bungalow).

15 *li* over a level road. Then

50 *li* to the other side of a small mountain, then to the top of a mountain

120 odd *li*. The English have built a military road 15 feet broad to this place.

[1] The Ammo ch'u.
[2] *i.e.* Sikkim.

20 *li* down hill to Na-t'ang, where is a travellers' bungalow. Near by are sixty or seventy families of Drukpa.[1]

1 *li* down hill, then along the side of a mountain and 15 *li* to its top. Here there is an *obo*. To the W. of this is also India. The adjacent country to the N. of it is level.

20 *li* down hill one reaches some (or a) bamboo house.

30 *li* more down hill, and one comes to a river which is crossed by a wooden bridge. Here there are forty to fifty families.

3 *li*. Thence down hill one comes to a small stream which is crossed by a wooden bridge.

20 *li* more up hill to the top of a mountain. Down hill

10 *li* to Ch'ü-ho-chan (曲 河 站), where are seven or eight families living in bamboo houses.

2 *li* down hill, and one comes to a large river crossed by a wooden bridge.

10 *li* bring one to a place called To-li-chan (多 里 占), where there are five or six families.

5 *li* to the top of a black mountain, then down hill

20 *li*, to where are some twenty houses.

15 *li* down hill to a big river crossed by a wooden bridge.

20 *li* up hill to a foreign official post, where there is one foreign official and a *t'ung-shih* (interpreter). The goods of all traders are weighed here, but no *likin* is levied. Near the office live four or five families and in the neighbourhood forty or fifty more.

Turning W. when half way up the mountain, one goes

50 *li*, and then reaches Ka-lien lu (噶 連 魯), where there is a station with a foreign official, foreign shops and twenty or thirty families of Hindu traders. All over the mountain there are dwellings.

20 *li* down hill to Li-ni-chü-k'a (裡 尼 去 卡), where is a large river. In summer it has a great deal of poisonous substance in its water. Here there is an

[1] People living in black tents.

iron wire bridge (suspension bridge), in dimensions like the Luting ch'iao.[1] The foreigners have a police guard at the bridge. There are four or five shops with about forty or fifty persons.

51 *li* up hill one meets with tea shrubs and tea houses. There are over 500 families and the newly-built houses are innumerable.

50 *li* around a mountain, and one reaches a place called Tsung-mu-la peng-k'a (宗 木 拉 棒 喀), where live some 400 or 500 families of English and Hindus, and where there are also 300 to 400 Tibetan families. Here is a foreign official's residence. Three roads leave this place, one eastward leads to Tibet, one south to Ka-li-ka-ta (噶 里 噶 達), one west to (To)-Chieh-ling. Before reaching the latter place there is a hill called Chu-la pa-li (珠 拉 巴 里), where is a detachment of 500 foreign soldiers. Up and down this hill, one or two *li* brings one to To-chieh-ling (多 解 嶺). There are 500 or 600 families of foreigners living around Darjeeling and some 500 or 600 families of shop-keepers. The house-building is done by Kuang-tung carpenters, of whom there are 200 odd families. There are also Tibetan carpenters some hundred odd men. To the E. of Darjyeling there are 500 or 600 families of Sikkimese. There is also a Tibetan official and a telegraph line. The English have built a railroad fifteen feet broad.[2] If one had to go on foot from Darjeeling to Calcutta, it would require three months, but by the railroad cars if he leaves one day at eleven o'clock, he reaches his destination the following day at eleven.

[1] See p. 32, in itinerary from Ch'eng-to to Ta-chien-lu.
[2] The road-bed was measured.

V.

ITINERARY FROM LH'ASA TO BHUTAN.

(From *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, IV. 13.)

	li
1. Lh'asa to Yeh-t'ang (Nyer-dam)	70
2. Cha-shih-ts'ai	60
3. Pa-tzŭ	80
(At these three localities there are inhabitants and cultivated ground, corn and willow trees; fuel and fodder are scarce).	
4. Pa-ti	100
(There are inhabitants here and a headman, but little grass and no fuel.)	
5. Lang-ka-tzŭ	70
(There are inhabitants and a headman; no fuel, but fodder.)	
6. Le-lung	110
(But few inhabitants; no fuel, but fodder.)	
7. Lieh-lung[1]	70
(Inhabitants and cultivated ground. A headman, little grass, no fodder.)	
8. Sha-ma-ta[2]	50
(Inhabitants and cultivated ground; no fuel, but fodder.)	
9. Ka-la	60
(Inhabitants and tilled ground; fodder, but no fuel.)	
10. Hsia-la[3]	50
(Inhabitants and cultivated ground; fuel and fodder.)	

[1] S.W. of this point a few miles the road meets that from Shigatsé. See Turner, *op. cit.* p. 220.

[2] Turner's Sumdta, 14 miles from the next station, which he calls Chaloo. See Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 214 and 212.

[3] Turner's Teuna (p. 207, *op. cit.*). He makes it 20 miles from Teuna to Chaloo.

11. Pa-ehr[1] 60
(Few inhabitants; culture; no fuel, but fodder. It belongs to the Ka-pi of Bhutan. At the three localities on the Lh'asa frontier are stationed high Déba, and troops commanded by Ma-pön and Dé-pön.)
12. Hsiang-lang[2] 40
(A mountain is crossed before arriving here. Inhabitants. An earthen wall, storied houses of boards and matting. Fuel, fodder, and water. The fields produce rice. The climate is like that of China. From across the mountains (S. of) Pa-ehr bamboos grow.)
13. Jen-chin-pu[3] 70
14. Tung-ka la 30
(These two localities belong to Hsiang-lang.)
15. La-ma lung[4] 40
(A large lamasery. Hsiang-lang does not extend beyond this point.)
16. Hsi-mu-to[5] 50
(Inhabitants; fuel and fodder. A large lamasery, where resides a high lama, styled the Ch'i-ts'ai ch'i-shu, also called the younger brother of the Noyen lin-chin (Rin-ch'én).)
17. Cha-shih ch'ü-tsung 30
(Habitations; fuel and fodder. A large lamasery, the summer residence of the Noyen Rin-ch'én.[6])

From Lh'asa to Tassisudon there are 17 stages, of a total length of 1040 *li*. Continuing on two days more, one comes

[1] Pari, or Pari djong. It is also called in Chinese works Pa-ko li (帕克哩).
[2] Turner's Sana, 20 miles from Pari. See Turner, *op. cit.* p. 184.
[3] Turner (p. 177) calls it the frontier village of Bhutan Rinjipo, also known as Paro, or Parogong.
[4] Turner (p. 170) refers to a lamasery on the top of Pomala.
[5] Turner's Simtoka, five or six miles S.S.E. of Tassisudon.
[6] The Deb Raja. Noyen is a Mongol title.

to a locality called P'ing-t'ang (坪 湯),[1] which is also a residence of the Noyen Rin-ch'én. As Hsi-mu-to and Tassisudon are cool in summer, he makes them his country residences.

VI.

ITINERARY FROM BAT'ANG VIÂ CHUNG-TIEN (IN YÜN-NAN TO LI-KIANG FU.

(From *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, IV. 14.)

Between these two localities there are two roads:

1°. Leaving Bat'ang one goes W. to Chu-pa-lung, where it crosses the river.[2] Nine stages brings one to A-tun-tzŭ. Ten more stages to Wei-hsi-t'ing. The whole road is outside of the valley of the Chin-sha chiang.

2°. Leaving Bat'ang a road leads S. by Liu-shu, Tsu-tui to Chung-tien t'ing in Yün-nan, the whole road lying in the valley of the Chin-sha chiang. Of late years a number of the stations along this route have been abandoned and become ruined. Travellers this way are few. When one enters the Pi-shun (district), there is an uninterrupted succession of savages and brigands (*chakpa*) of Ch'ien-liang, Fu-ts'ui, Mo-yeh, Hsi-lu, Su-chien. In 1878 (4th K.H.) the *Kung-sheng* Huang-Mou-ts'ai from Chiang-hsi, under instructions from the Governor-general of Ssu-ch'uan to visit India to study that country,[3] reached Bat'ang; but the natives beyond that locality became suspicious and he was unable to enter (Tibet). So he changed his route and took the road by Chung-tien. The Bat'ang T'u-ssŭ (Déba) sent soldiers and a *Ku-tso* (古 操)[4] to escort him.

[1] This is evidently Punakka.

[2] See stage 27, itinerary Ta-chien lu to Lh'asa. The river is the Chin-sha A-tun-tzŭ is the chiang. Aten-tsé of the French missionaries, Atenze of T. T. Cooper. Wei-hsi, the French Ouisi, Cooper's Wei-see foo.

[3] On this mission see what the French missionaries say in Desgodins' Tibet, p. 167.

[4] The *Ku-tso* are body-guards of the Déba; at Ta-chien-lu they are called *Agia*.

Bat'ang. *li*

1. Hsiao Pa-chung 30
   (Stage). The following day one goes due S. to
2. Lin kou 50
   Up a great snowy mountain. Towards dusk one reaches some black tents, where one passes the night. The whole distance of this stage is 70 odd *li* 20
   Along the road there is neither water nor grass. No place where one can stop. The following day one follows down a gorge through a virgin forest, and turning S.E., two wooden bridges are crossed, the left-hand one (over a brook) which meets the rivulet from Pang-ch'a-mu. To
3. Tung-la to 50
   (Stage). There are six or seven stone houses. The following day one follows the rivulet S. down its course. The climate becomes warmer. Along the road there dwell people.
4. Chu-wa-ken, a Nyima lamasery 60
   (Stage). There are 300 odd lamas in the convent, the name of which is Hsi-ching t'ang. The temple of Buddha is rather sombre-looking. The following day one continues down hill to
5. Liu-yü 50
   (Stage). Here the climate is hot, the soil fertile and like that of Bat'ang. Near about it there are a number of villages, in which dwell some 300 odd families, all of which bear the single name of Chieh-ao. The rivulet here turns S.W. and enters the Chin-sha chiang. A small valley leading S. opens on it here. Going to the left, eight stages lead to A-tun-tzŭ. Continuing straight before one, four stages take one to Tê-jung. Going to the right hand and following a little valley, one strikes the road

li

to Chung-tien.[1] The next day along a road lined with stone houses to

6. Jen-tui 30

(Stage). The next day the road leads E. through a dense forest, where it is cold and raw. Passing through a gorge, the road becomes level and the temperature warmer. Again down hill, and entering a pine forest, one turns S.E., and following down a valley, reaches

7. Tsu-tui 100

(Stage). Scattered stone houses, with some sixty odd families. The next day one travels S. along precipitous cliffs and with many dangerous declivities. On arriving at the mouth of the Ko-sha gorge, one sees the Pa-ta-lung river, which comes from a N.E. direction. Its water is a rushing and seething mass. After some *li*, one crosses the river on a plank bridge, and then descends its course some ten *li*. Again crossing the river by a plank bridge, one goes back to its western bank.

8. Ko-kung 90

(Stage). There are a number of stone houses perched on a high slope. The next day one follows the river S. along dangerous slopes to

9. Ch'iu-mai 40

(Stage). The next day one continues to travel S. a little W. to

10. Pang-to 40

(Stage). Here there is a river which comes from the N.E. It is the river of Li-teng san-pa.[2] The next day, continuing along the river, one comes after 30 *li* to Kung-po-hsi, where there are stone houses in which one can stop over night. If the sky remains clear, one can go 30 *li* further on to

[1] Also called Guiédam by the French missionaries.
[2] See Stage 22, Itinerary Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa.

li

11. Kung-ma-tung 60

(Stage). From this point on the people live in tents, but some tens of *li* away from the road. From Tsui-tui to this point the path winds through deep gorges. The next day one goes S. a little E. down hill along the edge of a gorge, and crosses the La-tu river, which receives the Ehr-lang wan ch'u of Li-t'ang,[1] and flows S. At this point it flows into the Pa-ta-lung river. The river is crossed on a board bridge, which is very dangerous and unsteady. Thence going up hill, one comes at the top of a hill to a place called Chia-ch'u, where there are some tens of families of Man-tzŭ living on the edge of the cliff.

12. Chia-ch'u.

(Stage). The next day one follows the river S. up and down hill and through hollows. A small Man-tzŭ village is passed, in which there are a number of stone houses. At Ch'a-la-sui one has to clamber through a rocky gorge over bridges hanging along its side. After passing this gorge one comes in sight of the Chin-sha chiang. All the mountains have a rounded contour (lit. the outline of water). From this point one takes once more an easterly course. The N. side of the river (*i.e.* the Chin-sha) is the boundary of Wei-hsi t'ing. Following along the flank of a succession of mountains by precipices of immense depth, one descends to the Chin-sha Chiang. The whole distance travelled this day is over 60 *li*.

13. A-lu ying 60

(Stage). The next day one follows the river S E. over a mountainous country, the road widening down hill 30 *li* to Pen-tzŭ-nan, where

[1] See Stage 22, Itinerary Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa.

li

there is a ferry boat. On the S. bank there are a few straggling stone houses, and a military post under a sergeant (*Pa-ts'ung*). Going W. one reaches A-tun-tzŭ in three stages; T'a-ch'eng Kuan is two stages to the E. On the N. bank there is only one Man-tzŭ family; this is within the jurisdiction of Bat'ang. Pushing on the same day 20 *li* further, one comes to

14. Tu-chao-pi 50

(Stage). The next day following the Chiang S.E. for 35 *li* up and down hill, one reaches a bridge where there is a guard. It is called the K'eng chung bridge station and is under a corporal (*Wai-wei*); it marks the boundary of Ch'uan-tien-fen. A river comes (into the Chiang) here from the N.E.; it is as deep and broad as the Pa-ta-lung river. Thence one goes due E. out of sight of the Chin-sha chiang. 5 *li* more to

15. Nung-pa ch'ing to 40

(Stage). Here there are several tens of families. Two small rivers meet here, and flow into the river,[1] which from this point flows south into the Chin-sha chiang. The next day one continues due E. 30 *li* up an acclivity one passes Chi-fang t'ang (or post station). Thence 20 *li* or more to

16. Ni-ch'i. 50

(Stage). The country is an open plateau. There are 200 odd families living here. The next day one must be up by candle light and travel 20 *li* before daylight. Then 20 *li* more to Chang-to-kuei, where everything becomes Chinese. Here the country is level. Some 40 *li* further on one crosses a lake some tens of *li* broad. The total distance travelled this day is over . . . 80

[1] *i.e.* into the one which flows into the Chin-sha chiang at K'eng-chung ch'iao.

li

17. Chung-tien[1]

(Stage). From Bat'ang to Chung-tien there are 18 (17) stages, of a total length of over 1000 *li*. Chung-tien is administered by an assistant sub-prefect of aborigines (*Fu I-tung-chih*). Its area is over 300 *li*. The language of the native population differs from that of Tibet. They follow both the red and the yellow lamaist sects (*i.e.* Nyima and Gélupa). Outside of the town there is a large lamasery with over 2000 lamas. Leaving Chung-tien, one travels for 80 *li* through a thickly-populated country to

19. Hsiao Chung-tien 80

(Stage). The next day, having travelled 30 odd *li* before daylight, one goes on 10 *li* further up hill to the top of a mountain, where it is cold and very windy. Then down hill 60 *li*, the road tortuous and dangerous. The total distance is 100 *li*. In spring and summer during the rainy season, when there are freshets, one takes a by-road from Hsiao Chung-tien which leads to Ch'u-sha, where it rejoins the main road. It is some 30 *li* longer, the road mostly broad and level.

20. Ko-liu-wan 100

(Stage). The next day, following the Chin-sha chiang S.E., the temperature becomes hot; the soil is fertile, and produces much rice. The total length of this stage is 90

21. Wu-chu.

(Stage). Here there are resident several hundred families. The next day one continues to follow the Chiang S.E. 60 *li*. Its waters form eddies and whirlpools which look like rugged hills. The tiled roofs of the village cottages, which

[1] T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 392, speaks of it as Tsung-tain. He did not visit it.

li

follow each other in uninterrupted succession, remind one of Chiang-nan.

22. Leng-tu shui 60
(Stage). The next day the route is E. a little S. After 50 *li* one comes to Mu-pi-wan, where there is a ferry across the Chiang

23. A-hsi-hsün 50
(Stage). The boundary of Li-kiang Hsien (district). The next day 30 *li* over an uneven country to La-shih-pa, where there is a lake some tens of *li* broad. Then across two hills and a big dyke (*pa*), altogether . . . 70

24. Li-kang Fu.
(Stage). From Chung-tien to this place there are six days' journey, a total distance of 450 *li*. It was called Li-chün-wan in olden times, and was the chief city of the six Mo-so states, etc.

VII.

PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF THE PROVINCES OF WU, TSANG, AND K'AMS.

(From the *Ta Ch'ing i tung chih*.)

Province of Wu (Anterior Tibet).

S.E. 38 *li* Tê-tsou[1] (Dé-chen dzong).
„ 220 „ Nai-pu-tung (Naya puté).
„ 251 „ Sang-li (Samyé ?).
„ 260 „ Chui-chia-pu leng (Ch'ü-jyal p'odrang).
„ 310 „ Yeh-ehr-ku (Yerku).
„ 337 „ Ta-ko-tsa (Taktsé).
„ 340 „ Tse-ku (Tsari ?).
„ 440 „ Maa-tso-na (Mantsona).

[1] Distances and bearings taken from Lh'asa. The words in parentheses give the probable Tibetan pronunciation of the names.

S.E. 440 *li* La-pa-sui (Lupasé).
„ 544 „ Cha-mu-ta (Gyam-ta).
„ 560 „ Ta-la-ma tsung (Tarma dzong ?)
„ 620 „ Shih (?)-lu-na-mu-chi-ya.
„ 640 „ Shuo-ka (Shoka).
„ 750 „ Chu-mu-tsung (Chumo dzong).
„ 770 „ Tung-shun (Tong shon).
„ 870 „ Tse-pu-la kang (Tsépula k'ang).
„ 960 „ Na.
„ 980 „ Chi-ni (Chuné).
S.W. 30 „ Je-ka-niu (Ré'ka yul).
„ 115 „ Chu-shu-ehr (Ch'u-shu).
„ 140 „ Je-ka-ehr kung ka-ehr[1] (Gang-ka dzong).
„ 330 „ Yüeh-chi ya-lai-tsa (Yalatsé).
„ 430 „ To-tsung (Do-dzong).
W. 25 „ Tung kuo-ehr (Dung kar).
N.E. 92 „ Pa-ta-ko tsa (Pataktsé).
„ 120 „ Lun-chu-pu tsung (Lentsupu dzong).
„ 150 „ Hei-lu kung ka (Halo kung ka).
„ 170 „ Peng-to (P'ön du).

Province of Tsang (Ulterior Tibet).

E. 191 *li*[2] Lua pen (Rin-pön dzong).
„ 250 „ Na-ka-la tse (Nakltsé).
„ 320 „ Pai-ti (Pedi dzong).
S.E. 70 „ Pai-na-mu (Pénam dzong).
„ 120 „ Chi-yang tse (Gyantsé dzong).[3]
„ 370 „ Wu-yu-ko ling ha (Wuyüko linga).
S.W. 410 „ Ting-chi ya (Ting-shé-ya).
„ 540 „ Lo-hsi ka-ehr (Loshéka).
„ 640 „ Pa-ehr tsung (Pari dzong).
„ 723 „ Pen-su-ko-ling (Pensuko ling).
„ 740 „ Chi lung (Chib-lung).

[1] The largest town in Wu, adds the text, having over 10,000 families. It is on the Tsang-po ch'u.
[2] Distances and bearings from Shigatsé.
[3] It has a population of over 30,000 families and over 7500 soldiers, says the text. This must be the population of the whole district.

S.W. 760 *li* A-li tsung (Naring ?).
„ 780 „ Fan ya-la-mu tsung (Huayalamon).
N.W. 110 „ Shang-na-mu ling (Shangnamai ling).
„ 810 „ Chang-la-tse (Shanglatsé).
„ 907 „ Chang-a-pu-lin (Shanpu ling).

PROVINCE OF K'AMS (ANTERIOR TIBET).

S.W. 600 *li*[1] Chung tsung.
N.W. 350 „ Tsa-tso-li kang.
„ 600 „ Po.
„ 800 „ Su-ehr mang.
„ 850 „ Lo-lung tsung (Lh'o-rong dzong).
„ 950 „ Chieh-tung (Chetang).
„ 1155 „ Shu-pan-to (Shobando).
„ 1220 „ Ta-ehr tsung (Tar dzong).
„ 1220 „ So-ko tsung (Sokutsé).
N. 280 „ Kun-cho-ko tsung[2] (Kunjo dzong).
N.E. 300 „ Lit'ang.

[1] Distances and bearings from Bat'ang.
[2] Or Kon-ch'ok dzong (?).

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF TIBET AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

The *Chih kung chih t'u*[1] contains very careful reproductions of the strange costumes of the vassal tribes which come with tribute to Court. The glory of the reigning dynasty is as great as that of Yao and Shun, and there is no locality however remote which does not seek the Sovereign-ruler's presence. The characteristics and outward appearance (of each of our tributaries) are now all well known, and fully recorded, and the descriptions are not confined to vague portraitures, and to notices on the curiosities of land and water, but set forth exactly the produces of the soil.

PEOPLE OF TA-CHIEN-LU.

Ta-chien-lu during the T'ang dynasty belonged to T'u-fan. In the Yüan period six (five?) *An-fu-(shih)-ssŭ* were established (*i.e.* the country was divided into six, etc.); Tiao-men, Yü-t'ung, Li-ya, Chang-ho-hsi and Ning-yüan. Since the days of the Ming dynasty, when the T'u-ssŭ of Chang-ho-hsi, Yüan-yo-cheng La-wa-meng came to Court bearing tribute, they have been ever more delighted with the growing virtue of our august Sovereigns, and they are now most devotedly attached to the customs of our country.

The native officials' clothes and hats are made after the Chinese pattern, and on festive occasions, or when calling

[1] 皇清職貢圖 in Nine Books, compiled by a number of prominent officials, under an imperial order, dated 1701, contains pictures and short descriptions of all the nations and tribes of Eastern Asia, and also of quite a number of European nations.

on Chinese officials, their headmen wear *ch'u-ba* of dragon-embroidered satin with high collars, small sleeves and no flaps. On ordinary occasions they wear a plain satin or pulo *ch'u-ba*.[1] All their hats come from Central Tibet. In winter their hats are of brocaded satin with a border of fox or lynx fur, flat tops, a trimming of silk braid, either broad or narrow, and with flaps on both sides. In summer they wear a cotton hat, edged with dragon-embroidered satin or a bit of brocaded stuff. They also wear a silk fringe and a bit of otter fur on top of them. By their left side hangs a short knife; they wear leather boots, called in Tibetan *lh'am* (*k'ang*), and they moreover carry (at their belt) a pouch, a bowl and such like things. In their left ear they hang a bit of red coral or a dark blue turquoise.

From Ta-chien-lu to Ho-k'ou, all the Fan people wear white felt,[2] wool or coarse pulo *ch'u-ba* and short jackets of pulo. In winter they wear caps of long fur, and in summer silk hats. They also wear in the left ear zinc or iron ear-rings. They wear leather boots or else they go barefooted.

Well-educated persons carry in their belts a small iron case in which are bamboo pens; it is connected with a small copper or lacquered box for liquid ink. When they want to write, they dip their pen in the ink, then take a piece of skin or paper which they put on the ground and line by making folds in it. Then they put it on their knee and write in horizontal lines from left to right.[3]

The Tibetan (*Man*) women's mode of dressing the hair consists in parting it in the middle and making two plaits tied together with a red *k'atag* on the crown of the head. Between (the plaits) they wear a silver plaque,[4] and add

[1] *Ch'u-ba* is the Tibetan name for a long loose gown, closely resembling the Chinese *pao-tzŭ*. In Turki *juba* is a fur robe. The garment and the name are in general use in Central Asia and also in Russia. See Bellew, *Kashmir* and *Kashghar*, p. 271, and R. D. Shaw, *Vocabulary of the Turki Language*, p. 90. It is variously pronounced *chuba*, *juba*, or *chogha* in Asia, and *shuba*, or *shubka*, in Russia.

[2] It is not felt, but a coarse undyed woollen stuff called *lawa*.

[3] This is also an exact description of the writing utensils and mode of using them throughout Tibet.

[4] This plaque or disk is variously called *pongyü*, *kor-kor*, or *chir-chir* (*kyir-kyir*) in Western Tibet.

coral, turquoises, amber, silver coins and mother-of-pearl which hang down behind like a tuft. Their undergarment is a short sleeveless jacket, the outer ones a square shawl and a plaited skirt. On their feet they also wear *lham* (*k'ang*). All rich women wear a big leather belt on which are stitched pearls (or beads) and other jewels.

The merchants of Ta-chien-lu are obliged to take in their service native women, whom they call *sha-pao*[1] (沙 鴇). They sell their goods for them, and (the merchants) follow their *sha-bo's* advice as to the price of goods. They act as brokers, and also, as a matter of course, look after all the household work.

The people live in houses called (in Chinese) *tiao-lou* (碉樓), but there are also many one-storied houses at present. The *P'ien hai* (篇 海)[2] says, "A *tiao-lou* is a stone house, the walls of which are like those of a pagoda. The inhabitants go up and down by means of a strong ladder, and they defend them (or can defend them) with guns and cannon." Now in these Tibetan houses the sleeping apartment, the kitchen, the stabling for dirty cattle, are all in one (room), or divided off according to the size of the house.

They drink milk, tea, barley wine (*ch'ang*), and eat *tsamba*, beef and mutton, tsamba being made of parched barley. Their religion is the Buddhist. When they are ill, they do not take medicines, but call in lamas, light butter lamps, burn incense sticks, which they stick in water,[3] and invoke the gods. When they die, their bodies are simply thrown in the water, burnt, or else fed to vultures and dogs.

They are fond of dancing, singing, and masquerading. Thus some ten or more women, with round (flat) white cotton caps

[1] *Shabo* is an eastern Tibetan word, meaning "friend." The Chinese characters, here used phonetically, mean "sand bustard." *Lao pao-tzŭ* means "a procuress," because, says Wells Williams, s.v. *Pao*, the hen *pao* is said to breed with any other kind of bird. This is a specimen of Chinese wit at the expense of foreigners and their languages.

[2] This is probably the 詳 校 篇 海, a dictionary published in 1717. I cannot, however, find in my copy of this work the quotation given in the text. The text shows that Tibetan houses were designed with a view to defence.

[3] To divine what will be the termination of the disease.

which look like targets, and many-coloured clothes, holding each other by the hand, form a circle. Then they jump about and sing in chorus, keeping such measure that each note is perfectly distinguishable. So we see that different lands have the same amusement. During the last month of the year and at all their different feasts they indulge in this amusement.

From Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa—though widely separated—the people everywhere are but little different in character, and their customs, and the colour of their clothing, present great similarities and but unimportant differences.

People of Lit'ang.

Lit'ang is near Ta-chien-lu, and its fashions are influenced by this. The native officials' clothes and hats are made like those of China. The headmen wear *ch'u-ba* of pulo or fine cloth. All those west of Chung-tu[1] usually wear black felt hats, trimmed with sheep's skin, dyed yellow, and with a fringe of hemp thread dyed red. On their feet they wear double-seamed *l'ham* (*i.e.* boots).

The women have a great deal of hair, which they generally make into little plaits rolled up in a knot on the top of their heads, and they ornament (their heads) with quantities of trinkets. But they are not given to cleanliness, and are a sorry lot to look at.

People of Bat'ang.

The clothes and hats of the native officials (*T'u-ssŭ*) and headmen of Bat'ang are like those of Ta-chien-lu. The common people generally wear cotton clothes, either black or blue. Their hats, boots and socks are like the Chinese. They do not shave their heads; but when the hair gets long, they cut it with scissors.

[1] 中渡, "the middle ford"; Nya ch'u k'a, on the Nya lung ch'u.

The women wear clothes like those worn at Ta-chien-lu, only they have no head ornaments, and their boots differ a little, having red or green legs.

The headmen of Chiang-k'a wear a gold brocade edging[1] on their hats and have straw soled boots. The women wear their hair in an eight-plait tress arranged like a crown. In their ears they hang big round *na-lung* (*i.e.* earrings) with red beads hanging from them and a fringe of thread.

The headmen of Shobando (*Shih-pan-kou*) do not shave their heads. They wear *ch'u-ba*. They are a fierce-looking people, and when they go out they carry bows and arrows, guns and lances, and go in parties. If they suddenly see some one, they fire off blank charges so as to frighten him away. Their women do their hair in two plaits, and generally wear white *ch'u-ba*.

The Fan of Atsu, from west of Draya (*Cha-ya*), wear white felt hats and dark blue *ch'u-ba*. Their women wear one plait hanging down their backs; in other respects their ornaments are similar to those of Ta-chien-lu.

People of Ch'amdo and Lh'ari.

From Ch'amdo to Lh'ari is all a part of the province of Ts'ang. The chief and second Hutuketu of Ch'amdo wear peaked yellow felt hats, violet woollen *zän*,[2] and leather boots.

From Ssŭ-tun-i to Lingdo (*Ning-to*) the native headmen and people wear clothing and ornaments similar to those of Central Tibet. The unmarried women of Ch'amdo are the only ones who do not wear their hair dressed, but when they marry they make two flowers of coral resembling daisies, and these they wear on their temples. When they get married, they do not visit their parents (in their house) after the ceremony, but the visit they make them after their nuptials

[1] 金段 *Chin-chia*, this may be the expression which has become in Tibetan *kincob* or *chincob*.

[2] *Zän* is the name of the garment which lamas wear thrown over the left shoulder and around the body, leaving the right arm bare; it resembles the Scotch plaid.

consists in stopping outside the door and there drinking tea and wine. The mothers return the visit in like fashion. In fact women do not like, as a general rule, to go into houses, holding it unlucky.

(The people) carefully avoid going inside the lamaseries. If a lama commits adultery, the two culprits are flayed, then their skins are stuffed with grass and thrown into the water, or exposed in a desert place to serve as an example. This custom does not prevail in Ts'ang.

When the Lh'ari women marry, they make a kind of mirror-shaped plaque, set with turquoises, which they wear on the forehead, and call a *yü-lao*.[1] On the back of their heads they wear a hat called *djamo* (*che loh*), and they stick a needle called *ya-lung* in their hair.

The people of Lu-ma-ling are a bold, sturdy lot, who know how to trade. The women, when unmarried, let their hair hang loose; but when married, they part it in two plaits, which they bind on the top of their heads with a red *k'atag*. In other respects their dress does not differ from that of the Ts'ang people.

As to Central Tibet, every man from the Talé lama and Pan-ch'en erdeni down wears a high-crowned, red-fringed felt hat, a high collared gown, and a string of prayer beads around the neck.

The women either wear their hair flowing down the back, or plaited, or else they wear a red felt summer hat. They know how to make fine felt, which they work up into boots. The women wear ornaments similar to those of Ta-chien-lu, and according to their fortunes. This is a tolerably full description of their customs.

People of Mngari-k'asum.

Mngari-k'asum (*A-li ka-ehr-tu*) is west of Ts'ang and conterminous with Trashil'unpo and San-sang of Ulterior

[1] This may possibly be གཡུ་ལུང་ *yu lung*, "turquoise plaque," but I do not know if such an expression exists.

Tibet. Formerly it was the abode of Jyur-méd ts'é-tän[1] (*Chu-ehr-ma-te ts'é teng*), eldest son of P'olonä.

The people of this country wear a hat over a foot high made of fine brocaded satin; it has a narrow rim and on the top is sewn a tassel. The hats of the women have pearls (or beads) hung all around them, so that they look like crowns; on top these hats are round. Their gowns have round collars and full sleeves, and they wear a long skirt.

When any one meets an official, he does not take off his hat, but lifts his right hand to his head, and repeats the three *hum* (吽 者 三).[2]

People of the Muru-ussu Country.

The Muru-ussu country is North of Ts'ang and borders on Hsi-ning to the East. It embraces the Tam and Horpa (*Ta-mu Huo-ehr*) tribes, and both peoples live mixed together.

The people's clothes and hats are similar to those of the Mongols. The women wear white sheep skin or fox skin hats. They fasten to the end of their plaits mother-of-pearl beads and big and little copper rings, which reach down to their ankles and jingle as they walk. They wear *ch'u-ba* and belts with mother-of-pearl fastened on them. Their boots are of leather with leather edging, but there are also other styles.

[1] འགྱུར་མེད་ཚེ་བརྟན་. He filled the offices of Djassak and first-class Tai-chi. He was later on made Pu-kuo kung (Duke), and Hu-kuo kung. *Hsi-yü-tung wen chih*, B. 24, p. 7. "Alikartu used to form under former dynasties part of Nepal, but since the time of the Ming dynasty (fourteenth century) it has paid tribute to China."—*Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, III. 33. The tribute-bearers brought to Court gold pagodas (*t'a*), Buddhist books, wonderfully fine horses, and native products.—*Ibid.*

[2] The Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen lu, II. 5, from which the text is taken, has, "When a person meets a superior, he does not take off his hat and put out his tongue, but bows down very low and with the middle finger of the right hand raised before the mouth he repeats the three syllables *om*, *ma*, *hum* (口奄 嘛 吽 者 三). This is an abbreviated form of *om mani padmé hum*.

People of Butan.

The Bruk-pa (*Pu-lu k'o-pa*) country is S.W. of Ts'ang. It used to form part of Western India (西 梵 國).[1] In the tenth year of Yung-cheng (1732) it gave in its allegiance (to China).

The climate of this country is hot, and the products of the soil the same as in China.[2] Travelling thence southward for over a month, one reaches the confines of India.

The people wrap their heads in white cotton stuff like a turban. They wear gowns with high collars, a white shawl over their shoulders and carry in their hands prayer beads.

The women wear their hair in a knot behind and have silk caps. They wear red gowns, flowered skirts and black shawls over their shoulders. They hang on their heads beads, and a fringe falls down all around them to their shoulders.

The greater part of this people belong to the red-capped lamaist sect (*Nyimapà*), and read the Buddhist works.

Savage Tribes of Lho-yul.

The country of the Lho-yul (貉 獞) savages is several thousand *li* south of Lh'asa.[3] The people are called Lh'o-

[1] *Hsi fan kuo* was a vague designation used in old times for all West of China.

[2] *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 33, has it that Butan has over 40,000 families. The whole country contains 50 towns, big and little, and 25,000 lamas. *Bruk-pa* (འབྲུག་པ), or Lh'o bruk-pa, is still the name generally used in Tibet to designate Butan. Mr. B. H. Hodgson calls the Butanese Lhopa, or Dukpa; the latter word is the Brukpa of the Tibetans, which is colloquially pronounced Drukpa, or Drupa. Bhutan is under the supervision of the Chinese Amban in Tibet, as may be seen by reference to the *Peking Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1885.

[3] Huang Mou-tsai, as quoted in the *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, VIII. p. 38 *et sq.*, says: "From E. of Assam (亞 山) to W. of Bat'ang, from S. of Kiang-ka (Gartok) to N. of T'eng-yueh (Momien) live, cut off from all the rest of the world, savage tribes, who, from remotest antiquity, have but rarely been visited." Further on he states that the natives of Assam are Lao-kuo-pa savages, but believe in the Buddhist faith. Butan, he says, also has Lao-yü savages along

k'a (老卡). It is a savage and brutish race, which knows nothing of the Buddhist faith. The people make gashes in their lips and daub the cuts with different colours. They are fond of eating salt. They do not cultivate the soil, neither do they weave, and they live in caves. Their winter garments are made of the skins of wild beasts and their summer ones of leaves. They hunt wild animals, but they also catch all kinds of noxious insects for food.

All criminals in Central Tibet (*i.e.* kingdom of Lh'asa) are sent to the country of the Lh'o-pa of the Nu chiang,[1] who devour them.

People of Nepal.

Bal-po[2] (巴勒布), or Peur-bu (巴爾布), also called Pieh-pang (別蚌), is south-west of Tibet, and reaches to Nielam. It requires about two months to reach this country (from Lh'asa). The climate is hot and the country produces rice, cereals, vegetables, fruit, silk, cotton, and peacocks.

Formerly there were three *Khans*, the Pu-yen han (Pātan rajah), the Yeh-leng han (Bhātgāon rajah ?), the Ku-ku-mu han (Kat'mandu rajah). In the tenth year of Yung-cheng

its northern and eastern border. They are also called *Atsara* (Sanskrit Raksha), hence, probably, the charge of cannibalism. Abbé Desgodins identifies the Lhopa (ལྷོ་པ), or Slopa (སྲོ་པ), with the Abors. According to Huang Mou-tsai the name extends to the Lissus, Mishmis, Lepchas, etc., all called Mon (མོན) by the Tibetans.

[1] See *infrà*, the chapter on the rivers of Tibet.

[2] Bal-po is the name usually given Nepal by Tibetans; the Newārs are known to them as *Peurbu* (cf. Parbatiya), and the Gorkhas as *Gurka*. Pieh-pang may be intended to transcribe the word *Pātan*. Some Chinese authors call the Gorkhas Guk'ar, but the name is usually transcribed Kuo-erh-ka (廓爾喀). The name of the capital, Kat'mandu, is transcribed (*Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, VIII. p. 4) *Chia-te-man-tu* (加得曼都), but more frequently it is called *Yang-pu* (陽布), possibly intended to transcribe the name Yindési, which is one of the names of this city. The *Sheng-wu-chi*, V. p. 30, gives Nepal a population of 54,000 families, an estimate much too low.

(1732)[1] Nepal sent an embassy to the Imperial Resident at Lh'asa with a petition to the Emperor that it might become a tributary of the Empire. Later on the Gorkhas united all the tribes under their rule.

In the fifty-third year of Ch'ien-lung (1788[2]) La-na pa-tu-erh (Ran Bahādur Sah), chief of the Gorkhas, having acted dishonestly in his dealings with Tibet, the Imperial troops advanced to a great distance and subdued the rebel barbarians, who sent a chief called Ma-mu-sayeh with tribute to Court.

This people shave (part of) their heads and plait the hair from one temple to the other in a little queue. They have short beards like the Mohammedans of Hsi-ning (in Kan-su). To beautify themselves they trace two vertical lines with white clay on their foreheads, and make a red circle between the eyebrows; they also have gold or pearl earrings. They wear cotton turbans; those of poor people are white, those of the rich red;[3] their gowns are either black (or blue) or white, and have narrow sleeves. They use cotton girdles and wear pointed leather boots. They carry a short sheath-knife (*kukhri*) shaped like an ox-horn, and on their arms they have a leather shield varnished black. The roads in this country are so narrow that three persons can scarcely walk abreast.

The women let their hair hang naturally, go bare-footed, and wear gold or silver rings in their noses. They comb their hair, bathe themselves, and are exceedingly neat.

[1] The year of Jaya-prakāsa Malla's accession to the throne.—D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 223.

[2] In 1788 the Gorkhas invaded Sikkim; it was only in 1791 that they marched to Shigatsé and plundered the town. For a full account of this war, see *Kuo-erh-ka chi-lüeh*, Bk. I., *Sheng-wu-chi*, V., and D. Wright, *op. cit.* p. 260. The Ma-mu-sa-yeh of the text may be Wright's Mantrinayak Damodar, who was one of the Gorkha generals during the war.

[3] 纏頭 *Ch'an-t'ou*, "turbaned," is the name given in Kan-su and Chinese Turkestan to all turbaned Mohammedans. In Tibet the name *K'a-ch'é* (ཁ་ཆེ), originally only used to designate Kashmiris, has come to be used for all bearded and turbaned foreigners, more especially Mohammedans.

Withal (the Nepalese) are an intractable people, and are now again in open rebellion, and have invaded Tibetan soil. But they look with trembling towards the Emperor, for well they know that his troops can exterminate rebels at a single blow, annex their country to our frontiers, and make them our borderers for evermore.

And so I have endeavoured to carefully state everything relating to this country that I have been able to get together.

Appendix on Pai-mu-jung (白 木 戎).

Travelling some ten days from Sair in Ulterior Tibet one comes to the border of Pai-mu jung (Sikkim).[1] Travelling

[1] Perhaps it would be more accurate to transcribe Pai-mu jung by Pari djong. The *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, VIII. p. 40, says that this country is N. of Sikkim (西 金), and is also called Chupar (失 巴 爾). Bk. 10 of the same work says that the Tso-mu-lang (Tumlung, in Sikkim) tribe touches it to the W. But from the details in the text we must understand, I believe, the whole country occupied by the Lepchas. The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 33, has the following: "After ten days of steady travel from Sair, in Ulterior Tibet, one reaches the frontier of Pai-mu jung. Travelling steadily for 18 days in a S.W. direction from Sair brings one to the Tsung-li kou pass, where there is a precipice, probably 150 feet deep, which travellers cross by means of wooden ladders, and which is impassable for horses. Eight days from this point is Pai-mu-jung. The prince's residence is called Lao-ting-tsai, and all the houses (in it) are on top of a mountain. The former prince was Ch'a-to-lang-chieh, who was succeeded by his son, Chü-mieh lang-chieh. The people are divided into clans. . . . There are two large convents, the one Ta-shi-ting (Tassiding, see Hooker, *Himalayan Journal*, vol. i. pp. 297, 307), and the other Pai-ma-yang-ching (Pemiongchi, *ibid.* p. 307); there are also 15 small temples. . . . . This country confines on Butan (to the E.), S. of it is Wai-wu-tzŭ, W. Nepal, N. Jih-kai-tzŭ, of Ulterior Tibet. Travelling from Pai-mu-jung 10 days one comes to the Hsiao Hsi-t'ien (小 西 天), the residence of Prince Pu-erh-ya. Thence by ship on the sea for a fortnight to Ta Hsi-t'ien (Persia), which Chang-chien of the Han is said to have visited." The above points to Sikkim as the country described; but there are so many contradictory statements in the different notices concerning this region, arising undoubtedly from the author's knowledge only being hearsay, that it is useless to attempt to locate this region too closely. At the present day Sikkim is called Che-meng-hsiung (哲 孟 雄), the native name being Dré-mo-jong (འབྲས་མོ་ཇོང་). The Chinese first established posts in Sikkim after the Gorkha War of 1792, and at the instance of the Rajah. See Turner, *Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama*, p. 441.

thence for over a fortnight one comes to the Tsung-li k'ou mountain (Kongra la ?), which is so steep that travellers have to cross it by means of wooden ladders. A few days more of travel bring one to the inhabited pasture lands of Pai-mu-jung.

A number of different tribes live here; one called Meng (蒙 *i.e.* the Moing valley); the people wear cotton garments and do not follow the Buddhist faith. Another called Tsung (總) paint multicoloured figures on their faces in youth. In another tribe, called Na-ang (納昂 Rangri?) neither the men nor the women wear any clothing, but envelope the lower part of their bodies in a strip of white cotton; they sleep with a billet of wood as a pillow. Another tribe is called Jeng-sa (Rang ch'u valley?); the men wear short gowns reaching to the knee, the women a cotton petticoat, but they have no clothes to cover the shoulders, but all the people of Pai-mu-jung wear Tibetan silk shawls over their shoulders. When they go about they all carry a knife in their girdle.

The climate is hot, the products of the country comprise rice, vegetables, barley, beans, wheat, fruit, large *chü-shao* sheep (猪 羚 羊),[1] big-eared swine and goats, also wild elephants, unicorns, etc.

(This country) is also called Hsiao Hsi-t'ien,[2] it is conterminous with Chu-pa (Chumbi valley?), and the Pa-lung river (Par ch'u) forms the frontier between them.

Going east from Pai-mu-jung one comes to Chu-pa, south to Wu-pen-tzŭ[3] of India (西 天),[4] west to Nepal and north to Jih-kai-tzŭ,[5] which is the name of a mountain behind the

[1] These characters are used phonetically, they have no meaning in Chinese.

[2] Cf. what is said in the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu* in note on the preceding page, which does not at all agree with the text, which, however, is probably correct in this particular.

[3] Wai-wu-tzŭ in the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, as quoted in note on the preceding page.

[4] Hindustan is frequently called *Eu-na-te-ko-ko kuo* in Chinese. This is the Mongol *Enedkek* or *Hendkek*, a word frequently used by Tibetans who have travelled in Mongolia, or China. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 288, took this word (which he transcribes *Eunani*) to mean Egypt, and indulged in some speculation on the strength of it.

[5] 日 盖 子 looks as if it might be used to transcribe the name Shigatsé, or possibly Bogle's Rinjaitzay Castle, N. of Trashil'unpo two days' journey.

lamasery of Trashil'unpo. Travelling west from Pai-mu-jung some ten days, one comes to the border of Hsiao Hsi-t'ien (Nepal?), thence some ten days and one comes to (the city of) Hsiao Hsi-t'ien. Travelling thence by boat for about a fortnight one comes to Ta Hsi-t'ien.[1]

[1] 大西天 is used in Chinese historical works to designate Persia, but it cannot have that meaning here. The text probably alludes to navigating the Ganges. The contradictions in the text arise from this work being purely a compilation.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. II.—*The "Kistna Alphabet."* By ROBERT SEWELL, M.C.S., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

AT p. 139 of the second edition of Professor Carl Faulmann's "*Das Buch der Schrift*" will be found a table called the "Kistna" Alphabet. It is supposed to be a special form of writing adopted on and about the Kṛishṇā River on the East coast of India, a part of the country noted for centuries as a centre of religious and secular education, and at the present day recognized as the tract where the purest form of the Telugu language is spoken. The date of the alphabet is not given, but I am prepared to prove that the table is copied from one made out by Prinsep, and published in 1837; that this was itself taken from a single inscription which was engraved some time between the sixth and eighth or ninth centuries A.D.; and that the special forms given are erroneous and misleading, being copied, not from the original inscription, but from a drawing. In the original the drawing of the inscription itself is fairly accurate, so far as the shape of the letters is concerned, but the alphabet compiled from it by Prinsep is far from satisfactory.

I will begin by a notice of Professor Faulmann's book. This was first published at the instance of the Directors of the Imperial and State Printing Press at Vienna, who were anxious that their institution should have the reputation of possessing a very rich treasury of types, and, further, that a new set of tables of alphabets in use throughout the world should be issued to continue the work begun by Auer and Ballhorn, and bring up the study of epigraphy to the level of the more advanced scientific requirements of the day. In obedience to his instructions Professor Faulmann undertook to prepare a new epigraphical work, and seems to have

spared no pains to attain completeness and accuracy. He published "*Das Buch der Schrift*" in 1878, and in the preface to the first edition begs for the assistance of all persons interested in the subject, so as to insure absolute accuracy in subsequent editions. The book speaks for itself. It is a most praiseworthy attempt, but the subject is too wide for the entire avoidance of errors, and I feel sure that the author will be the first to welcome such a criticism as the present, which aims at proving the inaccuracy, not of his own work, but merely of the source from which he drew a portion of his information.

The second edition was issued at Vienna about Easter, 1880, and my "Report on the Amarāvati Tope" was not published till afterwards, so that the remarks made in the latter work on the "Kistna" alphabet, as it appeared in Professor Faulmann's first edition, were too late to be of use for the second. I believe that no third edition has been issued, and moreover it is unlikely that my report has ever reached the author. The error, therefore, will remain uncorrected unless attention be called to it.

I have stated above that Professor Faulmann has taken his alphabet from a printed table of letters copied from a drawing. This is a table published by H. T. Prinsep at p. 223 of vol. vi. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, and headed "Comparison of the Amarāvati character with other alphabets." That this statement is correct must first be proved, and fortunately for my argument the proof is easy.

To begin with, the forms of the letters are in many instances given both by Prinsep and Professor Faulmann with a peculiar and wholly unnatural squareness which does not exist in any of the numerous Eastern Chalukyan[1] inscriptions with which I am acquainted. Very noticeable in this respect are the forms for *ng* or the guttural *n* (*ṅ*), *ch* the soft palatal aspirate, *ḍ* the cerebral consonant, *p*, *ph*,

[1] The alphabet is an alphabet in use generally among the educated classes living under the dominion of the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas (A.D. 605–1023), part of whose territories lay on the Kṛishṇā river.

and perhaps more remarkable than any, *f* and *l*. Owing to better printing and clearer type the squareness is more distinctly brought out in "*Das Buch der Schrift*" than in Prinsep's tables. Next, several mistakes made by Prinsep, owing to want of knowledge of the alphabet employed, are reproduced by Professor Faulmann. With regard to the guttural *ṅa*, a form is given by Prinsep and retained by Faulmann, apparently copied from the second letter in the tenth line of the accompanying inscription, which however is not *ṅa* at all, but *ṭa*. Prinsep's *ja* has a totally erroneous form of attachment of the upper right-hand stroke to the main part of the letter, such as does not appear in the original, and is due to bad copying. The second letter of the fifth line of the inscription, the sixth of the tenth line, and the first of the sixteenth, prove this to be the case. Professor Faulmann has repeated Prinsep's error. A simple semicircular form is given by Prinsep as the equivalent of the cerebral letter *ṭa*, and a circular character expresses the cerebral aspirated sound *ṭha*, and though the compiler stamped these letters as doubtful by adding after each a note of interrogation, Professor Faulmann has copied them without any such qualification. Each is wrong. The true character for *ṭa* may be gathered from the syllable *ṭe*, the first of the seventh line of the inscription, and the true form of *ṭha* from the fifth syllable from the end of the fourth line. One of the most striking errors common both to Prinsep and Faulmann is the form of the cerebral nasal, *ṇ*. It is simply the left half of the true character. The full form will be clearly seen in the second letter of the second line, where it stands by itself with no added vowel stroke. Curiously enough, Prinsep's translator, the Rev. W. Yates, read the character correctly, as is proved by his transliteration into the Devanagari character appended to the facsimile in Prinsep's article, and yet in preparing the alphabet Prinsep himself seems to have cut the letter in half. The reproduction of this mistake in Professor Faulmann's alphabet would alone be almost sufficient to prove its origin. The forms for the dentals *ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and in short almost all the letters represented

in the two tables, have peculiarities common to both Prinsep and Faulmann, the mistakes of the former being reproduced by the latter, and sometimes in an exaggerated form. It would be easy to multiply individual instances: but I think I have said enough to prove my point, namely, that Professor Faulmann is indebted to Prinsep's table of 1837, and *only* to that table, for his "Kistna" alphabet; and if I can show conclusively that Prinsep's forms are wrong, and that they are taken from an inscription which differs in no way from other inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas of about the same date, I think it will be admitted that this alphabet, as a special Kṛishṇā alphabet, ought to be expunged from "*Das Buch der Schrift*," or at least that it wants considerable alteration.

It would take me too long to enter into a complete discussion as to the state of the palæography of the whole of India at the period in question, and I must content myself with assertions which may seem dogmatic, but which will, I feel sure, receive the acceptance of all the best Oriental scholars of the day. The Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang, who travelled in India and resided there many years, in the first half of the seventh century, declares that in his day only one form of character, was used, all over India, and modern research has proved the correctness of his statement. It was after his time that the one universal form of letters began gradually to assume different characteristics in different parts of the country, which finally resulted in the numerous alphabets now to be found in India. The Devanagari is only one of these later forms. The modern Telugu character is another, Canarese a third, Gujarati a fourth, and so on, the alphabets now used in such widely separated countries as Thibet, Burmah, and Ceylon being all modifications of the same. After the seventh century the alphabets in common use in that part of the peninsula of India governed by the Chalukyan dynasties began to assume slightly different forms in the west and east, owing to the division in A.D. 605 of the sovereignty between the Eastern Chalukya and the Western

Chalukya kings. In the west the characters began to be slightly sloped, while in the east they retained their severely upright form. This was not improbably due to the traditions and qualities of the leaders of education in the two tracts, the Easterns, whose religious institutions clustered about the old seats of learning on the Kṛishṇā River, being more conservative in their tendencies than the active and restless races of the Dakhan. It was the Western Chalukyas who pushed forward their conquests so relentlessly, perpetually raiding and fighting, conquering and being conquered in turn by their neighbours, the Pallavas and Cholas of the south. The Eastern Chalukyas appear to have generally remained peaceful within their own territories, confining their energies to religious practices and patronage of the fine arts. Though their principal seats of learning lay on the Kṛishṇā River, the same form of character for their inscriptions and writings appears to have been in use over all their wide domains. Prinsep christened his alphabet the "Kistna" alphabet only because he took it from an inscription found at Amarāvati, which is situated on that river. A better title would be the "Eastern Chalukya" alphabet.

The story of this engraved slab is given by him in full in the article referred to in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837. The great Tope at Amarāvati was then but little known. Colonel Mackenzie, its first European discoverer, had worked long and patiently there during the years 1816 and 1817,[1] and had prepared many volumes containing drawings of sculptured slabs and copies of inscriptions, and ten of these volumes were in 1837 lying in the library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, but public attention had been but little directed to the subject. Prinsep writes: "In the library of the Asiatic Society are ten manuscript volumes of drawings of sculpture, images, architecture, and inscriptions, forming part of the celebrated

[1] He had first seen the remains of the structure in 1797. The marbles now on the grand staircase of the British Museum were mostly brought to England by the late Sir Walter Elliot, after his excavations in 1845.

collection of the late Colonel Mackenzie.[1] The greater portion of these are as yet unknown and undescribed. None of the series, as far as we can ascertain, have been published, nor are we aware of any attempt having been made to decipher the inscriptions. . . . As a specimen of the contents of these curious volumes, Capt. Cunningham has kindly favoured me with the two lithographs numbered as Plates X. and XI. He has selected the two longest inscriptions from the volume, No. 18, entitled 'Antiquities at *Amarāvati*,' . . . ." Plate X. represents the smaller, and Plate XI. the larger of the two inscribed stones. The former appears to have been part of an octagonal pillar, and is of extreme importance as apparently containing the name of a sovereign. Plate XI. depicted a flat slab with a long inscription of twenty lines, the lower portion broken off. It stood exactly at the north point of the circular structure. While examining, in the year 1879, all available materials necessary for the preparation of my report on the Amarāvati Tope I found, in his volume of drawings now in the India Office Library, the following manuscript note by Colonel Mackenzie himself, dated April 7th, 1817: "Including the inscription eleven stones of Dipauldina[2] were delivered into the charge of Major Cotgrave at Masulapatam, of which number seven have been sent round to Calcutta. The remaining four—two of which consist of pillars with lions and figures numbered in my sketch 3 and 4 of loose stones, a circular stone with beautiful sculptures No. 55, and the large inscription stone, a facsimile of which was sent some time during last year." The sentence ends off thus unfinished, and it is not stated where the four stones were. Comparison of drawings and original marbles, however, proves that one of the two pillars is in England at the British Museum. It is depicted in the late Mr.

[1] Where are they now? I know of only one volume in the India Office Library. In 1841 several Amarāvati slabs, including probably the smaller of the two inscribed stones noted by Mackenzie (see p. 19 of my *Report on the Amarāvati Tope*) were at Calcutta, and yet I have never been able to trace the existence at Calcutta at the present day of either the marbles or the volumes of drawings.—R. S.

[2] Alluding to the name given in the locality to the Tope at Amarāvati, viz. *dipâl-dinna*, "mound of lights."

Fergusson's elevation in Plate lxxv. of his "*Tree and Serpent Worship.*" I was thus led to believe that the large inscription stone might also be in England, though it had disappeared, and that the seven others, probably including the smaller of Prinsep's inscribed slabs, had gone to Calcutta. This last has, however, never been found. And that Prinsep never saw either may be inferred from his expression that the facsimiles were lithographed from the "contents of the volume," as well as from the certainty that he had never seen the longer one, for he goes on to write, "The second inscription, occupying the two sides of Plate XI.,[1] is altogether of a different class," and, commenting on the apparent existence in Madras of a certain Report, adds, "This would, doubtless, afford all the requisite information respecting the discovery and position of the fragment were the report in our possession; but it seems to have been sent to England with the bulk of the manuscripts, and thence probably it has found its way to Madras. . . . . The stone is *noted down* as 5 feet long by 17 inches in width." Further proof, if such be needed, is afforded, first by the fact that Prinsep, who was not likely to be deceived in such matters if he could judge for himself, believed that each line of the inscription was in itself complete, whereas the slab has actually been split lengthwise so that the right-hand portion (and Dr. Eggeling thinks[2] perhaps the greater portion) of each line has disappeared; and secondly by the fact that though the form of characters is well imitated, the copy is in many respects careless and incomplete. For instance, in line 10 the whole of the large subscribed character under the third syllable from the left is altogether omitted. Prinsep would have avoided such an error as this, had the stone been lying before him.

This, then, is sufficient to establish the fact that Prinsep's lithograph was prepared from a hand-copy made by one of

[1] This is the one from which the alphabet was composed, and is the larger of the two inscribed slabs under discussion.—R.S.

[2] Letter quoted in my "Report," etc., p. 66. Prinsep's translator, the Rev. W. Yates, gave a complete transcript in the Devanagari character, and a translation which was of course entirely inaccurate.

Mackenzie's clerks, and of course the alphabet was compiled from this copy, and not from the original.

I had for several years been aware of the deficiencies and errors caused in this case by dependence on a copyist, and had always been on the look-out for this lost marble in the hope of being able to do some service to the cause of palæographic science by pointing out the instability of the basis on which Prinsep had constructed his "Kistna alphabet," when luckily in 1880 I stumbled across the very slab lying in the British Museum. Mr. Franks had been good enough to allow me to go carefully over the Amaravāti marbles, which had then been just moved from the India Musem in South Kensington to the British Museum, and were lying in a shed outside the walls. They had not been arranged, and were lying in rows one in front of another, and while looking them over and discussing with Mr. Franks the best arrangements for their proper display in the building, my eye caught the first line of an inscribed stone just appearing above the rest at the far end of the shed,[1] and I knew that I had had the good fortune to discover this lost slab, lost for sixty-three years, and was at last in a position to prove the truth of what I had always been persuaded, namely, that Prinsep's "Kistna alphabet" was derived from a bad copy of an ordinary Eastern Chalukyan inscription of about the eighth century. Accordingly I had a most careful mechanical reproduction made by Mr. Griggs from a photograph of the original slab, and printed it in my Report (to face p. 63) with a note on the subject. This is now reproduced here (see Plate), and for comparison is appended the "Kistna" alphabet under discussion. It will be seen that the forms widely differ. The generally square type of character given in the tables does not appear, and the original is in the character well known to palæographists as a transitional form between the Asoka and modern alphabets. It is exactly of the type seen on all copper-plates of the period, only possessing the upright form characteristic of the Eastern as compared with the

[1] I was informed that it has found its way to the British Museum, not from the collection in South Kensington, but from the India Office Stores.—R.S.

INSCRIPTION STONE

17 Inches.

FAULMANN'S (KISTNA) ALPHABET.

ꦄ	a
ꦅ	ā
ꦆ	i
ꦏ	ka
ꦐ	kha
ꦑ	ga
ꦒ	gha
ꦓ	ṅa
ꦔ	tsa
ꦕ	dla
ꦖ	ña
ꦗ	ṭa
ꦘ	ṭha
ꦙ	ḍa
ꦚ	dha
ꦛ	ṭha
ꦜ	da
ꦝ	dha
ꦞ	na
ꦟ	pa
ꦠ	pha
ꦡ	ba
ꦢ	bha
ꦣ	ma
ꦤ	ya
ꦥ	ra
ꦦ	la
ꦧ	va
ꦨ	sa
ꦩ	śa
ꦪ	ba
ꦫ	ba

PLATE TO ART. II. IN J.R.A.S., JAN. 1891.

Western inscriptions of the Peninsula. It may well be taken as the basis for an alphabet of the Lower (not Upper) Kṛishṇā, and might be called "Eastern Chalukyan." Dr. Burnell's "South-Indian Palæography," which contains four Eastern Chalukyan alphabets and four Vengi and Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions in facsimile, dated in the fourth, seventh, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, may with great advantage be consulted in reference to this question. The slab itself stands on the principal staircase of the British Museum.

I am not in a position personally to examine the correctness of Prinsep's so-called "Nerbudda" alphabet, which has also been copied by Professor Faulmann, but if its square individuality rests on so slender a basis as the former's "Kistna" alphabet, both should be expunged for ever from all works on epigraphy, and new types chosen from the numerous facsimiles and mechanical reproductions published in the last twenty years.

ART. III.—*On some Cuneiform Inscriptions of Sennacherib and Aššurnaṣirpal.* By S. ARTHUR STRONG.

I.

THE following inscription, or rather group of three independent inscriptions, is on a tablet of clay numbered K 1280 in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. The tablet measures $4\frac{11}{16}$ by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 257). The obverse contains an inscription of nine lines complete in itself, the reverse two inscriptions of three and six lines respectively, which are separated by a line of division, and a single group of three characters appears on the edge. The texts are clearly written in characters which for the most part present the Assyrian form, though some, as, for instance, *zu* in the first and *riš* in the third line of the third inscription, are purely Babylonian.

It is probable, as Mr. Pinches was the first to point out (P.S.B.A. 1881, p. 44), that the inscriptions are drafts or copies of three epigraphs, such as usually accompany and explain the principal scenes on monumental bas-reliefs.

The subject of the second (*b*) is a scene from the first campaign of Sennacherib, namely, the flight of Merodach-baladan from Babylon, whither it is clear that he must have retreated after the battle at Kiš, only to quit it again in haste shortly before the triumphal entry of Sennacherib (*Taylor Cylinder*, I. 19–26).

The difficulty of determining precisely to what the third inscription (*c*) refers is complicated by the fact that, as Tiele has shown, there were two princes named Šuzubu, one a Babylonian (*mâr Bâbili*), the other a Chaldæan (*Kal-da-ai*), each of whom attained the sovereignty of Babylon by illegitimate means. Both were overthrown in battle by Sennacherib, and both transported to Assyria (*Babylonian Chronicle*, B. III. 5, 22, 23; *Bavian Inscription*, 46).

Šuzubu the Babylonian assumed the official name Nergal-ušezib, while the Chaldæan styled himself Mušezib-marduk (*Babylonian Chronicle*, B. *l.c.*). The event recorded in our inscription, which might well have happened to either or both, is one about which the annals are silent. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 138) and Tiele (*Geschichte*, II. 301) read in the present text an allusion to the overthrow of Šuzubu the Babylonian, accomplished by Sennacherib at the close of his sixth campaign (*Taylor Cylinder*, IV. 35–40), while Winckler believes *šarru im-gi* to have been the Chaldæan, whom he calls by a slip of the pen Nergal-ušezib (*Untersuchungen*, p. 50). The evidence is not full or precise enough to enable us to conclude one way or another; but it may be noted that the words of our inscription *mur-ba-šu ta-ḫâ-zi-ia im-ḳú-su-ma* (line 2) look as if the scribe had had in his mind or before his eyes the phrase *mur-ba-šu ta-ḫâ-zi-ia ili-šu im-ḳut-ma* (*Taylor Cylinder*, III. 47), in which we have an undoubted reference to Šuzubu the Chaldæan. In any case the use made by Winckler of the present text in support of his theory that *im-gi* means Karduniaš is illegitimate. See below s.v. *im-gi*.

The subject of the first text (*a*) is clearly a mountain expedition; but when we come to inquire 'where?' or 'against whom?' we are confronted by the expression *Bît-ru-bat*, which from its position in the text is doubtless an indication of place, but, as it stands, is isolated and unintelligible. On turning, however, to the annals of Sennacherib, we find the record of one campaign, the circumstances of which stand out in striking resemblance to the description in our text—the campaign, namely, against the Kaššî and the Iasubigallâ (*Taylor Cylinder*, I. 63–II. 7). These were tribes of semi-barbarous mountaineers, who possessed indeed three strongholds besides smaller settlements, but who seem for the most part to have dwelt in tents. Protected by the inaccessibility of their country, they had escaped making submission to the Babylonian kings, and it is probable that their plundering incursions were a standing menace to the South-Eastern borders of the Empire. Sennacherib con-

ducted the campaign in person, and from his account we gain a vivid impression of the difficulties of the ground. "Among lofty wooded mountains, in difficult country, I rode on horseback, and the chariot of my feet I caused to be dragged up with cords; a steep place I clambered up on foot like a wild ox" (*Taylor Cylinder*, I. 66).

The three strongholds of the mountaineers, called respectively[1] Bît-kilamzaḫ, Bît-kubatti and Ḫardišpi, were besieged and taken.

Now an easy amendment of the (somewhat defaced) second character of *Bît-ru-bat*—the change, namely, of *ru* into [2] *ku*—would give *Bît-kubat*, which might be regarded as an abbreviation of *Bît-kubatti* similar to Meluḫḫa by the side of Êmê-luḫḫa. And in this way the subject of our text is at once explained as a scene from Sennacherib's expedition against the strongholds of the Kaššî.

But I think that it is possible to go yet a step further in the process of identification. Sennacherib tells us that, after capturing the strongholds of the mountaineers and burning their tents, he made Bît-kilamzaḫ into a stronger fortress than before, and peopled it with prisoners taken in former campaigns. But the Kaššî and the Iasubigallâ he brought down from the mountains whither they had fled, and established them in Bît-kubatti and Ḫardišpi. He then concludes his account thus:—

"I caused a tablet to be prepared; I caused the victory which my hands had gained over them to be written thereon, and in the midst of the town I set it up" (*Taylor Cylinder*, ii. 4).

It is not expressly stated in which of the three towns the tablet was set up, but we may safely assume that either Bît-kubatti or Ḫardišpi is meant, seeing that the memorial of a local victory would have had little significance for strangers,

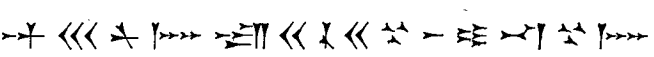
[1] That is if we suppose with Tiele (*Geschichte*, ii. 287) that the towns in question were named after Semitic founders. Otherwise it is possible that the reading should be Ê-kilamzaḫ, Ê-kubatti. See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 124.

[2] So the word is always written on the Cylinder.

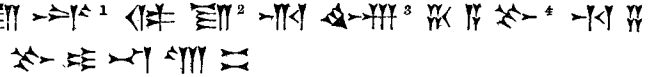
with whom, as we have seen, Bît-kilamzaḫ was peopled. And, this being so, I think it is not too rash to assume that in the text before us we have a copy or a draft of the very inscription erected.

The texts have already been published in 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,' vol. iii. Plate 4, No. 4; but what follows is an attempt at an amended edition. The variations from the published text which I have introduced are simple restorations of the plain readings of the original, except in lines 2, 8 and 10 of the first inscription, where the amendments *šariḫḫa*, *lâ ub-la* and *Bît-kubat* are conjectural. For the translator the chief difficulty lies in the first inscription; and I am far from confident that my efforts have removed all its obscurities. It is possible, indeed, that we have here to deal with what was originally the work of an incompetent hand—*eine mangelhafte Schülerkopie*, as Tiele calls it.

(*a.*)

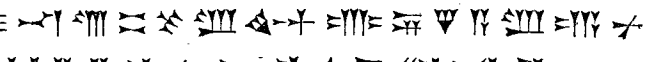
1. 

2.

3. 

4.

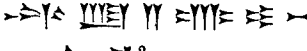
5.

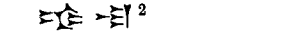
6. 

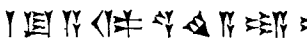
[1] W.A.I. [2] W.A.I. [3] W.A.I. [4] W.A.I.

[5] W.A.I. [6] W.A.I. [7] W.A.I. omits.

7.

8. 

9. 

10. 

Transliteration.

1. Sin-aḫî-irba šar kiššati šar Aššur
   Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria,
   i-na šadî dan-nû-ti
   in mountains mighty,

2. ša bal-ṭi ša-ri-iḫ-ḫa a-bu ḫu-ṣa-bu i-na lib-bi
   of which life (and) growth reeds (and) herbage in the midst

3. la-aš-šû-ni gu-up-ni dan-nû-ti ša e-'-ri
   have not (and) the strong vines, of which thickets

4. i-na lib-bi še-ru-'-û-ni ša-a-ru dan-nu
   in the midst grow, a strong wind

5. ḳa-ai-ma-nu i-na bir-tu-uš-šu-nu ina a-lâ-ku
   continual in their midst in going

6. lâ i-par-ra-as i-na ša-ka-a-ni ša ma-dak-ti-ia
   cuts not off, in the accomplishment of my slaughtering—

7. bal-ṭu šânu-u i-na libbi-šu maš-ka-na lâ ub-la
   alive another in the midst of it a station brings not—

8. ana-ku a-di ummânâti-ia
   I with my troops
   u-sa-am-ri-iṣ ina muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu
   discomfited (them) over them

9. ar-ti-di
   I trampled.

10. Bît-Ku-bat.

[1] W.A.I. [2] W.A.I. [3] W.A.I. omits. [4] W.A.I.

Translation.

Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, in the mighty mountains, in the midst whereof no reeds or herbage have life and growth, and the strong vines grow in the thickets in the midst, (where) a mighty wind incessantly blows without ceasing, in the accomplishment of my slaughtering, where no other man alive has established himself, I with my troops discomfited them, over them I trampled.

NOTES.

2. *šarḫḫa* I connect with *šarâḫu*, which appears to mean 'to be strong, to expand.' Cf. W.A.I. iii. 3, 41, *u-šar-riḫ ili mah-ri-e*, 'I strengthened (it) more than before'; also, the Arabic شَرْخٌ 'increase, offspring, brood.'

abu, 'reeds.' Cf. Arab. أَبَاءٌ 'reed,' أَبَاءٌ 'reeds'; Heb. אֲבֶה, Job ix. 26, with Gesenius's note.

ḫuṣabu, 'herbage.' Cf. *ḫiṣbu*, 'fullness,' from the same root, and Arab. خِصْبٌ 'abundance of herbage.' It is possible, however, that the word may mean some kind of *reed*. Cf. W.A.I. iv. 16, 62, *Ki-ma ḫa-aṣ-bi li-par-ri-ru* (*šu*), 'like a reed may they break him in two.' Mr. Strassmaier in his transcript of a part of this text reads doubtfully *ḫuzamu*, A.V. p. 434.

3. *gupni*, 'vines.' Cf. Heb. גֶּפֶן 'vine,' Arab. جَفْنٌ.

e-'-ri, 'thickets.' Cf. Heb. יַעַר 'densa arborum.'

4. *šeru'ūni*. For the meaning 'grow' cf. Heb. שָׁרַע 'he put forth, stretched out;' Arab. شرع which in the fourth form أَشْرَعَ means, of a plant or of herbage, 'it became full-grown'; شُرَاعٌ 'a plant full-grown.' For the form (3. pl. permansive) see Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar, § 109.

5. *ḳaimanu*, 'continual.' Cf. W.A.I. i. 24, 26, *Aššur-nâṣir-aplu šarru ša ta-na-ta-šu da-na-a-nu ḳa-ia-ma-nu*, 'Aššur-nâṣir-pal, the king whose fame and power are everlasting.' Cf. Heb. קוּם '*surgere, stare*,' Chald. קַיָּם 'standing for ever.'

6. *lâ iparras*, lit. 'cuts not,' *i.e.* 'without interruption, unceasingly.' Cf. the English use of 'to break off' in the sense of 'to cease.'

madakti, 'slaughtering,' from the root *dâku*, 'to kill.' Cf. Heb. דוך, '*tundere, contundere*,' Arab. دوك; مِدَاكٌ 'a stone upon which something is crushed or pounded;' also Shalmaneser II., *Obelisk*, 151, *ina Kina-lu-a maḫâz šarrû-ti-šu ma-dak-tu iš-kun*, 'in Kinalua his chief city I made a massacre.'

7. *ubla*. I owe the suggestion of this amendment to Prof. Sayce. 𒁀𒄿 has apparently been misread by the scribe, in one case as 𒁀𒌋𒄿, in the other as 𒁀𒌋𒄿. For the form *ubla* (for *ubila*) cf. Sargon (Layard, 33, 11), *ša Ki-ak-ki šar Ta-ba-li a-na maḫâzi-šu Aššur ub-lam-ma*, 'who Kiakki, king of Tabal, to his city Aššur brought'; and Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 92.

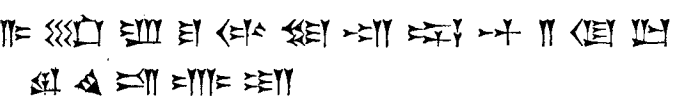
8. *usamriṣ*, instead of *ušamriṣ*, III. i. from *marâṣu*, 'to feel ill,' Arab. مرض; hence lit. 'I caused to feel ill, I smote with weakness.' The substitution of *s* for *š* seems to have been a feature of the language of every-day life. It is not uncommon in Babylonian and Assyrian letters, and its prevalence in the great inscription of Aššurnâṣirpal may perhaps, as Delitzsch suggests (*Assyrian Grammar*, § 51), be regarded as an indication that the language of the inscription is the language of the people.

(*b.*)

1. 𒀀 𒁀𒀀 𒂍𒀀 𒌋𒌋 𒁀𒀀 𒄑𒄑 𒀀 𒌋𒌋[1] 𒁀𒀀 𒂍𒌋𒌋𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋

2. 𒁀𒅆 𒅗𒀀 𒁀𒂍𒌋𒀀 𒄑𒌋𒀀 𒁀𒌋𒀀 𒉡 𒄿 𒉡[2] 𒀀𒄑 𒁀𒀀 𒀀 𒁀 𒉡 𒅗𒀀 𒁀𒅆 𒀀

[1] W.A.I. 𒌋𒌋 [2] W.A.I. 𒄿

3. 

Transliteration.

1. Marduk-aplu-iddin-na šar Kar-dun-ia-aš
   Merodachbaladan king of Karduniaš

2. ti-ib tahâzi-ia e-dur-ma ṣu-bâ-tu bê-lû-ti-.u
   the approach of my battle feared and the robe of his lordship

3. u-šar-riṭ-ma ul-tu Bâb-ili ur-ru-ḫi-iš uṣi.
   rent and from Babylon hastily went.

Translation.

Merodachbaladan, king of Karduniaš, the approach of my onset feared; his royal robe he rent, and from Babylon hastily fled.

NOTES.

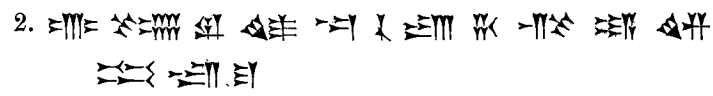
1. *Karduniaš* is here used in its original sense as equivalent to the Babylonian *mât Kaldi* or Chaldæa. As a rule, however, it denotes Babylon in Assyrian inscriptions. See Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 52 (note), 135–6; and Tiele, *Geschichte*, i. pp. 78–80.

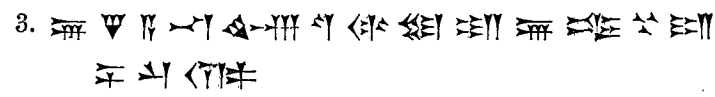
3. *ušarriṭ*, preterite II. from *šarâṭu*, not *ušaršid* as read by Strassmaier, A.V. p. 921. Cf. the behaviour of 'Darius great and good' at the battle of Issus, as described by Arrian, *de expeditione Alexandri*, ii. 11, τὸ μὲν ἅρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ τὸν κάνδυν ἐκδύς.

Bâbili. The expression for Babylon in this text is peculiar in that is followed by the sign of the dual. If we suppose that the *two* gods (Merodach and Nebo) are intended, we must read *Bâb-ilan* (see W.A.I. iii. 68, 2, and Pinches in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, i. 55). It is more probable, however, that the expression refers to the two Babylons, *i.e.* Babylon and Borsippa.

(*c.*)

1.

2. 

3. 

4.

5.

6.

Transliteration.

1. Šu-zu-bu šarru IM GI ša šarru-ut
   Šuzubu the king self-raised who the kingship of
   Bâb-ili ra-mâ-nu-uš
   Babylon to himself

2. u-tir-ru mur-ba-šu ta-ḫâ-zi-ia
   had brought back the stroke of my battle
   im-ḳu-su-ma
   fell upon him and

3. ir-ša-a na-aḫ-tû ul-tu ṣi-ir sisî
   he had an overthrow from the back of the horse
   ḳaḳ-ḳa-riš
   on the ground

4. im-ḳu-ut
   he fell.

5. (mât) Šumêr

6. (mât) Êmê-luḫ-ḫa

[1] W.A.I. . [2] W.A.I. . [3] W.A.I. .

Translation.

Šuzubu, the self-raised king, who the kingdom of Babylon himself had usurped, the stroke of my onset fell upon him, and he was overthrown; from the back of his horse on the earth he fell.

NOTES.

1. IM GI as an epithet of a king occurs also in the Babylonian Chronicle discovered and edited (T.S.B.A. iii. pp. 361–79) by George Smith, col. v. 4, and in the so-called synchronous history, col. iii. 33 (W.A.I. ii. 65, 56b). In the latter place the tablet is broken, and only and a fragment of the following character remain. Winckler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 50) and Scheil (*Salmanasar*, p. 80) would restore *im-gi-da*, and appeal to the present text of Sennacherib, on the original of which, however, I see not *da*, but *ša*. I therefore conclude provisionally that the expression, whatever it may mean, is of one form, namely, *im-gi*. With regard to the meaning, Smith explains it as equivalent to '*raman kinu*, "self-raised,"' that is, of one who attained the kingship irregularly, by revolt or usurpation. This rendering is—if not placed beyond a doubt—at least shown to be possible by the following passages of bilingual texts: W.A.I. ii. 15, 31a,

(*mu-kin šam-e u irṣi-tim*). Winckler, however, asserts that 'es ist nämlich durch eine reihe von stellen sicher, dass *im. gi.* oder, wie es sonst geschrieben wird *im. gi. da*, dessen lesung unbekannt ist, das Kaldi-land bezeichnet' (*Untersuchungen*, p. 50). And he adduces the fact that Šuzubu, whom we know from the annals of Sennacherib (iii. 45) to have been a Chaldæan (*Kal-da-ai*), is called in the present text '*sar im-gi-da*.' But in the first place there were two princes named Šuzubu, one a Chaldæan, and the other a Babylonian; and it is by no means certain that the Šuzubu of our text is the former; on the contrary, both Tiele and Delitzsch suppose him to be the latter. And, in the second place, even supposing that the identification of our Šuzubu with the Chaldæan of that name were certain, the equation *im-gi* (for *im-gi-da* is nothing but a mistake for *im-gi ša*) = *mât Kaldi* = *Karduniaš* is a mere inference from an asserted matter of fact, and rests upon no such basis of positive evidence as supports the equation *im-gi* = '*self-raised*,' which also involves a matter of fact, and one upon which the annals of Sennacherib lay as much stress as upon the former. For, besides the obscure expression *ša la i-šu-u bir-ki* (col. v. 9), which—if Bezold's tentative rendering 'who had no pedigree' be accepted—would show Šuzubu to have been an upstart, the following passage (col. v. 17, 18) exhibits in the clearest light the irregular manner of his elevation to the throne: *amilûti Bâbilu a-na la si-ma-ti-šu i-na kussî u-šê-ši-bu-šu bê-lu-ut Šumêri u Akkadî u-šad-gi-lu pa-ni-šu*, 'the men of Babylon unlawfully (without his proper insignia?) upon the throne seated him; the lordship of Šumir and Akkad they entrusted to him.'

The evidence of the second case—that of Marduk-bêl-usâti—affords even less support to the connexion of *im-gi* with Karduniaš. That Marduk-bêl-usâti was of Chaldæan

origin, or ruled in Chaldæa, is nowhere a recorded fact, though it is at least a plausible inference that in the division of Akkad between him and his elder brother Marduk-šumu-iddin the Chaldæan states fell to his share. What we do find recorded is that he revolted against his brother (*Marduk-nâdin-šumu šar Kar-du-ni-aš Marduk-bêl-u-sa-a-ti aḫu du-bu-us-su-u it-ti-šu ib-bal-kit*, Shalmaneser, Nimrûd Obelisk, 73), and was overthrown and slain as a rebel by Shalmaneser (*Marduk-bêl-u-sa-a-ti adî ṣâbî [bêl]-ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ša it-ti-šu ina kakkî u-šam-ḳit*, l.c. 80); and it seems safer to interpret *im-gi* in the light of these facts and the similar events recorded of Suzubu, than to read into it an allusion to a circumstance, which, in one case, is not explicitly stated, and, in the other, has no special importance assigned to it.

Our knowledge of the third king *im-gi*, namely, Ia-mukîn-šumu, is too scanty to be brought to bear with any effect upon either side of the question. That he reigned in *mât tamdi*, that is, Chaldæa proper, is certain; but that his predecessor and successor, neither of whom is called *im-gi*, did the same, is equally certain. For the rest we know only that his predecessor was murdered, and that his reign lasted for three months (*Babylonian Chronicle*, col. v.).

M. Scheil imagines (*Salmanasar*, p. 105) that *im-gi-da* is—not 'Turanian,' as Smith supposed, but—Semitic, and would refer it to the root מגד, 'honore, gloria excelluit'; but that does not explain *im-gi*, the only form which is certain.

2. The word *murbašu* occurs in three other passages of Sennacherib besides the present text (*Bavian Inscription*, line 38; *Taylor Cylinder*, iii. 47 and vi. 16), and always in the phrase *murbašu taḫâzi-ia*. I take it to be of the form مُفْعَل, like *mušpalu* 'depth,' *mudbaru* 'wilderness,' and, as regards the meaning, I would assume a root *rabâšu* parallel to the Heb. רפס 'pedibus calcavit,' of which the variant forms רפש and רפשׁ occur. The meaning would then be

'stroke, shock, impetus.' Cf. Arab. رَفْسَةٌ 'a kick or blow,' مِرْفَسٌ 'an instrument with which flesh-meat is pounded.' Dr. Bezold, in the two passages of the Taylor Cylinder above referred to, reads doubtfully *ḫarbašu*, which he renders in one case by 'Schrecken,' in the other by 'Ungestüm.'

murbašu. With regard to the root Prof. Brünnow suggests the comparison of رَبَسَهُ = ضَرَبَهُ (Tâj-al-'arûs), which exactly corresponds to the Assyrian *rabâšu*.

3. *naḫṭû* I refer to the root *ḫaṭû*, and explain to mean 'defeat, overthrow,' like the similar form *tahtû*, which comes from the same root. For the form نَفْعَل cf. *naḫbû* 'quiver,' from *ḫabû*; *našmû* 'hearing,' from *šêmû*; *narbû* 'greatness,' from *rabû*.

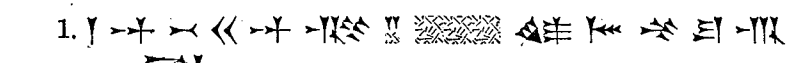
6. *Emê-luḫḫa* occurring, as it does, in conjunction with Šumêr, and with reference to the defeat of Šuzubu, must be interpreted to mean Akkad. See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 135–7, reviewed by Oppert in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1882, p. 801; and cf. Tiele, *Geschichte*, i. 66, 67; Pinches, in P.S.B A., 1881, p. 44, and Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 31.

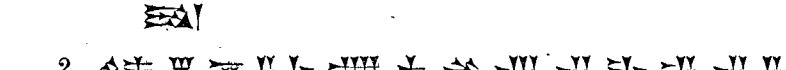
II.

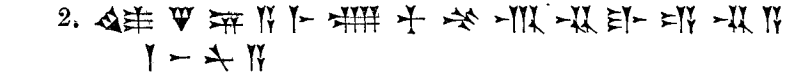
The following little inscription breaks with a human and personal touch the official monotony of the records of Aššur-nâṣirpal. It runs in four straggling lines across the upper part of the front-face of a small stone altar brought from Nimrûd by Mr. Rassam, and now in the Nimrûd Gallery of the British Museum. The inscription is finely cut, and with the exception of the first line—part of which has been almost obliterated—in good preservation.

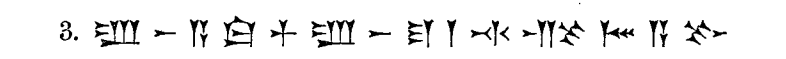
The king dedicates the altar to Bel as a thank-offering for the preservation and extension of his life, though on what occasion, or by what sign, this notable miracle was wrought, we have no means of determining.

The inscription has never before been published or translated.

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

Transliteration.

1. ana Bêlu šar šamî nam-ri (?) . . . . uṣûrâti
   to Bel king of the bright heaven the constellations
   mu-na-ri-id
   making to tremble

2. ḫur-šâ-ni a-šib Bît-kid-mu-ri bêli rabi-i
   the wooded mountains dwelling in Bîtkidmuri the great lord
   bêli-a Aššur-nâṣir-aplu
   my lord Aššurnâṣirpal

3. šangû Aššur apil Tukulti-Ninib šangî Aššur-ma
   priest of Aššur son of Tukulti-Ninib priest of Aššur
   ana balâṭ napšâti-a arâku
   for preserving my life prolonging

4. ûmi-a nadânu û-mu a-di šanâti-a kušd-a ḳîšta
   my days giving days in addition to my years accept (this) gift.

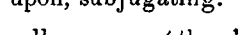
Translation.

To Bel, king of the bright heaven, lord of (?) the constellations, who makes the wooded mountains to tremble, dwelling in Bît-Kidmuri, the great lord, my lord, Aššurnâṣirpal, priest of Aššur, son of Tukulti-Ninib, priest of Aššur:—for preserving my life, prolonging my days, adding days to my years, accept this gift!

Notes.

1. I restore *ri*, after which some word (perhaps *bêl*) has been obliterated. For *uṣûrâti*, in the sense of 'constellations,' see Jensen's elaborate investigation in *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 348–354.

   munarid. In the same way Beltis is called *munaridat ḫuršâni* (W.A.I. iii. 66, 5), which Norris, supposing (*Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 836) 'some irregular formation from ירד' would translate 'feller of forests.' I am inclined to connect the word with the root *râdu* as the participle of iv. 1, in the causal sense of 'who makes to tremble.' Cf. Heb. רעד 'con-tremuit,' Arab. ارعد 'he caused to tremble.' But if רדה be the root, as is not impossible, the meaning must be 'trampling upon, subjugating.'

2. *Bît-Kidmuri*, which literally means 'the house of the harem' (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 275, note), is the name of a temple or shrine, which doubtless formed part of the king's palace at Kalaḫ. Cf. the epithet of Beltis (W.A.I. ii. 66, 9), *a-šib-at Kal-ḫi*, 'who dwells in Kalaḫ.' That a similar temple existed at Nineveh appears from K. 11, 5, where *Istar ša Bît-Kidimuri* (as the word is there written) is invoked immediately after Ištar of Nineveh. In W.A.I. v. 1, 16 and 42 the same goddess appears simply as *šarrat kidmuri*. On 'a general list of titles and offices' published in W.A.I. ii. 31, line 61, we read  *šangû ša Bît-Kidmuri* 'priest of Bît-kidmuri.' For the value (*kid*) of , see Jensen in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1886, p. 183.

3. *ana balâṭ*, etc. This formula is not uncommon. Cf. for example, K. 647, 6, *a-na balâṭ napšâti û a-rû-ku ûmi ša šar mâtâti bêli-i*, and K. 523, 9, *a-na ba-lâ-ṭa napša-a-ti û a-rû-ka ûmu ša šar mâtâti bêli-ia*.

4. *kušda* for *kušud-a*. For the imperative in *a* see Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 263. For =*ḳîštu*, see W.A.I. ii. 19a, 15 and 17, where the group is rendered by *ḳîš-tu*. The variant rendering *ki-iš-tu* also occurs. See, for example, W.A.I. v. 11, 3.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1890.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

15*th December*, 1890.—Sir Frederick Goldsmid, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The election since the last general meeting of the following gentlemen as members of the Society was announced:—

1 Cuthbert Edward Biddulph.
2 W. Dalrymple H. Deane, M.A.
3 G. R. Hoffmann, of San Paulo, Brazil.
4 Sultan Sayyid Saadat Hosain.
5 Peter Peterson, LL.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Bombay.
6 Surgeon-Major Ranking, Indian Medical Service.
7 Har Bilas Sarda, B.A., Lecturer, Government College, Ajmere.

Mr. Theodore G. Pinches, of the British Museum, read a paper on the newly-discovered Akkadian version of the Creation legend.

Mr. S. A. Strong read a paper on three inscriptions of Sennacherib.

A discussion followed on these papers, both of which will be published in full in the Society's Journal for this year.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Vol. xliv. part iii. (received 30th October, 1890).

1. A. Fischer. New extracts from Aḍ-ḍahabī and Ibn an-Naggar.

2. M. Grünbaum. On Schlechta-Wssehrd's edition of Firdusi's Jussuf and Suleicha.

3. R. Otto Francke. Abbreviated compounds in Sanskrit and Pali and the Avesta.

4. O. Böhtlingk. Conjectural Emendations of the Āsurī-kalpa.

5. O. Böhtlingk and H. Pischel. The Goat and the Knife.

2. Journal Asiatique.

Vol. xvi. part i. (received 24th November, 1890).

The Annual Report by M. James Darmesteter.

III. Obituary Notices.

Sir Richard Burton.—It is with sorrow that we record the disappearance from the list of our members of a name well known to all. The Society has lost a remarkable personality and many of us a good friend. Sir Richard Burton was but a few days younger than the friend, whose sad duty it is to pen his obituary notice. He was born March 19, 1821, at Barham House, Herts, the son of a British officer of a Westmoreland family, who had for two generations migrated to Ireland. He spent many of his boyish years on the Continent, and thus developed his linguistic gifts. In 1840 he was entered at Trinity College, Oxford, and kept some terms, but the Collegiate atmosphere did not suit his temperament, and in 1842 he sailed for India as a military cadet, and was posted in October of the same year as an ensign of the 18th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, and joined it at Baroda. He soon mastered the Hindustáni language, and published Grammatical Notes rather than Grammars in Pastu and Balúchi, and in his History of Sindh (1851) he supplies a vocabulary spoken by the Sidi, African labourers, who resort to India to find employment on the steamers: in those days nothing was known of the mysterious country of East Africa, which Burton himself was destined to reveal to the world.

Until in 1872 he settled down (as far as Burton could settle down anywhere) as British Consul at Trieste, the thirty years that elapsed after his landing in India was one uninterrupted series of exploring expeditions and charming descriptive volumes. At a public meeting years ago I quoted a familiar line of Virgil to him as descriptive of him:

"Quæ regio in terris vestri non plena laboris?"

In 1851 he published his volume on Sindh, and in the same year a volume on 'Goa and the Blue Mountains.' In 1852 he made his way to Mekka and Medina, in Arabia, in the disguise of a Mahometan: in 1854, in disguise, he penetrated into Somáli-land on the eastern horn of Africa, and worked his way to Harar. The volume of 'Footsteps in East Africa' was published in 1856. In June, 1857, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, with his companion Speke, he left Zanzibar on his memorable expedition, which eventuated in the discovery of the Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. This was one of the most notable expeditions into Africa: it took place before Livingstone had appeared on the field, long before the name of Henry Stanley had been heard of. He received in 1859 the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and established a reputation, which can never be forgotten.

In 1860 he visited the Salt Lake City in North America, and wrote his 'City of the Saints.' In 1861 he married, and took his bride to the Island of Fernando Po, on the West Coast of Africa, where he had been appointed Consul. During his three years' stay he explored the coast region of the Bay of Biafra, and went on a mission to the King of Dahomey, recording his proceedings in two separate volumes. In 1865 he went as British Consul to Sao Paulo in the Brazils in South America, and according to his wont he explored that empire, crossed the Continent to Chili and Peru, returned by the Straits of Mágellan, and published a volume, 'The Highlands of Brazil,' 1869.

He was transferred from the Brazils to Damascus in that year, and made an exploration of Syria. In 1871 he visited the Island of Iceland, and published an elaborate work in

1872, after which he subsided into the Consulate of Trieste. Something, however, of the old spirit clung to him after he had completed his half century, for in 1876 and 1877 he explored the old mines in Midian, publishing two volumes; and in 1882 he made an expedition into the interior of the Gold Coast in Western Africa to prospect mines, and to publish the account for the benefit of others, for he seems never personally to have reaped any advantage from his labours, labours which at last broke down his hardy constitution.

The old traveller's perambulations had come to an end: many of his friends imagined that he was entitled to some "solatium" in his old age, some way made for the veteran explorer to spend his last years at home in the midst of his friends. He was made a K.C.M.G. in 1886, and yet his nose was kept to the grinding stone at Trieste. He had no friends at Court, and had got hopelessly out of the groove of Service-Pensions. No tales of blood disfigure the narratives of his explorations: on his death-bed he could have recalled to his recollection no lives of poor Africans or Asiatics taken away by his orders, no villages in any part of the world plundered. We have since 1870 entered into a new epoch of African exploration, and the track of the explorer is now marked by blood, cruelty, and discredit to the English name: of such things Burton and his contemporaries Speke and Grant were incapable, and there are some of the younger travellers also who have brought home clean hands and unsullied reputations.

Idleness with Burton meant unhappiness, and when not engaged in exploration, his facile pen and his fertile brain were engaged in translations: he has left two monumental works, a translation of the poem of the Portuguese poet Camoens, with important notes, and a literal translation of a complete copy of the Arabian Nights Entertainment from an Arabic uncastigated manuscript. Some may perhaps be of opinion that many pages restored by the conscientious hand of Burton might well have remained in the obscurity to which the early translators had consigned them, for many

of the most pleasant stories, and some of the most amiable characters, are disfigured by disgusting details, which totally destroy the charm of those most charming romances. Many other memoirs and papers came from his busy and accomplished pen: if quaint, still learned: if untenable in the eyes of more cautious critics, still ingenious and scholarly, indicating an amount of wide observation attained by few others, and a store of acquired knowledge which must be envied by all.

Nov. 1890. R. N. C.

IV. Notes and News.

Professor Kielhorn, of Göttingen, writes as follows to the *Academy*:

Sanskrit Plays Preserved as Inscriptions.

Göttingen: Jan. 3, 1891.

Sanskrit scholars will be interested to learn that among the papers of General Sir A. Cunningham, sent to me by Mr. Fleet, I have found rubbings of two unique stone inscriptions, the originals of which are at the famous Arhaidin-kâ Jhonpra at Ajmere, Râjputânâ. For these inscriptions contain large portions of two unknown plays, by the King Vigraharâjadeva, of Sâkambharî, whose Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscriptions I re-edited last year in the *Indian Antiquary*. A full account of the inscriptions, together with the texts thus discovered, will be published in the same journal. Here I would only state that one of the inscriptions gives a large part of the fifth act of a play called "Harakelinâtaka," in which the royal author has evidently followed Bhâravi's "Kirâtârjunîya"; and the other, the end of the third act and a large portion of the fourth act of another play, which has reference to Vigraharâjadeva's wars with the Muhammadan invaders of India. It is clear that the king had both plays carefully engraved and put up in public;

and I venture to hope that we shall soon hear from India of the existence of more stones with other portions of the same plays.

Professor Minayeff.—Dr. Serge d'Oldenbourg, of St. Petersburg, who is preparing an obituary of the late Professor Minayeff for the pages of this Journal, has found among his papers more than one in so advanced a state that he hopes to be able to prepare them for publication. One especially, the Sāsana Wansa, is of much interest, as it gives a detailed historical account of the Buddhist Order from its foundation to recent times. Dr. d'Oldenbourg trusts to be able to publish this text *in extenso* (probably in the *Journal* of the Pali Text Society), and a translation of it is also contemplated for the now re-established Oriental Translation Fund under the patronage of our Society.

The Stupa of Bharhut.—Dr. S. J. Warren, the Rector of the Gymnasium at Dordrecht, has succeeded in identifying the Jātaka tales represented on two of the hitherto uninterpreted bas-reliefs of the Stupa at Bharhut. He has announced his discovery in a brochure published in November, 1890, by the firm of E. J. Brill, at Leyden.

Hofrath Professor Dr. Bühler has devoted the inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, lately published by Mr. Fleet in vol. iii. of the *Epigraphia Indica*, to a detailed examination with the object of ascertaining the evidence they afford of the existence in that period of a recognized poetical art in India. This is especially important in view of contentions lately put forward that the art poetry of India ought to be assigned to a later date. The essay, which is a most masterly and conclusive one, shows that the court bards who drew up these inscriptions must have been guided by recognized rules for the construction of panegyrics and similar poems, such as are laid down in the existing handbooks of the art of poetry. The brochure is published by Tempsky at Vienna.

Mr. A. H. Keane has sent the following remarks to the *Academy*:

ORIENTAL TRANSLITERATION.

In his notice of Colonel Malleson's "The Indian Mutiny of 1857" (*Academy*, December 20), Mr. H. G. Keene revives the vexed question of transliteration in those cases where there is antagonism between spelling and pronunciation in the original. Such antagonism, of course, arises in compound Arabic forms wherever the article is followed by a solar letter, which assimilates the preceding *l* as in *Fakhr al-dîn*,[1] as transliterated by Mr. Keene, though pronounced *Fakhr ud-dîn*. Here we have the old battle of phonetic *versus* historical spelling, complicated by laws of Arabic pronunciation and orthography. The Arabs themselves solve the difficulty by always retaining the *l* in writing, but assimilating it in the spoken language, so that no mistakes arise. But how is the problem to be solved in transliterating for English readers ignorant of Arabic orthography? My own practice is always to assimilate, the object being to reproduce the living sound, not the dead form. But Mr. Keene appears to advocate the historic or etymological spelling, which must at times give rise to strange misconceptions and inconsistencies. Thus the famous Caliph is popularly *Harûn al-Rashîd*, while the reigning Shah is usually *Nasr ud-dîn*. Uniformity can be obtained only by a common consensus to one or other method, and I submit that the phonetic is here preferable to the historic spelling.

[1] Here Mr. Keene has *din*, presumably a lapsus for *dîn*.

V. Reviews.

South Indian Inscriptions. Vol. I.
By Dr. E. Hultzsch.

The appearance of the first volume of inscriptions of Southern India, by the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, has long been looked for with interest, for though Dr. Hultzsch is not as yet well known to the British public, that section of it which has given attention to Indian Archæology and History has been anxious that he should justify his position. We venture to think that there will be no disappointment on this score. That Dr. Hultzsch has not been hasty in publication is merely a proof of the thoroughness of his work, for his quarterly reports to the Government of Madras show conclusively that he has never flagged in his labours. Slowly and laboriously, but with extreme care, he has begun to build up the fabric whose construction has been entrusted to him, and his slowness is in this case a guarantee of the genuine character of his work. The history of Southern India can only be safely written when the most has been made of the immense mass of material available; and the aim of every workman should be thoroughness. The Government, therefore, is to be congratulated that the duty is in the hands of so honest and painstaking a scholar as Dr. Hultzsch.

It is earnestly to be hoped that no scheme of petty economy or any wrong-headed notion that such inquiries should be left to private enterprize may be permitted to interrupt the work so satisfactorily begun. Private enterprize can never cope with a task so extensive as that which lies before the Epigraphist, and the labour can only be carried out by Government. That it should be so carried out is plain, for to deprive a race like the Hindus of a knowledge of their own history is very short-sighted policy. It seems to be little understood that half the discontent of which we hear so much, if it exists at all, exists principally because the Hindus, accustomed from childhood to look forward rather than back, and never

having heard the true story of their past, are incapable of making a just comparison between their former condition under their own rulers and their present state under the British. At present the ideas of even the upper classes on this subject are altogether based on wrong premises. Their priests teach them that their race is of fabulous antiquity, and the scraps of tradition which they possess lead them to believe that at some vague period before the Muhammadans came all India was united in one grand and prosperous nation governed by powerful emperors, compared with whom the usurping European, except in the matter of brute force, is a very poor creature indeed. Needless to say, these theories are absolutely false, and the sooner the Hindus learn that they are so, the better both for them and for their present rulers. The true history of Southern India is at present only imperfectly known to those who have made it their business to study it, and cannot be understood in detail without long and patient examination of the numerous inscriptions scattered throughout the country. Dr. Hultzsch's present volume therefore is but the first, we hope, of an extensive series of publications authorized by Government and supplying what can in no other way be supplied, namely authentic materials on which to build up the complete structure.

The author's plan of work is best stated in his own words: "The first object kept in view in the preparation of this volume has been scrupulous accuracy in the minutest details of the transcripts. The second aim was, not merely to give a translation of each record, but to extract from it all historical facts, to support and supplement these by a comparison of similar records, and thus to contribute some share to a future history of Southern India." The scheme is most praiseworthy, but one thing is wanting to make it perfect. Government should enable the volumes to contain exact copies of the original inscriptions, reproduced by mechanical, not manual, process, so that the student might be enabled to test the accuracy of the transcripts by dint of palæographic study. At present, we have to accept Dr. Hultzsch's word for it that the transcript is accurate. The

volume in no sense helps a Tamulian or a Government official to decypher the inscriptions of his own district, and it is earnestly to be hoped that this serious defect may in future be remedied.

The nett historical result of the present volume may thus be stated. It contains some of the earliest known inscriptions of the Pallavas from the Seven Pagodas and Kâñchîpuram. It fixes the date of a later branch of the Pallavas. It extends our knowledge of the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas, consolidates the already known pedigree of the first Vijayanagar sovereigns, and fixes with great probability the dates of several Chola kings, besides affording further information regarding the Uḍaiyârs. The Pallava inscriptions at Mâmallapuram (the Seven Pagodas) and Śâḷuvaṅkuppam are in no less than four different alphabets, extending over about six centuries, from the fifth to the eleventh century A.D. Dr. Hultzsch has been the first to discover that the numerous short inscriptions in very archaic character on one of the *rathas* are *birudas*, or titles, of the Pallava king Narasimha, who appears to have hewn the temple out of the rock. Inscriptions in a later character show that the Pallava king Atyantakâma excavated some of the other rock-temples at the Seven Pagodas, and that Atiraṇachaṇḍa cut the Śâḷuvaṅkuppam Cave. No less important are the ancient Pallava inscriptions at Kâñchîpuram, said (p. 8) to have been discovered by Dr. Burgess in 1883.[1] From these we get the name of Râjasimha, after whom the most important of these temples was called, his son Mahendra, and his father Lokâditya, and it is shown by fresh evidence that the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. did actually, as was previously believed, enter Kâñchi, and visit the temple built by Râjasimha Pallava.

Dr. Hultzsch's synchronistic table of Chalukyas and Pallavas is most useful.

[1] See, however, Mr. Sewell's paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1884 (Vol. XVI. New Series, p. 33). He had noticed them in May, 1883, and pointed out in that paper that the old temples on which the inscriptions appear constitute the only known specimens of structural temples identical in style with the rock-cut temples at Mâmallapuram, and probably of the same date. Dr. Burgess's visit was subsequent.

No. 32 of the inscriptions in the volume is a curious and interesting one from an octagonal pillar at Amarâvati, which was decyphered by Dr. Hultzsch very shortly after his arrival in India. It has to be read upwards from bottom to top instead of downwards, and it contains a list of seven Pallava kings. An inscription from Trichinopoly gives a new Pallava name.

Dr. Hultzsch's table of the Eastern Chalukyas is fuller and more trustworthy than any yet published, and his discovery of the erroneous nature of certain preconceived theories respecting the transfer by intermarriage to the Chola dynasty of the territories ruled over by those sovereigns is of much interest and value. The inscriptions he publishes are all on copper-plates.

From the country about Madras are published 48 Tamil and Grantha inscriptions, most of which are valuable for one reason or another, but, as before mentioned, facsimiles are greatly wanted. The Uḍaiyâr inscriptions in the volume do not greatly assist us with regard to that, probably usurping, dynasty. They appear to clash with those of another branch of the family, for it may well be that princes of the same clan established independent sovereignties in the south during the disturbed period which marked the rise of the great kingdom of Vijayanagar. The author publishes additional information on the later Chola dynasty, but as regards the Vijayanagar sovereigns there is little new, though what there is is useful as consolidating previous theories.

We entirely commend the plan of the work, as well as the way in which it has been carried out, with the single exception of the absence of facsimiles.

THREE LISTS OF BIBLE TRANSLATIONS. By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1890. pp. 115.

Dr. Cust's new volume contains three Lists, viz.: 1. Alphabetical; 2. Geographical; 3. Linguistic, of the Bible Translations actually in use or for sale in August last. Small as this book appears to be, it contains an amount of information

about current Bible versions never before brought together in such small compass.

The object of the author was to shut out for the future all vagueness and uncertainty which surrounded Bible work, by carefully preparing a list of those dialects and languages into which the Bible had been translated, and by fixing under each "Bible language" the number of individuals speaking those languages; and, furthermore, he brings forward the question for consideration, whether a given language is worthy of a translation? and, if so, by how many would it be read? and in what part of the world such language exists? It is wise also to reflect whether the translation of the Bible is necessary for a small population in a low state of civilization, and whether it is not absolute waste of money to spend it on translations into languages which are doomed to extinction.

The total of the population of the whole Earth is put down at 1403 millions, and the total number of mutually unintelligible forms of speech commonly called "tongues" at more than 2000, of which 331 represent two-thirds of the human race.

It is not our purpose to do more than call attention to this most useful and laborious work. With the progress of philological studies, the future editions of this work will doubtless require some amplification and alterations, and probably corrections also. The Alphabetical List, Part I., giving the locality and population of speakers of the given languages, is perhaps the most valuable and interesting portion of the book, which will be indispensable to all who feel interested in Bible Translations, while the careful tabulation of the number of persons likely to be able to use each version will be welcomed by philological students in every branch.

A copy of the work, the gift of the author, has been added to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

T. D.

December, 1890.

The New Editions of the Rigveda-Saṁhitâ with Sâyaṇa's Commentary. By M. Winternitz, Ph.D.

It so happens that the second edition of Professor Max Müller's Rigveda[1] is published simultaneously with a new edition of the same work, published in India,[2] and one naturally turns to a comparison of the two.

It must be stated at once that the Bombay edition is one of the best editions of Sanskrit works published in India, and does great credit to the scholarship and conscientiousness of the Pandits to whom this work was entrusted. Bodasa Râja Râma Śâstri and Gore Śiva Râma Śâstri's edition will take a place by the side of the best native editions of Sanskrit works. It is—and that is saying a good deal—remarkably free from misprints, and is evidently based on a careful collation of good MSS., though no account of these MSS. is given.

On the other hand, it is needless to say that a book printed by the Clarendon Press is typographically superior to any book printed in India. For European scholars the separation of words and sentences also, on which great care has been bestowed in Prof. Max Müller's edition, will be a great convenience. In the Bombay edition the separation both of words and of sentences is carried out only partially. The student of Sâyaṇa, moreover, will find great help in the copious references given in Max Müller's edition, to the Sûtras of Pâṇini, to the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana (according to Prof. Kielhorn's edition of the Mahâbhâshya), to the Phiṭsûtras, to the Uṇâdi-sûtras, and to the Sûtras of Âśvalâyana. References to the Brâhmaṇas and other Vedic works, which

[1] Rigveda-Saṁhitâ, The Sacred Hymns of the Brâhmans, together with the Commentary of Sâyaṇâchârya, Edited by F. Max Müller. Second edition, vol. i. Maṇḍala I.; vol. ii. Maṇḍalas II. to VI. Published under the patronage of His Highness the Mahârâjah of Vijayanagara. London (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner) 1890.

[2] Ṛik-Saṁhitâ Sâyaṇâchârya-virachita-bhâshya-sahitâ, Pâdapâṭha-yutâ cha. Iyaṁ cha Tattvavivechakagranthaprasâraka-samityâ preritaḥ, Tukârâmatâtyâbhikhyaḥ, Gaṇapatakrishṇâjî-mudrâyaṇtrâlayâdhipatiḥ, Âtmârâmakâhnobâbhikhyaḥ, ity etâbhyâm Bodasopâhva-Mahâmahopâdhyâya-Râjâ-Râma-S'âstri, Gore-ity upâbhidha-S'iva-Râma 'âstribhyâṁ śodhayitvâ, Mumbayyâm Gaṇapatakrishṇâjî-Mudrâyantrâlaye mudrayitvâ prakâś'itâ. Tasyâ ayaṁ prathamo Ashṭakaḥ. S'akâbdâḥ 1810.

were omitted in the first edition, have also been added in Max Müller's new edition. Râjâ Râma Śâstri and Śiva Râma Śâstri give references to Vedic works in the notes, while those to Âśvalâyana, Pâṇini, etc., are omitted altogether. Of the grammatical quotations, however, an alphabetical index is promised.

But these are minor considerations and of merely practical avail. The chief difference between the two editions lies in the Indian being an *eclectic* edition, while Max Müller's was started from the first as a *critical* edition, based on those principles of critical scholarship which classical scholars have always regarded as indispensable in editing Latin and Greek texts. And the question arises, Is it worth while to apply these principles to such a text as Sâyaṇa's Commentary? Is it worth while to spend time and labour in classifying and studying the relation of MSS. of the Rigveda-Bhâshya, and collecting the various readings of different MSS. and classes of MSS.,—or is it as well to be satisfied with a readable text of such a modern work as Sâyaṇa's Commentary on the Rigveda?

I believe, if it is at all worth while to know what Sâyaṇa says, we have a right to know the authentic version of what he says. Nay, a scholarly use of his interpretations can only be made after an authentic text of his commentary—so far as our MSS. allow it—has been established. Then only we shall not be liable to impute to Sâyaṇa what may be due to some careless copyist. The question therefore whether Sâyaṇa's Commentary deserves a critical edition resolves itself into the old question as to the value of Sâyaṇa's work.

Now, as far back as 1856 Professor Max Müller, in his Preface to the third volume of the first Edition of the Rigveda,[1] has pointed out both the value of Sâyaṇa's interpretations and their shortcomings. And quite recently again Pischel and Geldner[2] insist on the importance of Sâyaṇa's commentary for the interpretation of the Rigveda. Professor

[1] See now vol. i. of the second edition, pp. xlii *seqq*.
[2] Vedische Studien, i. 1889, pp. iv *seqq*.

Ludwig, in his invaluable Commentary to his translation of the Rigveda, has practically shown how Sâyaṇa's Commentary can be utilized for a scientific interpretation of the Rigveda. And whatever may be urged against Sâyaṇa's interpretations, *his* commentary is after all the last resource to which even the most critical scholars come back, when everything else fails. *His* interpretations have found their way both into the Dictionaries and into European translations of the Rigveda. We need not be so modest nowadays, as H. H. Wilson was when he said that Sâyaṇa "had a knowledge of his text far beyond the pretensions of any European scholar," but we have still to acknowledge that Sâyaṇa "must have been in possession, either through his own learning, or that of his assistants, of all the interpretations which had been perpetuated, by traditional teaching, from the earliest times."[1]

But even if Sâyaṇa's interpretations had no value at all, his Commentary would be important as a repertory of quotations from a most extensive literature to a great extent otherwise unknown to us. Thus, the Śâṭyâyanika-Brâhmaṇa, so often quoted by Sâyaṇa, has not yet been discovered in any MS. The numerous Itihâsas, related by Sâyaṇa, are certainly not his invention, and, judging from their style, may be very old. For works, known in MSS. and editions, Sâyaṇa often yields important various readings. His copious extracts from the Bṛihaddevatâ should not be disregarded by an editor of Śaunaka's work. With regard to the Sûtras of Pâṇini, to the Dhâtupâṭha, to Yâska's Nirukta, his deviations from our editions may be of less value. But I have no doubt that Sâyaṇa had an entirely different recension of the Uṇâdi-sûtras from that known to us. Hence so many various readings and so many sûtras and suffixes which are not found in our editions of the Uṇâdi-sûtras. It is especially in such quotations that a critical edition with an account of the state of the MSS. in the Varietas Lectionis becomes important.

[1] Rigveda Sanhitâ, translated by H. H. Wilson, vol. i. p. xlix.

I may now be allowed after these general remarks to select for discussion a few passages from Sâyaṇa's Commentary where the two editions disagree. I have selected such passages where the Varietas Lectionis is found in Max Müller's Edition.

By M 1 I mark Max Müller's first edition, by M 2 the second edition, by RR the Bombay edition of Râjâ Râma Śâstri and Śiva Râma Śâstri. G and T are the Grantha and Tulu MSS., used for Max Müller's second edition. Ca is Prof. Max Müller's own Sâyaṇa MS., which was not available for the first Ashṭaka in the old edition.

In Sâyaṇa's Introduction, p. 12, l. 7, of M 2 (=p. 19, l. 11, of RR), in the quotation from the Jaiminîya Nyâya-Mâlâ-Vistara, the reading of M 2, nâsty etad brâhmaṇety atra, is supported by good MSS. and gives a good sense. The same reading is adopted in Goldstücker's Edition. Etad brâhmaṇeti is a quotation of Taitt. Br. I. 7, 1, 1. RR has brâhmaṇe 'nyatra, as printed in M 1.

In the quotation from the Purushârthânuśâsana,[1] a most difficult passage in Sâyaṇa's Introduction, Sûtra 10 (page 14, l. 13 of M 2=end of p. 22 in RR) was given in M 1 as vidhinishpattyâ iti, which is adopted in RR. The reading is based on the B MSS., which have vidhir nishpatyâ iti. The reading of the best MSS., however, is vidhir niyatyâ iti, as printed in M 2, and there can be no doubt that this is the correct reading. The whole quotation from the Purushârthânuśâsana is given in order to prove that the Veda-recitation (adhyayana) has worldly aims, that it is dṛishṭârtha, not adṛishṭârtha. In the first sûtra, where the *Pûrvapaksha* begins, it is said: adṛishṭârthâ tv adhîtir vihitatvâd iti, *i.e.* Adhîti (Veda-reciting) is adṛishṭârthâ, because it is vihita. Sâyaṇa explains: In the case of eating and other actions which have worldly (dṛishṭa) aims, we find no rules (vidhi) for their performance; Veda-recitation (adhyayana), on the

[1] In spite of repeated inquiries Prof. Max Müller has not succeeded in getting any information about this work. There is a Purushârthânus'âsana mentioned in Bühler's *Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS.*, Nro. 637. But Prof. Bhandarkar, on examining the MS. in question at Prof. M. Müller's request, found that it was an entirely different work.

contrary, is prescribed by rules (vihita); therefore the adhyayana must be adṛishṭârtha. Now, in order to refute that argument of the *Pûrvapaksha*, our sûtra vidhir niyatyai is given in the *Siddhânta*. Though the adhyayana is dṛishṭârtha, a rule (*vidhi*) is necessary for restriction (*niyatyai*), i.e. in order to point out the strict rules when and how it has to be done, just as, says Sâyaṇa, there are certain rules necessary with regard to the husking (of the rice at sacrifices), though husking (avaghâta) is dṛishṭârtha. Niyatyai in the sûtra corresponds to niyama in Sayaṇa's words niyamâdṛishṭâya. Compare adhîti in the first sûtra with adhyayana in Sâyaṇa's rendering.

In I. 8, 6 Sâyaṇa explains âśata by vyâptavantaḥ, indraṁ stutyeti śeshaḥ, the MSS. varying between stutyeti and stutveti. RR adopts the latter. But what Sâyaṇa meant is: "They reach, scil. Indra by praise."

I. 32, 6. The MSS. vary between darpayuktaḥ (M 2) and harshayuktaḥ (RR). Darpayuktaḥ is certainly a better rendering of durmadaḥ, an epithet of Vṛitra, than harshayuktaḥ. The mistake harsha° arose from darsha° (this is the reading of Ca pr. m.) being written instead of darpa°.

I. 38, 9. He Marutaḥ, as printed in RR and M 1, is impossible. The right reading te marutaḥ is found as a correction in the Berlin A MS.

I. 52, 7. Abhibhûtyojasam is explained by Sâyaṇa as śatrûṇâm abhibhavitṛiṇâ ojasâ balena yuktam, *i.e.* (the thunderbolt) that is possessed of strength which conquers the enemies. RR, like M 1, has abhibhavitṛîṇâm ojasâ, which does not yield a satisfactory meaning; Indra's thunderbolt cannot be called possessed of the enemies' strength. Besides, if Sâyaṇa wanted to explain abhibûti by śatrûṇâm, he would say abhibhavitṛîṇâm śatrûṇâm, not śatrûṇâm abhibhavitṛîṇâm. The MSS. are corrupt and permit both readings. But abhibhûtyojâh occurs again. Thus III. 34, 6 it is explained by śatrûṇâm parâbhave samarthaḥ, fit for conquering the enemies; III. 48, 4, by śatrûṇâm abhibhavanaparâkramopetaḥ, endowed with strength for conquering the enemies; IV. 42, 5 by pareshâm

abhibhâvibalaḥ, whose strength overpowers the enemies, and X. 83, 4 by pareshâm abhibhâvukabalaḥ. These passages leave no doubt that the reading of M 2 is the right reading. Wilson translates: 'he (Tvashṭri) has sharpened thy bolt with overpowering might.'

I. 52, 14. Ânushak is explained by Sâyaṇa as ânushâktam, *i.e.*, â-anu-shaktam. RR, like M 2, prints anushaktam against the MSS., and adds a grammatical explanation where the initial â is explained as chândasa. This grammatical explanation, however, is not given in the best MSS. Sâyaṇa, indeed, varies in his explanations of ânushak. Thus, I. 13, 5 he explains it by anukrameṇa saktam, but he says distinctly that the prepositions â and anu are prefixed to the root (âṅanvor upasargayoḥ prâkprayogaḥ). In I. 72, 7, however, ânushak anushaktam is the reading of the best MSS.

I. 64, 15. Sâyaṇa explains vîravantam by vîraiḥ putrais tadvantam. This is supported by good MSS. and is quite in accordance with Sâyaṇa's style. The reading of M 1, putrair vardhantam tadvantam, based on the reading of A, putrair vardhaṁs tadvantam, is possible, but against Sâyaṇa's style. I cannot, however, discover any meaning in putrair vardhatam, as printed in RR.

I. 85, 5. M 2 reads yad yadâ ratheshu prâyugdhvam prâyûyujata. The corresponding uta tadânîm shows that yadâ, supported by Ca and the Tulu MS., is the right reading, not yathâ, as printed in M 1 and RR. The correct reading prâyûyujata is also yielded by the Tulu MS. RR has prâyûyujan.

I. 119, 6 it is said of the Aśvins, yuvâṁ Rebhâm pâriṣhûter urushyathaḥ, "you protected Rebha from trouble." Sâyaṇa explains parishûteḥ by paritaḥ prerakâd upadravât, kûpapatanât, "from trouble, namely, the falling into a cistern."* In his commentary on I. 116, 24 Sâyaṇa relates a story, that the Ṛishi Rebha had been thrown into a cistern by the Asuras, and was released by the Aśvins. The reading kûpapatanât is therefore very appropriate. It has been printed in M 2 from Max Müller's MS. Ca, and the Tulu

MS. The other MSS. read upapatanât, which is given in RR and M 1. Upapatana would have to be taken in the sense of upapâta, accident. But I am not aware of its occurrence in Sâyaṇa, nor is it given in the Dictionary.

For the greater part of the first Maṇḍala, Professor Max Müller was fortunate enough to have at his disposal for the new edition a set of MSS., written in Grantha and Tulu characters, which, though related to the A MSS., have an independent value. The MSS. belong to the Whish Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society. Their readings, as pointed out in Prof. Max Müller's Preface, have to be tested by their own intrinsic value. But even where they could not—on critical grounds—be adopted in the text, these readings, which are given in the Varietas Lectionis, will often be found useful and interesting. I may mention here a few cases where these new MSS. (G and T) give the correct reading, while all the other MSS. and RR, as well as M 1, are at fault.

I. 17, 2. Indra and Varuṇa are said to be havam âhvânaṁ gantârau, "going to the invocation," gantârau being explained by prâptiśîlau "having the quality of obtaining." Instead of prâptiśîlau, which is the reading of G, all the other MSS. read prâptaśîlau, as printed in RR and M 1.

I. 81, 8. Hiśabdânushaṅgât, as printed from T in M 2, is undoubtedly the right reading. The other MSS., M 1 and RR, read śabdânushaṅgât. What Sâyaṇa wants to say is that the accent of sasṛijmâhe is caused by the particle hi, which according to Pân. viii. 1, 35, influences the accent of the second verb also.

I. 94, 16. M 1 had, according to the MSS. then available, varuṇaḥ, avaśishṭânâṁ nivârayitâ. RR has the same impossible reading. Here again the new MS. T offers the true explanation of varuṇaḥ, anishṭânâṁ nivârayitâ. Max Müller's MS. Ca has aśishṭânâm, which explains how the mistake in the other MSS. arose.

I. 95, 4. The right reading, niṇyam nirṇîtam, antarhitanâmaitat, is found in T. Niṇyam nirṇîtântarhitanâmaitat of the other MSS. and editions, is unintelligible.

I. 104, 9. Here again T gives the right grammatical explanation of śriṇuhi, utaś cha pratyayâch chhandasi vâvachanam iti her lugabhâvaḥ. The same explanation is found in the commentary on I. 82, 1. M 1, RR, and the other MSS. read śruśriṇupṛîkṛivṛibhya iti ser hiḥ. But Pâṇ. VI. 4, 102 does not teach ser hiḥ, but her dhiḥ.

In I. 108, 5 we read: Indrâgnibhyâṁ hi sarvaṁ jagat sṛijyate, indraḥ sûryâtmanâ vṛishṭim sṛijati, "For by Indra and Agni the whole world is created; Indra, in the form of the sun, produces rain." Then follows in the MSS., dvârâ vṛishṭyutpâdakaḥ, or dhârâ vṛi°. This has been corrected in RR to dhârâdvârâ vṛishṭyutpâdakaḥ, which would mean "Indra, in the form of the sun, creates rain, and is a producer of rain through showers," as unsatisfactory as dhârâvṛishṭyutpâdakaḥ in M 1. Now, T has agniś châhutidvârâ vṛishṭyutpâdakaḥ, and this removes the difficulty at once, the whole passage running as follows: "For by Indra and Agni the whole world is created; Indra, in the form of the sun, produces rain, and Agni is a producer of rain by means of the burnt-oblations (sacrificed in the fire). And from rain all living beings are produced." Compare Manu III. 76, often quoted by Sâyaṇa: "A burnt-oblation duly thrown into the fire, reaches the sun, from the sun comes rain, from rain food, therefrom the living creatures subsist."

I. 112, 5. The explanation of śishâsantam, as given in the MSS. and retained in RR, âlokaṁ sambhaktum âlokaṁ ichchhantam, was corrected in M 1 to âlokam sambhaktum ichchhantam. This emendation is now supported by T. Sishâsantam is derived from sana sambhaktau, and as desiderative can only be explained by sambhaktum ichchhantam.

Prof. Max Müller's edition cannot be reproached for indulging in arbitrary and unnecessary emendations. Yet there are cases where conjectural emendations even against all the MSS. are absolutely necessary. Sâyaṇa is a modern author. We must not expect archaisms and grammatical irregularities in the Ṛigveda-Bhâshya, as if it were a

Vedic text itself. It is true, Sâyaṇa is by no means infallible. But it is one of the tasks of a critical editor to decide whether a mistake is due to the author's or to the copyist's carelessness.

The following are a few of the cases where Prof. Max Müller gives what I believe to be necessary emendations, while RR follows the MSS.

In Sâyaṇa's Introduction, page 19, l. 9 of M 2=p. 30, l. 17 of RR, the MSS., M 1, and RR write: viśeshaviniyogas tu mantraviśeshâṇâṁ śrutiliṅgavâkyâdipramâṇâny upajîvyâśvalâyano darśayati. Viśeshaviniyogas tu yields no construction at all, and the emendation of M 2, viśeshaviniyogâṁs tu, seems to me absolutely necessary.

In I. 35, 5 Sâyaṇa gives a grammatical explanation of váhantaḥ. He says: śapaḥ pittvâd anudâttatvaṁ śatuś cha lasârvadhâtukasvareṇa dhâtusvaraḥ (Pâṇ. VI. 1, 186). This accounts fully for the accent of váhantaḥ. The MSS. and RR, however, add: kṛiduttarapadaprakṛitisvaratvena sa eva śishyate, which is utterly out of place, referring as it does to the accent in compounds, see Pâṇ. VI. 2, 139. It can only have originated from a marginal gloss, and has therefore been rejected in M 2.

In the next verse, I. 35, 6, the MSS. and RR read: amṛitâ amṛitâni chandranakshatrâdîni jyotîṁshi jalâni vâ adhitasthuḥ savitâram adhigamya sthitâḥ. Here the authority of the MSS. must give way to the claims of grammar, and sthitâḥ had to be corrected into sthitâni in M 1 already.

I. 36, 18. Návavâstvam of the text is rendered by Sâyaṇa as navavâstunâmakam. The MSS. and RR read navavâstvanâmakam. But Sâyaṇa's own grammatical explanation shows that he took návavâstvam for an accusative of navavâstu.

I. 51, 6. Atithigvâya is explained by divodâsâya. The MSS. vary between daivodâsâya and devodâsâya. RR prints daivo°. But we find RV. I. 112, 14, atithigvám dívodâsam; I. 130, 7, Sâyaṇa: atithigvâya pûjârtham atithiṁ gachchhate divodâsâya); IV. 26, 3, dívodâsam atithigvám, Sâyaṇa: atithigvam atithînâm abhigantâraṁ divodâsaṁ divodâsanâmakaṁ râjarshim; and VI. 47, 22, dívodâsâd atithigvásya,

Sâyaṇa: prastokasya râjño dânastutiḥ, sa eva divodâso 'śvatho 'tithigva iti châkhyâyate. These passages prove that atithigva is an epithet of Divodâsa, and explained as such by Sâyaṇa. The evidence of these passages is stronger than the authority of the MSS. in I. 51, 6, and Prof. Max Müller was right in changing daivodâsâya to divodâsâya. The mistake is easy to explain when we remember the old spelling of ai and e in certain MSS. of Sâyaṇa.

I. 63, 8. The reading of the MSS. pravardhayaḥ, as printed in RR, had to be changed to prâvardhayaḥ, for we can hardly credit Sâyaṇa with using augmentless forms of the imperfect. For the same reason vyavachchhinat in I. 61, 10 was changed to vyachchhinat in M 2.

I. 117, 7. The MSS. and RR have, pitṛishade pitrâ sambaddhe duroṇe . . . pitṛishade pitṛisamîpe nishaṇṇâyai . . . Ghoshâyai. It is evident that Sâyaṇa explained pitṛishade by pitṛisamîpe nishaṇṇâyai, and therefore pitrâ sambaddhe cannot be an explanation of pitṛishade. Pitrâ sambaddhe would in itself be a very unusual explanation for Sâyaṇa. We have therefore a perfect right to ascribe such a silly blunder to the copyist, and not to Sâyaṇa himself.

There are many passages in Sâyaṇa's Commentary where our MSS. offer lacunas, or are hopelessly corrupt. Such passages have been printed in Max Müller's Edition, as they stand in the best MSS., and a full account of the state of the MSS. is given in the Varietas Lectionis. It will be interesting to see whether the Bombay Edition offers anything better in such cases. A passage in question occurs I. 120, 7. Here the best MSS. mark a lacuna between âstam and niratatamsatam. It is easy, of course, to insert with RR yat from the text, but the passage is not cured by it. Not only the lacuna remains, but also the difference between the scholion, niratatamsatam=niragamayatam, and the grammatical explanation, where niratatamsatam is derived from tasi alaṁkâre.

But such hopeless cases occur far more frequently in the later Ashṭakas, and will have to be discussed on another occasion.

VI. List of Additions to the Library, Oct. 15, 1890, to Jan. 15, 1891.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.

The Baluchistan Code. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1890.

Selections from Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 274. Report of the Persian Gulf and Muscat Political Residencies for 1889-90. fol. *Calcutta*, 1890.

Catalogue of Books printed in the Madras Presidency, in April, May, June, 1890.

Tide Tables for the Indian Ports for 1891. 2 vols. 12mo. *London*, 1890.

From the Perak Government.

The Perak Gazette.

From the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs.

China. Imperial Maritime Customs. Customs Gazette, No. 87. July—Sept. 1890. 4to. *Shanghai*, 1890.

From the Clarendon Press.

Rulers of India, edited by Sir W. Wilson Hunter.

II. Akbar, by Col. G. B. Malleson.

V. Dupleix, by Col. G. B. Malleson.

VI. Warren Hastings, by Capt. L. J. Trotter.

VII. Marquess Cornwallis, by W. S. Seton-Karr.

XI. Marquess Dalhousie, by Sir W. Wilson Hunter.

Sacred Books of the East:

No. 31. Zend-Avesta. Part 3. By L. H. Mills.

„ 33. Minor Law Books. Part 1. By J. Jolly.

„ 34. Vedânta-Sûtras. Part 1. By G. Thibaut.

„ 35. Questions of King Milinda, by T. W. Rhys Davids.

From F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq.

Liste des Ouvrages offerts a l'auguste Protecteur du VIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes à Stockholm. sm. 8vo. *Stockholm*, 1889.

Plan et Menu des Salles du Banquet offerts au 8e Congrès Intern. au Grand Hotel à Stockholm, le 7 Sept. 1889.

Upsal. Catalogus Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecae Regiae Acadamie Upsaliensis, 3 vols. 4to. *Upsaliae*, 1814.

——— Catalogus Centuriae Librorum Rarissimorum MS. et partim Impress, qua anno CIↃIↃCCV Bibl. Publ. Acad. Ups. auxit J. G. Sparvenfeldius. 4to. *Upsaliae*, 1706.

——— Codices Arabici, Persici, et Turcici Bibl. Regiae Univers. descripsit C. J. Tornberg. 4to. *Lundae*, 1849.

Pali MS. on Papyrus in the Library of Armenian Monastery of St. Lazaro. Trans. by J. F. Dickson. (Pamph.) fcap. 8vo. *Venice*, 1881.

Catalogue des Livres de l'Imprimerie Arménienne de St. Lazare. (Pamph.) fcap. 8vo. *Venice*, 1884.

From Hyde Clarke, Esq.

Turkish Almanack for 1891.

From Mr. B. Herder, in Freiburg (Baden).

Epping (J.), S. J. Astronomisches aus Babylon. 8vo. *Freiburg*, 1889.

From the Translator.

Consigli ai Cattivi Poeti. Poema Indostanico, trad. da M. Puglisi Pico. 8vo. *Palermo*, 1891.

From the Publishers.

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. Tome 62 (in numbers). post 8vo. 1890.

Indian Engineering. Vol. 8 (in numbers). 1890.

Indian Spectator. Vol. 10 (in numbers). 1890.

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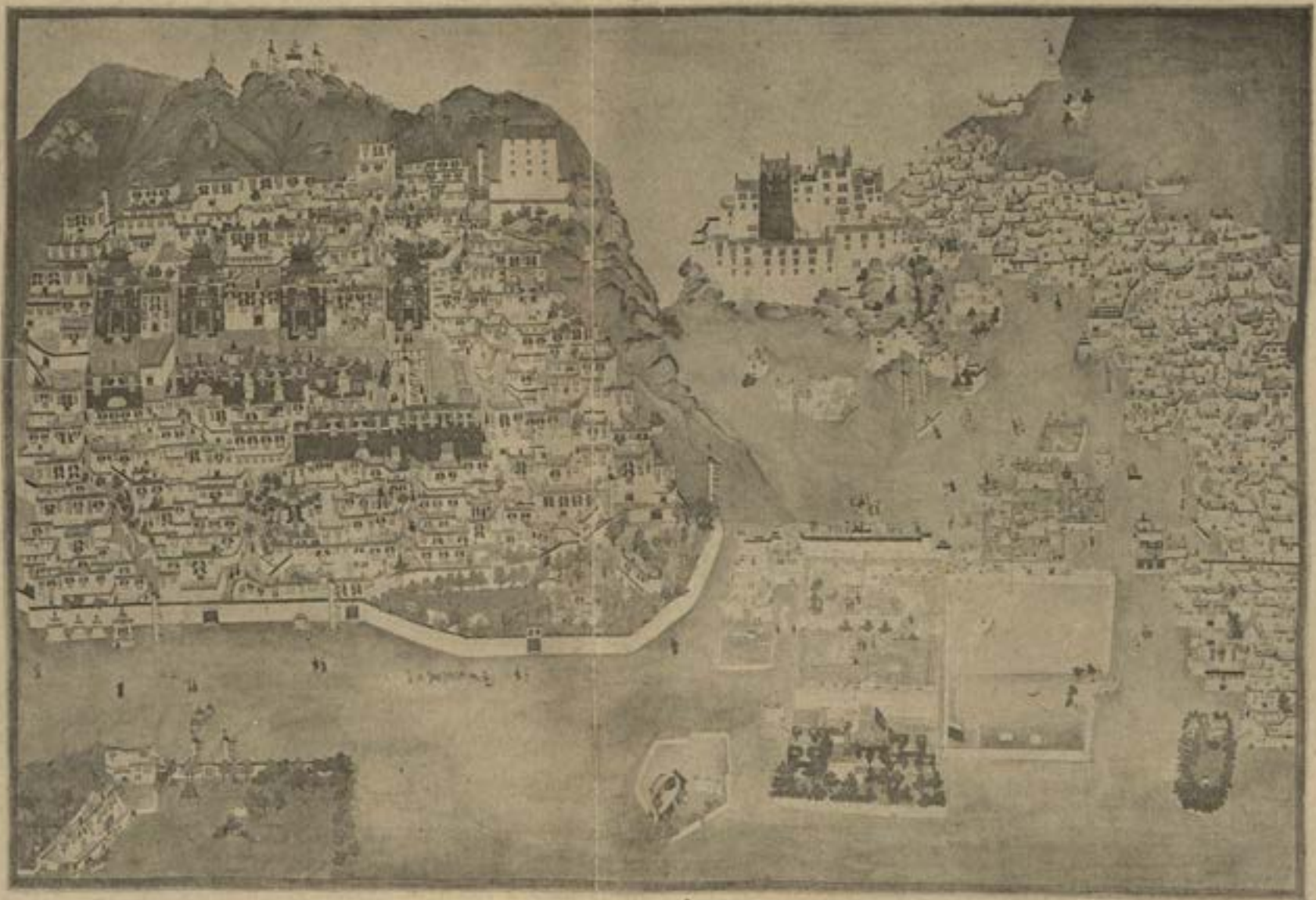

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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II.

History of Tibet.—Chronology.—Annual Feasts.—Army.—Criminal Laws.—Taxes.—Levy of Troops.—Government.—Dress.—Food.—Forms of Politeness.—Marriages.—Funerals.—Dwellings.—Medical Science.—Divination.—Markets.—Workmen.

INSCRIPTION COMPOSED BY THE EMPEROR K'ANG-HSI ON THE PACIFICATION OF TIBET.

Formerly in the seventh year Ch'ung-tê (A.D. 1643) of the Emperor T'ai-tsung-wen, the Panch'en Erdeni, the Talé lama, and Ku-shih han (Gushi khan), knowing of the appearance of a superior man in the eastern country, sent envoys for the express purpose (of seeing him). They were only able to reach their destination by passing through hostile countries, and after several years they arrived at Sheng-ching (Mukden). This was eighty years ago. (These princes) were all alike doers of good works and liberal patrons (of the clergy), and peace and happiness reigned (in their

land). But after the death of the Talé lama, the Déba[1] kept the news hidden from Us, and for sixteen years he madly ruled according to his caprice. La-tsang put him to death, and then Religion reappeared. For this reason We acceded to the united supplications of La-tsang and all the princes of the Kokonor when Chih-wang a-la-p'u-tan in his foolishness fomented troubles. He excited to rebellion the Chun-ko-ehr (Sungans), who committed riotous acts of open rebellion, burning down the Talé lama's (monument), levelling to the ground the pagoda of the fifth Talé lama, polluting the Pan-ch'en, destroying the convents, and killing the lamas. Glorying in being the champion of the Faith, he was in truth but its destroyer, seeking stealthily to take for himself the country of Tibet.

In view of these lawless deeds, We ordered one of Our sons (lit. a Prince) to take the command of a large army, and We sent Our other sons and grandsons with a corps of 10,000 Manchus, Mongols, and Green-banner men. Marching on through malarial countries, nothing daunted, they kept on to their destination. Three times the rebels attacked their camp in the dead of night, but Our soldiers repulsed them heroically with loss. All the rebels were dismayed and fled far away, and not (another) arrow was shot. Tibet was pacified, and the Law again held its sway. We conferred a diploma and seal on the Hu-pi-ehr-han (*hubil'han*) and enthroned (him as) the sixth Talé lama. The abode of meditation was peaceful and tranquil, and all the monks and laymen of Tibet could enjoy the possession of

[1] It ought to read Desi, or སྡེ་སྲིད་. This celebrated minister was called *Sang-gyé-jya-ts'o* (སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་). He is also famous as an author; he wrote the *Vaidurya dkar-po*, the *Vaidurya sngon-po*—the first an historical, astronomical, and astrological work, the second a medical one also the *Gyah-sel*, or "Effacer of stains," refuting criticisms on his works, etc., etc. See Cso'ma, *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 191. According to the *Sheng wu chi*, V. p. 5, he appears to have had friendly relations with Wu-san-kuei, after the commencement of his rebellion in 1674. This work contains a full account of *Sang-jyé jya-tso's* regency and intercourse with China.

their own. Then all the officials and the people declared that the imperial troops in the western campaign had marched through unhealthy countries, over bad and long roads, and had in less than six months completely pacified the country; no such deed had ever been accomplished since the days of old. Moreover all the Mongol tribes and the princes of Tibet memorialized Us as follows: "The courage and forethought of the Emperor places him far higher than the greatest generals. Since the troops of the Emperor have come and swept away the foul fiends which had shown themselves, the Mongols are able to devote themselves to religion as of old. All the people of K'ams, Tsang, and Wu can live in peace and happiness, all the burning wrongs being extinguished. 'Tis for this that there is no one in the whole world who does not extol without ceasing the exalted virtue and great merit (of the Emperor). We respectfully beg that you will bestow on us a commemorative tablet written in your hand, to be engraved on stone and set up so that it may be an everlasting testimony."

Although We are unworthy of this honour, still, it being such a general and persistent request, We have composed this writing, and have had a stone erected in Tibet,[1] so that Chinese and foreigners might be made aware of the fidelity of the Talé lama during three reigns,[2] and the sincerity of the devotion of the tribes to the teaching of the Faith. We have done this the more readily that rebellion has vanished, peace has been re-established, tranquillity reigns, and Religion is flourishing.

[1] *Hsi-Ts'ang* must here, as also very frequently in this book, be understood as meaning Lh'asa.

[2] Or it may be three dynasties (三 朝), *i.e.* Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing. The stone tablet bearing this inscription is in front of Potala, facing the city.

I.

History of Tibet.

To describe the customs of a remote and wild country is a difficult task; there are even people who say that its remoteness makes it unworthy of notice. But the reasons of its institutions, the rude manners of its people, their forms of politeness, are all in strict accordance with each other. The perils and varieties of its mountains and waters, and its natural productions are all in relation with the localities, and result from the climate. It is not right then to say that it is a wild, savage country and not to be written about.

There were from of old works on the Hsi-yü, but how full of errors and how inelegantly written! Now I have carefully revised and corrected each one of them, and have compiled (the present work). From (the chapter) on ranks onwards, I have followed the official records, dividing my work into a great number of sections. I have also given a description of the early history (of the Tibetans), and paragraphs on all important points.

Although I cannot write like a literary graduate, setting forth each point about every different locality, yet I have described the character of the people, their idiosyncrasies, the natural productions and the articles of manufacture of each locality, the divisions of the mountain chains, where the rivers and streams have their sources, and the temperature of the different seasons. One may therefore find on inquiry something about climbing the mountains, the obstacles in the path, the limits of the sandy wastes, the heat of the body, the cold of the hands, and the localities where tornadoes (lit. calamities brought by the wind) and devilish annoyances (may occur), for all these have I described.

However extraordinary (what I relate about) the presence of spirits occasioning strange events, their supernatural character, the abstruse nature of the influences at work, their unhallowed actions, these statements may be trusted

and corroborated, and are nowise the vain growth of my imagination. All savants and sages may examine what I have written on the subject.

The country of the Tangutans of Hsi-Ts'ang, also known as the tribes of T'u-po-te, was called during the Ming period Wu-ssŭ-ts'ang.[1] This people's origin is traced back to the old San-miao tribes. Shun sent the San-miao to San-wei, which corresponded (to the modern) K'ams, Wu and Tsang (see Edict of the Sixtieth Year of K'ang-hsi, A.D. 1721).[2]

Later on (Chou) Ping Wang (B.C. 770), having removed to the East, the Ch'iang (羌) harassed China. The rebels took up their abode between the Yi and Lo of the Lung shan.[3]

Ch'in Shih-huang built the Great wall. Han Wu-ti forbade such of the Ch'iang as lived on the frontier from entering (inside the wall); they were hence called Hsi Ch'iang [Ch'iang to the West (of the wall)].

In the time of Ch'in Huai-ti (A.D. 307, 313) lived Ch'ang, the son of Yao I-ching, of the Chih-t'ing Ch'iang. He overthrew the Ch'in dynasty,[4] and was made Emperor, holding his court at Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an Fu). Later on (the Hou Ch'in) dynasty was overthrown by Liu-yü.

There were altogether over a hundred allied tribes of the Hsi Ch'iang scattered between the Yellow River, the Hsi-

[1] Wu-ssŭ-ts'ang (烏斯藏) represents the Tibetan དབུས་ pronounced *Wu*, the province in which Lh'asa is situated. The name Tangutan was originally applied to tribes of Turkish origin living in the Altai. See *Hsi Ts'ang fu*, p. 1.

[2] Published in the *Hsi-yü kao ku-lu*, XVI. p. 1. San wei shan, says the commentary to the *Hou Han shu*, is S.E. of Tun-huang Hsien of Sha ch'uan. It has three peaks, hence the name *San wei*, or "three heights" (三危). See also *Shu ching*, II. 1.

[3] 伊洛, probably the Yi ho and Lo-yüan in Kan-su. This paragraph is taken from the *Hou Han shu*, Bk. 77, which contains further interesting details. The *Shih chi* and the *Ch'ien Han shu* contain nothing important on the subject.

[4] He dethroned Ch'in Fu-kien in A.D. 385. See Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, No. 902.

ning River, the (Yang-tzŭ) chiang, and the Min.[1] Their head chief lived west of the Hsi-chih River, also called the River of Lo-so.[2]

During the Wei, Chou and Ch'i dynasties the Ch'iang gradually extended, but they had no relations with China.

In the K'ai-huang period of the Sui (A.D. 581–601) there lived to the west of Tsang-ko[3] a certain Lun tsan-so (po ?). He vanquished the T'u-hun (of the Koko nor), took possession of their country, and founded a kingdom with his residence west of the Ch'i-pu ch'uan (跂布川). He changed his family name to that of Tsu-po-yeh, and the kingdom was called T'u-fa (禿髮), incorrectly pronounced (or which has been perverted into) T'u-fan (吐蕃).

In the eighth year Cheng-kuan of the T'ang (A.D. 634), the Tsang-pu Lung-tsan (*tsang-pu* means "king") sent tribute-bearers to Court and begged for a wife. T'ai-tsung would not consent, then the T'u-fan assembled their forces on the western border of Sung Chou (Sung-p'an in N.W. Ssŭ-ch'uan)

[1] 河湟江岷. The Hsi-ning River of Kan-su is often called the Huang. The Min here referred to flows into the Yang-tzŭ at Chia-ting in Ssŭ-ch'uan.

[2] 析支水. The river which flows south of Lh'asa is still called Chi ch'u (ཇི་ཆུ). The text reads *Lo-po* (邏婆), but the latter character should be 娑, now pronounced *so*, but formerly *sa*. In the T'ang shu Lh'asa is called *Lo-hsieh* (邏些). The old palace of the kings of Tibet was some 100 miles S.E. of Lh'asa, on or near the right bank of the Tsang-po.

[3] 羊同 comprised parts of Ssŭ-ch'uan, Hu-nan Kuei-chou, and Kuang-hsi. Playfair, *Towns and Cities of China*, No. 7393. The T'u-hun, or T'u-ko-hun, came originally from Liao-tung. Their capital was a few miles W. of the Koko nor. Probably Lun tsan-po is Nam-ri srong-tsan (གནམ་རི་སྲོང་བཙན) the father of Srong-tsan gambo, the Lung-tsan of the text. Tsan-po (བཙན་པོ) is a Tibetan title corresponding to the Sanskrit *Acharya*. The Ch'i-pu ch'uan is identical with the Hsi-chih river mentioned previously. The old sound of *fa* in T'u-fa was *bat* or *pat*; consequently T'u-fa represents *Teu-peu* (སྟོད་པོད) our "*Tibet*." Conf. Introduction, p. 1.

and committed ravages. T'ai-tsung ordered 50,000 troops to march against them, and attacked them. Lung-tsan in great consternation retreated, sent tribute-bearers to apologize for his misdeeds, and renewed his request for a wife. T'ai-tsung gave him Princess Wen-cheng (*Wen-cheng Kung-chu*),[1] a member of his own family, and ordered Tao-tsung, Prince of Chiang-hsia, to direct the marriage ceremonies. Lung-tsan went in person as far as the source of the Yellow River to receive her, and conducted her back (to Lh'asa ?). He had erected for her a palace built[2] with ridge-poles and eaves (in Chinese fashion). The princess, disliking the reddish-brown colour put on the faces of the people,[3] the Tsan-po ordered the practice to be discontinued throughout the realm. Moreover he himself put on fine silks and brocades, instead of felt and skins, and gradually took to Chinese customs. He sent the children of the chief men to request admittance to the national schools (of China), there to study the classics, and he furthermore requested Chinese scholars to compose his official reports (to the Emperor). Kao-tsung conferred on Lung-tsan the title of Fu-ma tu-yü[4] and Prince of Hsi-hai (the Koko nor). He (Lung-tsan) asked for silk-worms' eggs, for stone crushers, and presses for making wine, and for paper and ink makers. Everything was granted, together with the almanack.

Chi-lu-so-tsan,[5] grandson of the Tsan-po, having succeeded him on the throne, also requested a wife (of the Emperor). Chung-tsung gave him his adopted child, the daughter of the Prince of Yung, the Princess Chin-Ch'eng. The Emperor, who loved her dearly, pitched his tent at Shih-p'ing Hsien,

[1] She is always spoken of by Tibetans as Kong-cho, and is supposed to have been an incarnation of the goddess Drolma.

[2] The Marpori podrang, which was to become in after ages the palace of the Talé lama. For a complete translation of the text of the *T'ang shu*, from which this part of our work is taken, see S. W. Bushell, J.R.A.S., New Series, Vol. XII. p. 439 *et sqq*.

[3] Possibly refers to the custom, now general among the women of the country, of smearing their faces with *teu-ja*.

[4] This title was given to the husband of an Imperial princess.

[5] *Khri-lde gtsug-bstan mes Ag-ts'oms*, pronounced *Tri-dé tsug-tan mé Ak-ts'om* in Tibetan; but he was not the immediate successor of Song-tsan gam-po. Mang-song mang-tsan was Song-tsan's grandson, and successor in 650. The *T'ang shu* states the facts correctly.

on the edge of the Po-ching lake, and called the princes, dukes, ministers, and the T'u-fan envoys to a feast. When the wine had been drunk, he ordered the T'u-fan envoys to approach, when he told them that the Princess was young, and that her marriage in a distant land tore her away from his parental affection. For a long time he could not repress his sobs, then he ordered Li-chiao and other scholars, seventeen in number, to compose farewell verses. The name of Shih-p'ing Hsien was changed to Chin-ch'eng Hsien, and this spot (*i.e.* the edge of Po-ching lake) was called Fen-che, "the place of the mournful separation."

The Princess, having arrived in T'u-fan, had also a palace built for her residence.

In the reign of Jui-tsung (A.D. 710–713) Yang Chü-shou was bribed by the T'u-fan to petition that Chiu-ch'ü (九曲) of Ho-hsi be given Princess Chin-Ch'eng as part of her dowry.[1] Shortly after this they revolted.

In the seventeenth year of Hsüan-tsung (A.D. 729) the T'u-fan, trusting in their power, had the insolence to send a *piao* (表 "statement") to the Emperor. The Emperor was angered, and sent a general and put them to rout, and again they sued for peace. The Emperor ordered an envoy to go to Princess Chin-Ch'eng, and the T'u-fan again sent letters to the Court with tribute. The Princess requested in her own name copies of the *Mao shih, Li ki, Tso-chuan* and *Wen-hsüan*, all of which were granted her, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Yü Hsiu-lieh.

In the twenty-fourth year (A.D. 735) the eunuch Ts'ui Hsi-yi, a white dog having been killed as a sworn covenant, deceived the T'u-fan and defeated them by this ruse on the Ch'ing hai (*i.e.* Koko nor). They again ceased to send tribute.

[1] 湯沐地. I follow Bushell in translating this expression by "dowry." I have read somewhere, I cannot recall where, that some Emperor of China used to make over to the Empress a certain territory for her skirts, another for her hair-pins, another for her fans, and so on. Literally, *t'ang mu ti* would mean "the hot bath place, or territory." In Xenophon's Anabasis we read of certain villages being given to the queen "for her girdle."

In the twenty-eighth year (739) they plundered Wei Chou,[1] but they were defeated, and the city of An-jung was taken, and its name changed to P'ing-jung.

In the spring of the 29th year (740) the Princess Chin-ch'eng died, and the T'u-fan came to bring the news. They also sued for peace, which was granted them.

Later on, in the Ch'ien-yüan period (758-760), availing themselves of the dissensions of the T'ang, they got possession of all the western frontier (戎 境).

During the reign of Su-tsung (756–763) the T'u-fan sent envoys to make a treaty, and Kuo Tzŭ-i ordered them to smear their lips with blood at the Hung-lu-ssŭ,[2] according to the custom of the Fan barbarians.

In the first year Kuang-t'ê (of T'ai Tsung) (763), the T'u-fan, the capital being unguarded, entered Ch'ang-an with the assistance of the degraded general Kao-Ting-hui, and raised to the throne as Emperor the Prince of Kuang-wu. Kuo Tzŭ-i returning, took such measures that the (T'u-fan) troops were disconcerted and fled.

In the second year Chien-chung (781), the T'u-fan requested that the frontier be fixed at Ho-lan-shan (賀 蘭 山).[3] In the fourth year (783) they sent officials to make a treaty at Ch'ing shui (the Koko nor ?), and in front of the Ta-chao (*i.e.* the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa) is the tablet of the treaty between the nephew and the uncle (then concluded).[4]

In the first year Hsing-yüan (784), the T'u-fan assisted Hun Chien in defeating Chu Chi at Wu-ting ch'uan of Wu-kung. Ching Chou and Ling Chou,[5] which had been granted them as a recompense, were not however given

[1] Near Wen-ch'uan in Ssŭ-ch'uan. An-jung, or P'ing-jung, is the modern Ch'in-an, near Ch'in-Chou, in S.E. Kan-su, on the road to Hsi-an.

[2] Or Court of State Ceremonial—one of the four minor courts. See Mayers' *Chinese Government*, p. 27.

[3] I am unable to give this mountain's modern name. It is probably in Kan-su.

[4] See Bushell, *op. cit.* p. 486 *et sqq.*

[5] 涇 州 in the P'ing-ch'ing Ching circuit in eastern Kan-su. 靈 州 also in Kan-su in the Ning-hsia department, but on the right side of the Yellow River.

them, so the T'u-fan, pretending that they wanted to conclude a treaty, attacked Hun Chien and overwhelmed his troops, Hun chien barely escaping with his life. After this they committed great ravages, and raided the Wu shan and Ch'ien-yang borders.

In the fifth year Cheng-yüan (789), Wei Kao, governor of Chien-nan,[1] defeated them badly, and recovered the Sui Chou country. In the seventh year (791) he also defeated them.

In the sixteenth year (799) Wei Kao was ordered to commence a campaign from Ch'eng-tu to pacify the disturbed borders. He therefore ordered Ch'en Chi and others to march troops out by the Lung-hsi shih men and by the southern roads by Ya, Ch'iung,[2] Li and Sui, to make a general attack on the cities of Kun-ming and No-chi. The concentration was made by nine roads, and from the eighth to the twelfth month they inflicted frequent defeats (on the T'u-fan), took by storm seven cities, invested Wei Chou, and captured the Fan general Mang-ro, whom they sent a prisoner to the capital.

In the first year Ch'ang-ch-ing, of Mu-tsung (821), the T'u-fan again requesting to have a treaty, the censor Liu Yüan-ting was sent, who concluded one with them. Yüan-ting first met the Tsan-po at Mên-chü-lu ch'uan ("valley"), where he had his summer residence. This river (valley) is 100 *li* S. of the Lo-so ch'uan, and the Tsang River flows into (through) it. The character 臧 (*tsang*) has the same value as 藏 (*ts'ang, i.e.* "confluence"); hence the name *Hsi Ts'ang*.[3]

[1] The present Ch'eng-tu, capital of Ssŭ-ch'uan. Sui Chou was, according to Playfair, *op. cit.* No. 6718, near Li-kiang tu in N.W. Yün-nan.

[2] Ya chou, on the road between Ch'eng-tu and Ta-chien-lu, Ch'iung-chen was near Ya chou. Li Chou was near Ch'ing-ch'i Hsien. All towns of W. Ssŭ-ch'uan.

[3] The Lo-so ch'uan is the Kyi ch'u, the Tsang the Yaru tsang po. The text only implies that the name given to Tibet is taken from that of the great river of the country. The treaty here referred to has been translated from the Chinese text by Dr. Bushell, *op. cit.* p. 535 *et sqq.* He also gives a rubbing of the inscription; the Tibetan text does not reproduce the phraseology of the Chinese, but substantially agrees with it. The summer residence alluded to in our text must have been on the Yaru tsang po, near the mouth of the Kyi chu, probably at Gongka dzong. See Bushell, *op. cit.* p. 520, where this phrase of the text is clearer.

From the time when the T'u-fan sent Lun-hsi no-hsi to court in company with Yüan-ting, there were no more troubles.

From the time of Huang-chao, relations ceased between the two countries, and the state (*i.e.* Tibet) thenceforth declined and became divided into clans, which could not be united again.

In the third year Kuang-shun of the Chou (953), the governor of Hsi-ho, Shen Shih-hou, presented a petition to the Emperor requesting that the T'u-fan Chih-p'u-chih and others might be given official rank.

Coming down from that period to the fourth year Ch'ien-tê of the Sung (967), the prefect of Hsi-liang Fu, Pu Ko-chih, informed the Emperor that 200 odd Hui-hu (Uigurs) and some ten Buddhist priests from the northern regions were desirous of going to India to procure religious books. Their request was granted with commendations. These barbarian priests were the founders (of their order in that country).

In the eighth year T'ai-ping Hsing-kuo (983) the T'u-fan came with tribute. T'ai-tsung granted them an audience, and entertained the chiefs most graciously in the *Ch'ung-cheng* hall. In consequence of this they frequently sent tribute. Later on, when their country was invaded by Li Chi-chien, the chief P'an-lo-chih with thirty-two tribes of barbarians made their submission (to China). He was appointed governor of the northern regions.[1]

In the first year Hsien-ping (998), the general of Kuei-tê,[2] commanding the left wing of the army west of the Huang ho, Chih-p'u-yo lung-po by name, came to court to present horses. Although the Fan had for (the last) four generations been subject to the commands of the reigning dynasty, still their chiefs had not habitually come in person to offer their tribute, so, now that one had come, the Emperor

[1] 朔方 *So-fang* usually means the northern part of China. At some periods it has designated a portion of Shan-hsi.

[2] Kuei-tê is an important frontier town (*t'ing*) of Kan-su on the Yellow River.

appointed him auxiliary general for the suppression of Li Chi-chien. Later on some of Chien's band murdered him in his tent.

After this all the (T'u-fan) tribes commenced seizing each other's territory, and Ssŭ-nan-ling-wen-chien-p'u of the Yung-ssŭ-lo (tribe) acted in like manner, and Chien-p'u became what might be called the *Btsan-po*. He was a fine, portly man, and his tribe was very powerful. He selected Li-li to be *lum-po—lum-po* (བློན་པོ) meaning "minister."

He sought to become a subject of the Empire, and in the first year Ming-tao (1032) the Emperor granted him the title of Generalissimo of Ning-yüan (*Ning-yüan Ta Chiang-chün*). After this he several times defeated Yüan-hao of the Hsia, and the tribes which had until then adhered to P'an-lo-chih gradually went over to him. In the first year Pao-yüan (1038) he was promoted to the rank of *Pao-shun chün lang-tu-shih*, and agreed to undertake a campaign against Yuan-hao, but he accomplished nothing important in it. During the three reigns of Shen, Che, and Kao (1068–1126) he was raised successively to be *Chien-hsiao-t'ai-wei*, *La-shih*, *T'ai-pao*, and *Tuan-lien-shih*,[1] but notwithstanding all these titles conferred on him by the Sung Emperors, the country to the west of the Yellow River was lost, taken by the Western Hsia (*i.e.* the Tanguts), and there were moreover no end of border troubles.

During the Liao period (1066–1201) the T'u-fan again brought tribute to Court. These were the Ta Fan (Great Fan), Hsiao Fan (Little Fan), and the Hu-wu-ssŭ shan (胡母思山) Fan.

At the beginning of the Yüan period the (T'u-fan) chief Chang-ku came to Court, according to custom. He received the title of Prince of Ning-p'u (*Ning-p'u Chün-wang*), and was given the guard of the frontier from Hsi-ning to the Yellow River (or "to Ho Chou" 河州).

[1] Some of these titles are military, some civil; it is impossible to translate them exactly. *T'ai-pao* is of course "Grand guardian," a title of one of the members of the Grand Secretariat. The text does not state whether all these honours were conferred on one chief, probably not.

In the fourth year of T'ai-tsu of the Yüan (1209), the Emperor entered the country of the Yellow River, took the city of Wu-la-hai,[1] and joined it on to the Hsi-ning Government. He reorganized the T'u-fan tribes, setting native officers over them, appointing one generalissimo (*Yüan-shuai-fu*), and attached (these tribes for administrative purposes) to the Prefectures of Tao Chou, Min Chou (in Kan-su), Li (Chiang Fu in Yün-nan), and Ya (Chou Fu in Ssŭ-ch'uan).

She-tsu (Kublai), in view of the great extent of this country, its inaccessibility and remoteness, the savagery of the people, and their warlike spirit, thought that it might be possible to make this race tractable while observing its customs. He therefore divided the T'u-fan country into *Chün* (districts) and *Hsien* (sub-districts), appointing officers to govern them, and they were all subordinate to the Emperor's Adviser, who was a Tibetan from Sakya (in Ulterior Tibet), called Pa-ssŭ-pa.[2] When only seven years old, (P'apa) knew by heart one million words of the sacred books, and could explain their most secret meaning. The people of the country called him "the divine child."[3] In the first year Chung-tung (1260) he was honoured with the title of *Ta pao Fa-wang* ("Great Precious Spiritual Prince"), a jade seal was conferred on him, and he was made head of the Buddhist Church (of Tibet).

For generations his successors were styled *Ssŭ-t'u*, *Ssŭ-kung*, and *Kuo-kung*, and had engraved seals in jade and

[1] 兀剌海. One of the seven *lu* of the Mongol period, including Tangut, or Kan-su. This was probably the kingdom of *Egrigaia* of Marco Polo. Porter Smith, *Vocabulary of Proper Names*, p. 63.

[2] The *I-tung chih* transcribes his name more closely by Pa-ko-ssŭ-pa. In Tibetan it is འཕགས་པ pronounced *P'a-pa*, and is used to render the Sanskrit *Arya*, "Venerable."

[3] 神童 *Shen-t'ung*. For a full account of this celebrated lama, see Howorth, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 506 *et sqq.* Also Pauthier, *Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, xix. "Koeppen," Mr. Howorth remarks (*op. cit.* p. 509), "compares with some force the position of the Bashpa Lama and his successors, in regard to the Mongol Emperor's with that of the Pope's, to the Emperors Pepin and Karl the Great."

gold. They were from first to last welcomed and sought after (by the Court). The Court at all times treated them with the greatest respect, putting entire confidence in them, and showing them every kind of favour.

In the Ming period Tibet was called Wu-ssŭ t'sang, and comprised all the native T'u-fan (tribes). The T'u-fan of Wu-ssŭ-t'sang, being solely occupied with religious works, were docile and easily controlled.

Going beyong the western frontier from Ma-hu Fu in Ssŭ-ch'uan[1] (to the Tibetan frontier) is over 1500 *li*, 1000 *li* and more from Li-chiang Fu in Yün-nan, and over 5000 *li* to Hsi-ning-wei in Shan-hsi (Kan-su at present). This country has many priests, who do not live in cities and towns, but on high terraced (buildings) of earth. Some, however, do not live in these terraced (buildings) of earth.[2]

In the commencement of the Hung-wu period (1368) T'ai-tsu, taking into consideration the revolt of the T'u-fan during the T'ang period, thought that they might be kept under control by taking advantage of their customs and putting them under the management of the priesthood, who would teach them and lead them in the right way. He therefore sent a Shan-hsi man, Hsü Yün-tê, an inspector of a board (*Yüan wai-ling*), to Tibet with orders to present to the Emperor (meritorious) officials of the Yüan period, who would come to the capital for official preferment. In this way Nam-jya-pa tsan-po (*Nan-chia-pa tsang-pu*), who had been made *Ti-shih* (Imperial Adviser in the Yüan period), was now made *Chih-sheng Fo-pao Kuo-shih*,[3] and received a jade seal. The Emperor also conferred on Pal-cheng zang-pa zang-po (? *Po-ko-chien tsang-pa tsang-pu*), the successor of Pa-ssŭ-pa, the *Ti-shih* of the Yüan period, the title of *Ta*

[1] Ma-hu Fu in P'ing-shan Hsien in Ssŭ-ch'uan.

[2] The *Ming shih*, Bk. 331, from which this is taken, is clearer than the text. It says: "Wu-ssŭ t'sang is S.W. of Yün-nan, over 1000 *li* from Li-chiang Fu in Yün-nan, 1500 odd *li* from Ma-hu Fu in Ssŭ-ch'uan, and 5000 odd *li* from Hsi-ning wei in Shan-hsi. This country has many priests who do not have fortified enceintes, but live all together on great earthen terraces. They do not eat meat, nor can they marry . . . . The priests who live outside of these earthen terraces eat meat and marry, etc." Books 330, 331 of the *Ming shih* are devoted to Tibet.

[3] Literally translated, "Many Buddhas, precious adviser of the realm."

Kuo shih ("Great Preceptor of the Realm"). He conferred on the Wu-ssŭ-ts'ang priest Karmaka (? *Ta-li-ma Pa-tzŭ*) the title of *Kuan-ting Kuo-shih*,[1] with a jade seal inscribed *Fo-pao Kuo-shih*. Moreover Karmaka (?) having sent tribute-bearers to Court and made representations to the Throne in favour of a number of native officials, the Emperor gave orders to appoint officers as local magistrates (*chih-hui*), and also headmen of every ten thousand and every thousand to keep the country quiet; seals of office were to be cast for each of them according to their offices.

In the third year of Yung-lo (1405) the priest Karmaka (*Ha-li-ma*), who was so greatly respected by his countrymen on account of his virtue and magical power that they called him "the perfect man" (*Cheng-tsu*), was honoured with the title of *Yen-chiao Ju-lai Ta pao Fa-wang*.[2] The Wu-ssŭ-ts'ang priest Kon-ch'ö p'a-pa (*Kun-tzŭ pa-ssŭ-pa*) was at the same time made *Ta sheng Fa-wang*.[3] The Emperor conferred on Chi-tzu-ssŭ-pa chien-tsang-pu the title of *Ch'an-hua Wang*,[4] on the Ssŭ-ta-tsang priest Nan-k'o lieh-ssŭ-pa the title of *Fu-chia Wang*, on the Pi-li-kung-wa (Brébung ?) priest Ling-chen pa-erh-chi chien-tsang that of *Ch'an-chiao Wang*. On the Ling-tsang priest Chu-ssŭ pa-erh chien-tsang, he conferred the title of *Tsan-shan Wang*, and on Tsung-pa-kan that of *Hu-chiao Wang*; he conferred on (other priests) the titles of *Hsi-t'ien Fo-tzŭ*, *Kuan-ting ta Kuo-shih* and *Kuan-ting Kuo-shih*, giving them all seals and ennobling them.

As all the people of this country depend on the tea of China for their very existence, their tribute-bearers of all times, in view of this universal use of tea among Tibetans, have been anxious to make money out of their tribute mission,[5]

[1] Meaning "Holy anointed (灌頂) Adviser (or Preceptor) of the realm." The inscription on his seal meant "Buddha, precious Adviser of the realm."

[2] Meaning, "Wide-spreading teaching Tathagata, great precious spiritual prince."

[3] "Spiritual prince of the Great Vehicle" (*Māhayāna Dharmaraja*).

[4] "Expanded incarnation Prince." Fu-chiao Wang means "Prince protecting the Doctrine." Ch'an-chiao wang, "Prince of expanded doctrine," and all the other titles in the same style.

[5] It will be shown in the Supplementary Note, how it is possible for the tribute missions to make money, and what immunities they enjoy.

and have been desirous of preserving the offices which they have held for generations, and which they did not want to see altered. Since the Ming period the Throne has conferred on them offices and promoted them to new honours, most friendly treaties have been made with them, and they have been encouraged to come and trade tea and horses. Notwithstanding the endless advantages given them (since days of old) and the perfect freedom from all vexations they have enjoyed, never has the majesty of the Throne been extended so far abroad as during the reigning dynasty. (The Tibetans) have been sincerely gained over, have been models of uprightness, and they everywhere sing the praises of the Emperor's rule. As to the Talé lama and the Pan ch'en erdeni, the *T'u-kao* section of this work contains every detail concerning them, so it is unnecessary for me to speak of them here.

II.

Boundaries of the Kingdom of Lh'asa.

East from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa the frontier is at the Ning-ching shan of Bat'ang, which is conterminous with Ch'uan-tien. (See the Itinerary.)

South from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa the frontier is on the other side of Kuo-k'o la, Sung-ko la, and Cha la, conterminous with Ho-yu ju-pa (Lh'o-yul) and the Nu chiang. (The Nu chiang is a broad river without banks, either side being high rocky walls, between which flows the rushing torrent. It is impassable for boats. This country is also called Kung-po.[1]) West from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa,

[1] It is the Giama na ch'u, or Lu ch'iang. See Section on Rivers and Mountains. *Sheng wu chi*, Bk. V. 1, says that it is a mistake to say that the Nu chiang is the southern frontier of Tibet. The author of this work, written in 1842, did not therefore know of two rivers bearing the same name. The *Hsi Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, V. 44, says that "the Mongols call it in its upper course Kala usu (in Tibetan, Nag ch'u). Entering the territory of the Nu savages (怒夷), it takes the name of Nu chiang, and on entering the department of Lu chiang, that of Lu chiang (潞江)."

passing by Trashil'unpo, one comes to San-sang and the Nari (*Mngari*) frontier. One (frontier line) goes from San-sang by Kang-tê-chai to K'o-erh-tu[1] in Nari, another goes by the Mo-yu la and Tung-la of San-sang, passes by Hsieh-k'o-erh and comes to Nielam (*Nieh-la-mu*) on the frontier of the rebellious barbarians the Gorkhas. (Hsi Ts'ang is composed of four countries, one of which is called Nari, which is a broad expanse of country towards the N.W., conterminous with the neighbouring tribes of Ladak (*La-ta-ko*) and Ku-t'u. Hsieh-k'o-erh is on all sides of difficult access, and is a most important pass of Tibet.)

North from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa, going out by the Yang-pa-chan pass, one comes to the new bridge over the Ping ch'uan. West (of this) one goes to Ulterior Tibet; to the east is Ko-erh-tan. To the north, crossing the steppes (草地)[2] in a straight line, one comes to Galzang kudja (*Ko-erh-tsang-ku*) on the Muru usu, where the road to the Kokonor passes, and here is the frontier.

South-east from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa, going round the Lang-lu mountain and Ta-tse, one passes by the Ch'u-gon (*Chu kung*, ཆུ་མགོན) monastery and the Sha-chin t'ang ("the pool of golden sands"). The road is then through the prairie by way of the Ku-shu pien-k'a ("the barrier of the old tree"), and one comes to Ch'un-pen-sê-ch'a (on the frontier), which is conterminous with Wu-chi, whence there is a high road to Ch'eng-tu.

North-east from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa and east of the Séra monastery, one passes the Phembu (*Peng-to*) River on an iron suspension bridge, (thence) by the Chüeh-tzŭ la, Rŏ-cheng monastery, and Tseng-ting-kung, one comes to the Muru usu (on the frontier), where one joins the high road to Hsi-ning.

South-west (Tibet) communicates through Bhutan (*Pu-lu-ko-pa*) and Nepal (*Pa-lo-pu*) with the European inhabited

[1] Garthok on our maps.

[2] These steppes are frequently called the *Chang t'ang* བྱང་ཐང་, or "Northern plain."

places (in India). Going north from the Nu-chiang by Tsan-i-sang-a, Ch'üeh-tsung and the Lan-tsang chiang, one comes to A-pu la, where one joins the high road to Nan-teng.

North-west from the Jo k'ang of Lh'asa, passing the Ko-li-yé la and mount Na-ko, one comes by the Gobi (*Kuo-pi*) to the high road to Yarkand (*Yeh-erh-chiang*) and the New dominion.

All the Sha chi country (lit. "sand and stone country") is without water or grass. The barbarians call it *Gobi ula* (*Kuo-pi hu-la*), which means "mountain."[1]

III.

I have already stated that never since the days of old has such perfect quiet reigned so far throughout the border countries as during the present dynasty.

Tibet, since the execution of Jyur-mé nam-jyal, has been without a king, and although it is unnecessary to go into a detailed account of it, still something must be said of the way in which recompenses have in all times been conferred. The Talé lama, the Panch'en erdeni, as well as the Kalön, receive the orders of the Court, its liberal dignities and emoluments. They offer presents to the Court, and constitute a bulwark on the frontier. For these reasons I will state what I have learnt from official records concerning their tenure of office.

Dignities conferred by the Emperor.—From the time when Kao-tsung of the T'ang conferred on the Tsan-po of Tibet the title of Fu-ma Tu-yü Prince of Hsi hai, all the different sovereigns who have successively reigned have received the commands of China.

During the present dynasty, in the fifty-ninth year of

[1] Or more correctly "desert mountain."

Kang-hsi, after the pacification of Tibet, the Emperor conferred on K'ang-ch'en-nä (*Kang chi-nai*) the title of *Beileh*; on Na-p'u-pa (*A-erh pu-pa*) that of *Pei-tzŭ* (*i.e.* prince of the fourth order); on Lun-pa nä (*Lung-pu nai*) that of Imperial duke. P'o-lh'a-nä (*Po-la-nai*) and Char-ra nä (*Cha-erh nai*) were made *Kalön*. Later on P'o-lh'a-nä, having rendered noteworthy service by arresting (rebels), was repeatedly commended to the Imperial bounty, and was created a *Chün-wang* and Governor of Tibet. P'o-lh'a-nä dying, his second son, Jyur-mé nam-jyal, inherited his title. In the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1750) he plotted a rebellion, which was suppressed, and he was executed, the royal dignity being done away with.

In the sixteenth year (of Ch'ien-lung, 1751), by Imperial mandate the whole of Tibet was united under the authority of the Talé lama, with four *Fu-kuo-kung*, one first-class *T'ai-chi*, and four *Kalön* (one of whom managing the domestic affairs of the Talé lama, was also a *Fu-kuo-kung*). They submit (names) to the Emperor for the appointment of four *Dä-pön* (the Tibetan brigadier-general), three *Dé-ba* (Tibetan district magistrate), and one *K'an-po* (head of the lama community, like the *Ts'ung-liu-chien* in China), all of whom receive commissions from the Colonial Office (*Li-fan-yüan*) to manage the affairs of Tibet under the direction and orders of the Minister Resident in Tibet and the Talé lama.[1]

Tribute presented at Court.—Hsi-Ts'ang is the Wu-ssŭ-ts'ang of the Ming period. In the fifth year of Hsün-chê (1647) the Ch'an-hua Wang sent So-nam ta-shi lama (*Su-na-mu la-hsi la-ma*) with tribute to Court, and also for the purpose of delivering up the silver seal which he had received towards the end of the Ming dynasty, and receiving the Imperial will concerning its change. The Board of Ceremonies decided that tribute should be sent once every three years by way by Shan-hsi.[2] Each mission might comprise a hundred persons, fifteen of whom might enter the capital,

[1] The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 12, says that prior to the fifty-eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1793) the Imperial Resident in Tibet took no part in the local affairs, being only there to participate in religious ceremonies.

[2] That is to say *viâ* the Hsi-ning road, the *Chang lam* of the Tibetans.

the others remaing at the frontier. Ordinances were made out accordingly.

In the seventh year (of Hsün-chê, 1649) the Ch'an-hua Wang sent Pen-ts'o jya-ts'o la-ma (*P'en-tso chien-tso la-ma*) with tribute, and to deliver the silver seal which had been conferred on him towards the end of the Ming dynasty. In the tenth year (1652) he sent So-nam pal-shi (*So-na-mu pi-la-hsi*) and others with tribute. In the thirteenth year he again sent Pen-tso jya-t'so lama with tribute, and to deliver up the Imperial patent and jade seal which had been conferred on him towards the end of the Ming dynasty. They were transmitted to the Board of Ceremonies, which decided that they should be changed. In the seventeenth year (1659) the Ju-lai Ta-pao Fa-wang Karmapa (? *Ha-li-ma-pa*) sent a priest to Court with a report sealed with his seal, written in Chinese and Tibetan, and also bringing with him native products. The Kuan-ting kuo-shih and the Kuan-ting yuan t'ung-miao-chi kuo-shih, both sent (at this same time) priests with reports sealed with their seals, and written in Chinese and Tibetan, and also presented native products. This mission came by way of Yün-nan.

The Ch'an-hua Wang sent the following products, gilded bronze idols, religious pictures, bronze pagodas, relics (*sharira*), coral, rhinoceros horns, yellow hats with a point on the left side,[1] pulo of different colours, shawls of different colours, calicos, assafœtida, black perfume (musk?), white beaver skins (白海騾), black and white hair tassels.

The Ta-pao Fa-wang sent the following products, relics of Shakya Buddha, Tibetan (lit. barbarian) pictures, bronze idols, gold (prayer) wheels, coral, rhinoceros horns, pearls, strings of precious stones, amber beads, skins of *tz'ŭ shou* (慈獸),[2] tiger skins, panther skins, relics, monkey (猻) skins, saffron, fine camlots (毡 氆氇)[3] of different colours,

[1] 黃左髻帽. These hats are said to be the same as those known in Peking as the 英雄帽子 *Ying-hsiung mao-tzŭ*.

[2] The first character is possibly a mistake for 蚱玆, also pronounced *tzu*; in which case the two characters may be rendered "hedgehog."

[3] The *K'ang-hsi tzŭ-tien* explains this by 鳥尾趙毛也.

shawls of different colours, blue and white hair tassels, plaid serge (褐), flowered pulo.

The Kuan-ting Kuo-shih sent the following products: bronze idols, prayer wheels, rhinoceros horns, coral, pearls, coloured calicos, embroidered rugs, pulo of different colours, coloured serge.

The Kuan-ting yuan-t'ung-miao-chi Kuo-shih sent the following articles: Tibetan pictures, bronze idols, gold prayer wheels, pearls, coral, coloured calicos, relics, monkey skins (see the *Hui-tien*).

Since the ordinance of the fifty-ninth year of K'ang-hsi, the Talé lamas have taken turns with the Pan-ch'en lama in sending a yearly tribute mission to Court which bears a report in Tibetan enumerating the articles it brings.

In the fifteenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1750), Jyur-mé nam-jyal, having rebelled, was put to death, and the following year the Emperor ordered that the Talé lama should send an envoy and an assistant envoy to Court with the tribute, just as P'o-lha-nä had come with the tribute (with the Talé lama). In consequence of this the Talé lama's assistant envoy was made the head of the mission. This rule is still in vigour to the present day, and the Talé lama sends a *K'an-po* and a *Cha-dzo-pa* on these missions. Congratulations are presented to the Emperor on his birthday by the tribute missions which are yearly sent by the Talé lama or the Pan-ch'en erdeni.

If the K'o-erh-chih-pu tsun-pa Hutukht'u happens to present the customary congratulations on the Emperor's birthday, he offers as presents sacred pictures, sacred books written in gold, silver pagodas, variegated cards, the eight emblems of good luck,[1] all of which objects are enumerated in a document to be laid before the Emperor, so that he may see all which has been sent.

[1] Known in Tibetan as the *tra-shi tag jyé* (བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད) "the eight signs of luck." They are to be seen on nearly all Buddhist monuments, and are in frequent use as decorations on Chinese porcelain and embroideries. In Chinese they are called 八吉祥 *pa chi hsiang*.

Besides offering the Emperor birthday congratulations, the Talé lama and the Pan-ch'en erdeni lama present the Emperor (on such occasions) longevity scarfs (壽帕 *shou-pa k'a-tag* in Tibetan), prayer beads, Tibetan incense and pulo. When their envoys are leaving, the Emperor graciously confers on them gold tablets (金幣) to gratify them.[1]

IV.

The division of the seasons of the year is within the control of the Sovereign, and, the six points of space excepted (which alone evade his control), how much more so (the selection of) the day on which the year commences?

Those who for so many years have been attached to the Imperial Court, how could they, even from afar, not listen to its teaching? And so it is that in the Tibetan system of reckoning years, the year (as in China) commences with the "opening of spring."[2]

As to the climate, however, the sage Prince does not (attempt to) regulate it; for it varies from hot to cold according to the altitude of the place.

Finally (what is about to be said) concerning the great feasts of the year and their peculiarities, statements which may call forth astonishment from those who read them, is not a mere fabrication, made up of a tissue of baseless lies.

Chronology.—The (Tibetan) people do not know of the "celestial cyclic characters" (天干), but they reckon years according to the "terrestrial characters" (地支). According to their system of reckoning, twelve (lunar) months make a year. The cyclic characters according to which they reckon

[1] See supplementary note, *infrà*. These *chin-pi* may be similar to those represented in Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 343 and 347.

[2] 孟春 corresponding with our early part of February.

years are the mouse year, the ox year, the hare year, etc.[1] As to reckoning months, the *yin* (寅) is the first month. There are also intercalary months, only they are not according to the seasons. Thus, for example, in the tenth year *jen-tzŭ* of Yung-cheng (1732) there was an intercalary fifth month, but the Tibetans had an intercalary first month. In the thirteenth year *I-mao* of Yung-cheng (1735) there was an intercalary fourth month, but they had an intercalary seventh month the year before (see the *Chiu Ts'ang chih*).

Again, the intercalation of days is not as with us; for example, if there be an intercalary day on the first, there is no second of the month, and they pass on to the third. If during the month they drop out a day or two, they omit all mention of them. For example, if they drop out the 27th, they call the following day the 28th. They have no short months, but only a first (朔), fifteenth (望), and last day (晦) of the month. They call the first month *tuan kuo*[2] (端 郭); to the months which follow they give the names of the succeeding numerals.

In counting the days they only make use of the five elements of metal, wood, water, fire and earth, just as we have it in our almanack.[3]

[1] The Tibetans make use of two cycles—that of sixty years and that of twelve. The former is of two kinds, the Chinese and the Indian; the latter is also of two descriptions, that in which each year bears the name of an animal, and that in which the Chinese terrestrial characters are used. The use of either of these systems is very limited, and as a general rule the Tibetans make no use of dates for fixing passing events. See Csoma's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 147, *et sqq*. Tibet is the only dependency of China on which the Imperial Chinese Almanac has not been imposed as a proof of its vassalage. The Chinese Almanac is sent from Peking on the 1st of the tenth month of each year to the various provinces and Tributary States. See e.g. *Peking Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1887. The Chinese and also Father Desgodins state that the Tibetans follow the Mohammedan (Turkestan?) system of calculating time. See *Peking Gazette*, *loc. cit.* and C. H. Desgodins, *Le Thibet*, p. 369. I have been unable to learn anything of this.

[2] These two characters stand for *dang-po* "first"; the name in full is *da-wa dang-po* (ཟླ་བ་དང་པོ).

[3] The Tibetans have four days in each month—the 1st, 8th, 15th, and 25th—called *du-zang* (*dus bzang*), which resemble our Sundays. The 1st and 15th are the most important feast days, during which the *So-sor-t'ar-pä-do* (*Pratimokṣha sūtra*) is recited in the different lamaseries.

They calculate solar and lunar eclipses with perfect accuracy. The art of calculating and of the verification of prognostics dates (in Tibet) from the time of the T'ang princess (*i.e.* seventh century A.D.).

As to their seasons, the mild and hot ones correspond generally with those in China, being from the second to the eighth month (April-September), but there is no regularity about the clear and rainy weather, or any fixity about the winds and dust storms. As a general rule, it is warm in the plains in Tibet and cold in the elevated localities. They have a saying to the effect that "the climate changes every ten *li*."

At Lh'asa[1] the grain and trees commence growing in the early part of April and the early part of May. Towards the end of spring and in the early part of summer, beans and wheat are sown, and they harvest in the seventh and eighth months (August-September).

As to the frequency of bright days and nights, of thunder and lightning, they are as in China. During the night dew falls, and towards the end of autumn there are slight hoar frosts. Hail is of frequent occurrence the year round. If it happens that while out hunting on the mountains or fishing, persons are suddenly overtaken by it, they recite Buddhist charms to avert it, but frequently they are not heard.[2]

[1] Lit. "Lh'asa Jo k'ang" (*La-sa chao*). It is possible that this may be intended to stand for *Lh'asa dé-ba dzong*, "the district of Lh'asa."

[2] Nain Sing, *Report*, p. lxxxvi, "The snow fall at Shigatze and on the country around never exceeds one foot, although the water of running streams freezes if the current is not very rapid. During my journey in Tibet, from October to June, it never rained, and on only a single occasion did I observe a fall of snow of about three inches, when on my way to Penajong. The inhabitants regard snow as an evil. . . . . Should the fall ever exceed a foot, it is looked on as an evil sign, expressing the displeasure of their gods. . . . . Earthquakes are unknown in the Lh'asa territory proper, though slight earthquakes are said to occur in Nari Karsum." This last remark cannot apply to Eastern Tibet (K'ams); on the 27th April, 1866, the whole of Bat'ang was destroyed by an earthquake. See *Annales de la Propag. de la Foi*, January, 1867. I am told that there was a severe earthquake felt at Bat'ang and in Dérgé in 1872. Conf. C. H. Desgodins, *Le Thibet*, p. 470.

Annual feasts.—In the Tibetan year, the "opening of spring" (*meng ch'un*) is the commencement of the year, the first day (of this season) being New Year's day. It does not by any means agree with the Chinese New Year, for if the twelfth month has been a long month, then (the Tibetan) New Year will be on the first; if it has been a short month, then the New Year commences with the second (of our year).

Every New Year's day,[1] all tradespeople stop business for three days, and send each other presents of tea, wine, fruits or other eatables.

On this day the Talé lama gives a banquet on Mount Potala, to which he invites both the Chinese and Tibetan officials. There is present a troop of dancers who fence with battle-axes. Ten or more boys are chosen for this purpose, they wear green clothes, white cotton round hats, have little bells fastened to their feet, and in their hands they hold battle-axes. Before them are ranged drums, the drummers also wearing the above-mentioned costumes. When the wine is being handed round, they commence their fencing in front (of the guests), regulating their movements according to the beating of the drums. It is supposed that the rules (of this music) surpass those of all the other ancient dances.

A few days later, there is the spectacle of the flying spirits, which is performed by people from Ulterior Tibet. For this performance a hide rope of several tens of *ch'ang* in length is stretched from the top to the bottom of (the hill on which is) the temple of Mount Potala. The performers climb up the rope like monkeys,[2] then placing a piece of wood on their breasts, they stretch out their hands and feet and go down the rope like the bolt flying from the bow, or the swallow skimming the water. 'Tis a wondrous sight!

When this is over, a day is decided upon for the assembling in the Jo k'ang of all the lamas of the mountain convents.

[1] On the New Year's festivities, see Huc, *Souvenirs*, etc., vol. ii. p. 375. He calls it the feast of *louk sor*, for which read *lo sar*, "new year."

[2] 猱 *nao*. "The entellus monkey" (Williams).

They crowd around the Talé lama when he goes down from mount (Potala) to pray, and explain the sûtras of the Mâhâyana seated on a raised platform; this is called *fang chao* (放 朝) "the breaking of the dawn."[1] The Tibetans come from thousands of *li* in innumerable throngs (on this occasion). Spreading out gold, pearls, and precious bowls in all their brilliancy and beauty, they lift them above their heads (as the Talé lama passes) and offer them to him on their knees. If the Talé lama accepts one, he touches the person on the head with his chowry, or else imposes his hands on his head. If he does this three times, the recipient boasts of it as a very great thing, deeming it a blessing descended from the Living Buddha.

On the 15th lanterns are hung in the Jo k'ang. On tiers of high wooden stands are placed rows of big lanterns—probably more than ten thousand—connected by (garlands) of various colours. Figures are made out of butter and flour to represent men, different objects, dragons, snakes, birds, and beasts; they are very prettily and skilfully executed.[2] During the whole night the (lamas) watch the sky for clouds, or for a clear sky, for rain or snow, and also the brightness or dimness of the lanterns, and from this they foretell of the coming year.

On the 18th of the moon[3] there is a review of the troops. 3000 Tibetan troops are assembled in uniform and in arms. They march three times round the (Jo) k'ang, and when they reach the south side of the Porcelain bridge (*Yu-t'og-zam-pa*) they fire off guns to drive away the devil, firing both

[1] For a recent description of this feast, see *Peking Gazette*, June 24, 1885. See also Introduction, p. 5.

[2] They are called *mar-jyän* (མར་རྒྱན). For a good description of them, see Huc's *Souvenirs d'un voyage au Thibet*, vol. ii. p. 97. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen-lu*, I. 21, puts the feast on the 1st day of the first month. The description of our text is evidently taken from this work, but it is everywhere observed on the 15th. It owes its origin probably to the Chinese feast of lanterns. See also W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, p. 76 *et sq.*

[3] *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu, loc. cit.* says the review is on the 21st of the first month.

big and little firearms. The largest piece of cannon they have was cast in the T'ang period; on it are engraved these five characters 威 剿 除 叛 逹 "My power breaks up and destroys rebellion." The manœuvres being ended, there is taken out of the Shang-shag (*i.e.* Treasury) gold, silver, silks, satins, clothes, and tea, to be distributed as rewards to the soldiery. There is also a sum of 360 odd ounces of silver given to the priests who read the sacred books (on this occasion) for their expenditure.

Two or four days later, the Kalön, Däpön, and also the lamas, each bringing a little boy with him (as a rider), choose fast horses, which they race from the eastern base of the hill of the Séra convent to behind Potala, a distance of 30 *li*. The horse which runs the fastest to the goal wins, and a prize is given the winner.

There are also small boys who run about bare-footed, executing figures (裸 體) from the west of Potala to the east of Lh'asa, altogether over 10 *li*. At a given moment they try to get the road, and dart off at full speed, trying all the way to get ahead of each other. If one of them falls behind from exhaustion, his parents and friends, who line the road, looking on, succour him by pouring cold water on his head. This performance takes place once a year.

On the 27th they bring to the Lh'asa Jo k'ang the dorjé (*vadjra*) which came flying to Séra convent (and is kept there).

On the 30th, the reading of the sacred books being ended, they drive away Lu-gon jya-po (*Lao-kung chia-pu*),[1] the king

[1] ཀླུ་གོང་རྒྱལ་པོ. This feast, which is called *Lu-gon jya-po dung dri* (རྡུང་སྒྲིབ), takes place, according to the *Hsi-Ts'ang-fu*, p. 22, and natives whom I have consulted, in the second month. The same work says that the man representing the Talé lama sits before the gate of the Jo k'ang, surrounded by other lamas, reciting prayers. Lu-gon jya-po, wearing a sheepskin gown with the fur outside, comes strutting up to him and throws dice, etc. Pursued by the people he flees across the Kyi ch'u and hides in the Nan-shan (or "a hill on the South side of the river"), etc. See also Nain Sing, *op. cit.* p. xxv.

of the devils, a ceremony which is called in the *Tung-chih* "The beating of Niu-mo Wang." A lama takes the part of the Talé lama, and a man is chosen from among the people who, smearing his face with black and white, impersonates the prince of devils. He goes straight up before (the Talé lama), and mocks him with such words as "the five *skandha* are not all emptiness, all *asrava* are not purity." Then the Talé lama argues with him, each of them vaunting the excellence of his doctrines. Then they both bring forth dice about the size of peach stones. The Talé lama throws three times, bringing the highest number each time. The prince of devils throws three times, each time drawing a blank, for the same numbers are on all six sides (of his dice). Then the Lu-gon jya-po is frightened and flees, and all the priests and people fire guns and cannon to make him run away. There has been arranged previously in the Niu-mo shan ("Devil's hill"), near the river, a number of rooms for the Prince of Devils to secrete himself in. So they drive him away with cannon, and force him to flee far away and not come back. All those who play the part of the Prince of Devils are remunerated (or are bribed to do it), and in the place where they will have to hide themselves there is laid up beforehand several months' provisions for their use. These finished, they return home.[1]

The 2nd day of the second month, the Talé lama ascends Mount (Potala).

In the last decade of the second moon, and on the first of the last part of spring (暮春) the precious vases and rare objects are taken out of the Jo k'ang and arranged in view. This is called "the daylight of the brilliant treasures." The (lamas) hang up at Potala pictures of gods in different colours, made on brocaded satin, extending from the fifth storey down to the foot of the hill, a height of probably thirty *ch'ang*.[2]

[1] This ceremony recalls to mind the mystery plays and the burlesques performed in churches on All Fools' Day during the Middle Ages, as also the Shakers' practice of chasing the Devil after one of their holy dances. Also the offering of a scapegoat by the Hebrews, Leviticus xvi. 10.

[2] "They hang up two pieces of silk over 10 *ch'ang* long, with pictures of Buddhas painted on them. During the same festivities the lamas drag a great

Moreover some lamas personate spirits and demons and the people (disguise themselves) as tigers, panthers, rhinoceros, and elephants. Three times they march around the (Jo)-k'ang, and arriving in front of the great Buddha (the *Jo-wo* ?), they prostrate themselves, sing and dance.[1] This goes on for a month, after which they separate.

On the 15th of the fourth moon, the gates of the convents are thrown open, and there are illuminations the night long (the lamps being round wooden bowls filled with butter). The people walk about (in the convents) wherever they like.

On the 30th of the sixth moon, they hang up in the Drébung and Séra monasteries images of the gods, and the Ch'ü-jong (ཆོས་སྐྱོང) invoke the spirits. The people, both men and women, dressed up in their finest apparel, amuse themselves singing songs, fencing with staffs, exercising with poles, and every other kind of amusement. This is the great feast of these two lamaseries.

On the 15th of the seventh moon a Déba is appointed for the affairs of agriculture. The headboroughs, wherever he goes, precede him carrying bows and arrows and flags. He goes all over the country and examines the boundary-lines and the crops. This done, there is archery and wine drinking, so that the year may be prosperous and fruitful. After this the peasants (*mi-ser*) get in the harvest. This is therefore an important part of agriculture.

During the seventh and eighth moons they put up tents along the river banks, and men and women bathe together

car with the image of Maitreya (*Cham-pa*) on it around the Jo k'ang. See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 21. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, I. 22.

[1] This feast is called the Cham-pé k'or-wa, or Cham-pé ch'ü-k'or (བྱམས་ཟད་འཁོར་བ or ཆོས་འཁོར). The procession takes place as described in all large lamaseries in China, Mongolia, and Tibet. I have seen it in Peking and at Jehol. For a good description of it, see Georgi, *Alph. Tib.* p. 461. In the Paris *L'Illustration*, 7th June, 1890, p. 508, is a good picture of the costumes worn on this occasion. In it the two men without marks are *ch'ü-jong* lamas.

in the river, it being symbolical of the purification ceremonies of the thirteenth of the third month (上 巳).

On the 15th of the tenth moon, being the anniversary of the T'ang princess' (death), the Tibetan people put on their best clothing and go to the Jo k'ang to do her homage.

The 25th (of the tenth moon) is generally believed to be the day of Tsong-k'a-pa's[1] perfecting his enlightenment; it is also said that he was Dipankara Buddha. On this day throughout the land they hang lamps on the walls, whose rays cross each other and shine like so many stars. The people augur for the year by the (brilliancy of these) lanterns.

The last day of the year the lamas of Muru gomba invoke the gods and drive away the evil spirits, like it is handed down to us that the *Fang-hsiang-shih*[2] (方 相 氏), who had charge of exorcising the demon of pestilence, (used to do in China). Men and women, all in their best clothes, flock thither, and singing and drinking, they get drunk and then go home, and thus end the year.[3]

V.

The border lands are held to be of easy management. Though a long stretch of country, it requires but few troops to guard it, and it is easy with but few soldiers to impose respect. If the customs have all been disturbed and debased, they can be regulated by means of laws. As to the amount

[1] He is usually spoken of by Tibetans as Jé rin-po-ch'é. For some details on his life and works, see *infrà*. By "perfecting enlightenment" is here understood that he left this world, departed this life, or, as it is generally called in Chinese works, "perfected his repose." This feast is called in Tibet *gadän na-ch'o*.

[2] Chu-hi, commenting on *Lun yü*, X. 10, 2, says that in the *Chan-li* the *Fang-hsiang-shih* were officers who performed ceremonies to drive away pestilential influences. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. i. p. 97.

[3] This chapter is taken nearly *verbatim* from the *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, I. 21, 22.

of taxes leviable, the methods to be employed by the tax-gatherers, they are all exactly determined and cannot be arbitrarily put aside.

Now the country of Tibet has for over a century figured on the official census tables (as a part of the empire). But in view of its remoteness and peculiar customs, although no regular officials have been appointed to manage its affairs, from of old a code of regulations, in keeping with the times and the country, has been framed, which, being examined, supply the following facts.[1]

Army.—The number of soldiers (which can be raised) in Tibet, both cavalry and infantry, amounts altogether to over 64000 men.

There are 3000 cavalry (levied) in Lh'asa (district), 2000 in Ulterior Tibet, 5000 in Lh'ari, 1000 among the Horba (*K'opa*), and 3000 in Tang-tzŭ, La-tsa jya-mts'o, and among the Black Tent Mongols.[2]

There are 50,000 infantry divided between Lh'ari, Anterior and Ulterior Tibet.

The mode of levying troops is as follows: In each village five or ten men or horses are selected. When the troops go on an expedition, they wear armour, consisting of helmets and cuirasses. Their cuirasses are made of linked willow-leaf (shaped iron plates), or of chains. On the helmet of the cavalry is attached a red crest or a peacock-feather. From their waist hangs a sword, on their back is slung a gun, and in their hand they carry a pike. On the infantry helmet is a cock's feather. They have hanging to their waist a sword, without counting a dirk. Under their arm is a bow and arrow, and in their hand a buckler of rattan or wood. Some also bear a pike in their hand. Their wooden bucklers measure one *ch'ih* five or six *ts'un* (across) and three *ch'ih* one or two *ts'un* long,[3] and are painted with pictures of tigers

[1] The following sections on the army, administration, etc., are derived from the *Ta-ch'ing hui-tien*. See also supplementary note.

[2] At present Tibetan troops wear no uniform, and are only called out in case of need; they form a militia known as *yul-ma* (ཡུལ་དམག).

[3] Eighteen inches broad and forty-four or five long.

ornamented with different coloured feathers; outside they are covered with sheet iron. Their arrows are of bamboo, tipped with eagle feathers, and have awl-shaped heads three or four inches long. Their bows are made of wood, and are short and strong. They have them also made of bamboo, two pieces of bamboo being bound together;[1] they are strong, and have tassels at either end. They have banners of silk, satin or cloth, either yellow, red, black, white or blue, with tufts of yak hair on the top of their staffs, the colour of which is the same as that of the flag.

Every year during the first, second, and third moons there are sham-fights and drills, to establish the soldiers' proficiency in shooting, archery, horse racing, and fencing. When they are over, the troops receive as recompense *k'atag*, money, wine, and eatables.[2] As soon as the fourth moon arrives, they are sent to the frontier passes, they being necessary to help guard the frontier, and also that they may graze their horses.

Criminal Laws.—All the laws of Tibet are contained in three volumes, which comprise forty-one sections.[3] The punishments which they impose are very severe. Near the Jo k'ang there is a prison where criminals are bound together. All criminals, no matter what may be the gravity of their offence, are confined here. Their limbs are bound with cords, and thus they remain until their trial.

If a person has been killed in a brawl, the body is thrown into the water; the murderer pays a sum of money as fine,[4] besides which he gives (money) or else a number of cattle or sheep to the relatives of the deceased for the performance of religious ceremonies.[5] If he has no money, he is put

[1] In Eastern Tibet the Chinese bow is universally used at the present day.

[2] See *Peking Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1886.

[3] As far as I am aware there are no written laws in Tibet in vigour at the present day, certainly none in Eastern Tibet.

[4] This fine, which goes to the State, is known in Tibetan as *tong jyal* (སྟོང་རྒྱལ). It varies according to the social standing and wealth of the deceased.

[5] This is known as *gé tong* (དགེ་སྟོང).

bound in the water, and his property is inventoried and confiscated.

The man who commits highway robbery with murder is not decapitated, but is condemned to death by being tied to a post and shot at with guns and arrows, (the executioners) stopping between the shots to eat and drink. When he is dead, his head is cut off and exposed. Sometimes they send them to the country of the wild Lh'o-pa (*Ho-yü*),[1] where they are devoured. Or they may be sent in chains to the scorpion cave of Ch'ü-shui,[2] where they are stung to death.

If a person seizes another's goods, his property is laid hold of, and he is condemned to refund double the amount. After this the robber's eyes are plucked out and his nose cut off; or else his hands and feet are cut off.[3]

All great criminals are in the first place bound with ropes, and then whipped with a raw hide whip which has been soaked in water. After a while the whipping is repeated. When this has been done three times, they are examined. If they do not avow their guilt, boiling butter is poured on their breast and their flesh is slashed with knives. If they continue to deny their guilt, they seat them bound in water, holding them down by ropes fastened on either side to their hair, a piece of linen is put over their faces and water poured on it. Or else they drive greased splinters under their nails. If a person dies under these tortures, his body is thrown into the water.

As to common brawls, the author of them is fined. If any such trouble occurs and (the authorities) are not informed of it, both parties are heavily fined, or if they have no money, they receive a beating and are dismissed.

If one commits the crime of adultery, there is only a pecuniary fine, according to the person's fortune, or else a whipping.

[1] On the Lh'opa, see *suprà*.

[2] Ch'ü shui in Tibetan; it is on the Kyi-ch'u, near its mouth.

[3] *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, I. 27, says: "Robbers have their right hand cut off and their right eye plucked out for the first offence; the left hand is cut off and the left eye put out for the second offence. Hot oil is poured into the eye socket." The same work gives a number of other methods used for forcing confession and punishing crime. Our text is mainly derived from this work.

All transgressors of the laws,[1] either men or women, are stripped naked and whipped in the market-place.

Of late the *cangue* has been introduced (into Tibet), (but) I have not heard of nearly all of their cruel punishments.

Taxes.—Taxes in Tibet are paid in produce; cattle, sheep, dye plant,[2] barley, pulo, butter made of cow's and mare's milk, or any kind of domestic animal, gold, silver, copper and iron; are all received (in payment of taxes), and stored in a special building called *Shang-shang*[3] (*i.e.* "Chief Treasury"). All goods received for taxes, as well as all moneys paid for fines, are kept for public purposes and for the salaries of the lamas who read the sacred books.

As to the personal service by the natives known as *ula*, all persons are subject to it whenever called upon, without distinction of sex and however remote their places of residence. So also is any one who is able to buy a hearth or rent a home to live in. The amount of this service is determined according to each person's fortune. The headmen and the Déba apportion out the *ula*, calculating it according to the importance of each household, taking three or four or ten men to go on the *ula*. If a person does not want to serve on the *ula*, he can hire a poor man in his stead, each person receiving five *fen*[4] a day as pay. Persons over 60 years are

[1] That is to say, all slight transgressions of the law or misdemeanours. The "cangue" is called *tsé-go* in Tibetan (spelling uncertain).

[2] 紫草; which I take as the transcription of the Tibetan ཚོག, pronounced *ts'ö*. There is a red dye called in Chinese *tzŭ-ts'ao* (紫草) or *tzŭ-t'an* (丹) or *t'i-hsüeh* (地血), *Anchusa tinctoria* (Porter Smith, *Materia Medica*, p. 16). A yellow dye sold in the Tibetan market is prepared in Sikkim from *symplocos*. See Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, vol. ii. p. 63.

[3] I believe the word *shang-shang* (written 商上) is a hybrid compound, and should be rendered by "Upper or Chief Shag" or "Treasury."

[4] I suppose five *fen* are to be understood here as one-third of a *tranka*, this being the only coin in use. Ibn Batutah, vol. iii. p. 95 (Defremery and Sanguinetti's translation), uses the word *ula* in speaking of the postal service in India in his time: "Quant à la poste aux chevaux, on l'appelle *oulâk*."

exempted from this service. If necessary, oxen, horses, donkeys and mules are sent on the *ula*, the rich supplying a large number, three or four poor persons furnishing one head.

In Tibet horses are rare; they are either brought from the Hor country or from the Kokonor region. High prices are paid for them; an ordinary one will fetch 17, 18 to about 20 taels.

Levy and moving of troops.—Formerly in Tibet documents were sealed with a small seal in red, the Tibetans using Tibetan characters, the Mongols Mongol ones. From the Kalön down, all use (for private purposes) a small seal in black.[1] In the ninth year of Yung-cheng (1731) Chinese seals were conferred on (Tibetan officials), since which time they have made use of them.

When it is necessary to levy troops and horses, if they be near at hand, the headmen and the Däpön assemble them; but if they are far away, a written order is sent for their concentration. If there arises any very urgent need for troops, there is sent a flag fixed on an arrow, to which is tied a white *k'atag*, on which is written, "Let it be forwarded post haste, and use every effort to arrive within the prescribed time."

No matter what business there may be to attend to, the Kalön, Déba, Dung-k'or and Däpön assemble every day in the Pai-kuo lang[2] in the Jo-k'ang to discuss public affairs, which they submit in writing to the Chinese Minister Resident in Tibet and the Talé lama, who give their decision.

Administration.—The high officials entrusted with the government of Tibet are selected by the Chinese Chu Ts'ang

[1] Official documents are now stamped in red, as in China. A seal in wax is usually affixed on all documents for transmission, whether of a private or public nature. It is interesting to note that the word *dam-k'a* used to designate in Tibetan an official seal, is of Turkish origin, being in that language *tamkah*. The small seal used for private papers is called *t'e-tsé* (ཐེ་རྩེ).

[2] The Kalön transact their official business in the the *Ka-shag* (བཀའ་ཤག་). *Hsi-Ts'ang-fu*, p. 24.

Ta-ch'en ("Minister Resident") and the Talé lama. They are chosen principally for their high intellect and their family wealth.

There are four *Kalön*[1] (བཀའ་བློན), who divide the high administration of Tibet among them, a person of high rank being appointed (from among them) to inquire into the details of affairs in the different localities.

The *Chya-dzo-pa* (ཕྱག་མཛོད་པ) have charge of the finances. The *Nan-dzo-chya* (ནན་མཛོད་ཕྱག) have charge of the administration of justice, and supply moreover the requisites for the government service.[2]

The *Dung-k'or* (དྲུང་འཁོར) write Government despatches at the Jo-k'ang, regulate the hours of service (of the officers), and seal documents.

The *Tsi-pön* (རྩིས་དཔོན) have charge of the accounts.[3]

The greater part of the Dung-k'or and Tsipön are hereditary officers, and as a general thing the Déba, both great and small, are chosen from among them. Official messengers are called *Kuts'a*, superintendents are known as *Donyer* (དོན་གཉེར), stewards as *Nyerpa* (གཉེར་པ), messengers as *Nä-ts'an-pa* (གཉས་ཚང་པ). The chief of a district is called *Déba* (སྡེ་བ), *Jé-wo* (རྗེ་བོ), or *Dzong-pön* (རྫོང་དཔོན).[4]

[1] In colloquial Tibetan the Kalön are called *Dzapé*. Perhaps this word should be written གཤགས་དཔེ ("model of justice"). རྒྱལ་བཙག *Djatsak* = *Peu-gi jyabo* ("King of Tibet"), the present head of the government of the kingdom. He is always a lama of one of the three great convents of Dräbung, Séra, or Gadän. The mode of electing him is given in my *Land of the Lamas*, p. 289.

[2] Or "the native coolies for Government service, the *ula*." The text admits of both interpretations.

[3] *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 24, mentions *Mipön* (མི་དཔོན), who have charge of the census. They have fifth-class buttons. Buttons have been conferred on Tibetan officials by China since 1793.

[4] The Kuts'a (or *Agia* as they are called in some parts of Eastern Tibet) are the body-guards of the chiefs. Their office is hereditary, at least in some parts

There are five classes of military officials. The chief one is called *Dä-pön* (མདའ་དཔོན), the next is *Rü-pon* (རྒྱ་དཔོན). He commands 200 men. The next is the *Jya-pön* (བརྒྱ་དཔོན), commanding 100 men, then comes the *Ding-pön* (ཐེངས་དཔོན), who commands 45 men, and the *Chu-pön* (བཅུ་དཔོན), who commands 10. There is still a lower officer called *Go-pa* (རྒོད་པ).[1]

When any of the above-mentioned officers are detached to act as Déba, they pay themselves out of the taxes collected in their districts.

VI.

There is a saying that manners differ every hundred *li*, and that customs are no longer the same every thousand *li*. Now some countries are cold, some warm, others damp, others again dry; the character of the people is irresolute or hasty, energetic or weak, and all this exercises an influence (on the customs). The Hsi-yü (Western Regions) is 10,000 *li* away. How could its customs not differ from ours? And so the people there are different in their clothing and headdresses, their food and their rules of politeness in congratulating and

of Tibet. Their name is written རྫས་ཚབ, pronounced *Kuts'ab*, meaning literally "representative of the person (of a superior)." *Jé-wo* is only used in parts of Eastern Tibet.

[1] Instead of *Ding-pön*, the text has *Lai-peng* (=Lä-pön, or "overseer"), evidently a mistake. So for Gopa it has *Kuo-tu*, but the *Chien-wen-lu* gives the correct reading, 波 instead of 度.

condoling, which receive their peculiar form from their manner of feeling joy and sorrow, anger and pleasure. Likewise the peculiar conformation of the soil determines the style of architecture.

It would be difficult to unify customs, and utterly impossible to force them into a single form; so it is said, "Regulate education, change not the customs; adjust the rules of government, but do not alter that which is fit and right." It is in view of this that the superior man who has at heart the improvement of the people, forgets not how far they are away (from him).

Dress.—The Talé-lama and the Pan-ch'en Erdeni lama wear winter hats made of pulo of the finest wool; they are pointed at the top and wide at the base, and are yellow. Their summer hats are similar to the Chinese *li* hat (笠),[1] yellow in colour and with a fur (border). Their under clothes are of pulo, and only half cover the arms; their outer clothes are of fine dark red wool, and only cover one side. They are edged with white silk, beautifully embroidered at the top. As to their boots, they are of leather. A piece of plain silk drawn around the waist forms their girdle. In spring and winter alike they have half the arm uncovered.

The dress of the other lamas differs but slightly. In the Government offices the Kalön, Däpön, and Déba do not tie up their hair nor do they plait it, but let it hang down loosely behind. They wear a cap without any button on the top, of brocaded satin with a trimming (lit. a strip) of fox skin. All their caps have a fringe on the summit or else a piece of otter skin. In their hands they carry prayer beads; a leather strap forms their girdle.

On fête days or on important official occasions the Kalön part their hair on each side of their heads and tie it in a knot, and they wear *ch'uba* of pulo, silk or satin, with a piece of dragon-embroidered satin (蟒) where it will show.

The Déba wear their hair in a knot, and a hat without a brim made of white crape. In the left ear they suspend a

[1] A broad-brimmed summer hat of straw.

gold earring with a turquoise about the size of a peach (stone) set in it; its shape resembles the bird's bill-shaped earring called in China *pin-tang* (璸 璫). To the right ear they hang a coral earring made of two big coral beads set in gold; it is called *kung-kung*.[1] They wear a gown with a high collar, and a narrow-sleeved jacket with green embroidery and a trimming of otter skin; the lower end of the sleeve is edged with coloured stuff and trimmed with otter fur. Their lower garment consists of coarse black woollen stuff plaited; it is called *gö*[2] (གོ་ས). On their feet they wear boots with soft white leather soles and embroidered tops. Over all (*i.e.* over their shoulders) they throw a piece of red woollen stuff.[3] They carry a knife in their girdle and have a crimson sash. From the Kalön down to the common people all wear rings.

The common people of Tibet wear gowns with high collars, called *ch'uba*, which have no slits down the sides. They are made of pulo more or less fine according to the wearer's means; the same applies to the hats, which are sometimes white. A strap or a piece of coarse woollen stuff serves them as a girdle. They carry at their waist a small knife or a dirk, and have about them a wooden bowl, a pipe, and a flint and steel; the wooden bowl they carry in their bosom. There is a slit in their trousers at the crotch and on either side of the waist; they wear them folded around the waist.

As to the dress of the married women, they part their hair in the middle and plait it like a rope on either side, bringing it together behind; the smaller the tresses, the more beautiful it is considered.

[1] I do not know what word this is supposed to represent. It may be *k'o-k'or* "round." Earring in Tibetan is *na-long* (རྣ་ལོང).

[2] *Gö* (གོ་ས) is the generic name for clothes; colloquially they are called *gü-zé* (གོ་ས་གཟེ).

[3] Generally made of *tirma*, a very fine variety of cloth.

Unmarried women wear another plait at the back of their heads.[1] When they are betrothed, they receive as an engagement present a *ser-dja* (གསེར་ཅ), which they wear on the crown of their heads. When they are married, they cease to wear the (third) tress of hair. They usually wear on their heads a piece of red or green brocaded velvet (栽絨) and a small pointed cap. On their feet they wear boots, and they have a short skirt called *t'u-pa* (ཐུ་པ), of black or red wool, with the sign 卄 conspicuously marked on it.[2] In front they wear an apron, called *pang-zä* (text *pan-tai*)[3] of some woollen stuff or of different coloured silks bound with embroidery. On the body they wear a jacket with narrow sleeves, called *wen-ch'o* (སྨོན་ཆོག ?), which comes down to the waist; it is made of damask silk, cloth, or coarse woollen stuff; over it they throw a small piece of brocaded velvet.[4] If they be nuns, they wear a surplice (*chia-sha*, Sanskrit *kashaya*), called *zän*. Tibetan women wear on their fingers rings, which they call *dzu-gu* (མཛུག་ཀུ), with coral set in them. On the left wrist they wear a silver bracelet, which they call *dzu-long* (མཛུག་ལོང), and on the right one called *dron-du* (སྒྲོན་གཟུ), made of disks of mother-of-pearl,[5] two inches broad. They put this on when they are young, and wear it until it is worn out and breaks, when there is an end of it; thus it cannot be mislaid when it has ceased to be

[1] This custom is in vogue in Shan-hsi at the present day.

[2] This description of pulo is known in Tibet as *kar-t'ig* (དཀར་ཐིག).

[3] Probably this should be spelt བང་བཟན, but I am not sure about it.

[4] 栽絨 is said to be the stuff called *go-nam*, a woollen fabric, but *jung* in Chinese always applies to nappy stuffs, such as velvet or plush. The shawls worn by women in Tibet are colloquially called *ka-dri*.

[5] *ch'e ch'ü* (硨磲). The exact meaning of these characters, according to Williams, is "a veined stone resembling adularia."

worn. They wear earrings of gold and silver set with turquoises, over an inch long and seven or eight *fen* thick; a little hook behind, called *am-ku* (? ཨམ་གུ), holds it in the ear. On the top of their tresses they wear strings of pearls (or beads) or coral, called *dum-ché*, fastened to the hair by a silver hook. To the lower end of their tresses they attach strings, seven or eight inches long, of beads or coral, which hang on the shoulders; they are called *do-shal* (རྡོ་ཤལ). High and low, all wear one or two strings of prayer beads around the neck; they are made of coral, lapis lazuli, mother-of-pearl, or even wood. The wealthy wear amber ones, the beads being sometimes as big as a cup. They also wear on the neck a small silver box, called *ga-wo* (གའོ), in which they have a charm or some *maṇi ri-bü*.[1] On their breast they hang a silver ring set with beads or stones; it is three or four inches long and more than an inch wide, and has a hook on either side. Over their shoulders they all throw a shawl, which they fasten to the ring on their breast, which is called *ti-liu*.[2] If they are rich, they wear a pearl-set cap with a wooden crown like a *li* straw hat, but thick; inside it is varnished red, outside it is inlaid with gold and has a turquoise on the top. All around the crown there is a row of pearls. Some of these hats cost a thousand *tranka* (lit. pieces of money).

Old women wear on the forehead a gold plate, mirror-shaped, and set with turquoises, called *p'ung-yü* (སྤུང་གཡུ). Any

[1] 子母藥. See *infrà*. In the *Peking Gazette* (May 4th, 1886) one hundred catties of 知母藥 figure among the articles of tribute from Ch'amdo. This *tzŭ* (or *chih*) *mu yao* must not be confounded with the *tzŭ-mu* (or *chih-mu*), a liliaceous plant (*Anemarhena asphodeloides*, Hanbury), the rhizome of which is used in medicine, and which is also a product of Tibet. See also note *infrà*.

[2] 滴溜, lit. "flowing of drops." The Tibetan word for "buckle" is ཚད་ཟངས. *Ti-liu* probably represents an Eastern Tibetan word.

one who puts on a *p'ung-yü* is congratulated by relatives and friends. Any woman who is going to see a lama smears her face with molasses or cutch.[1] If they omit to do this, it is said that they are endeavouring to captivate priests by their good looks, an unpardonable crime!

Such are the customs of the people, and the clothes and ornaments in general use.

Food.—The people of Tibet eat tsamba, beef, mutton, milk and butter. As they are of a dry temperament, tea becomes a most pressing want, and high and low consider tea the most important article of their diet. They boil the tea until the infusion is red, and then mix butter and salt with it. They take tea and tsamba mixed, or a meat and congee soup called *t'u-pa* (ཐུག་པ).[2] It is a common habit to eat beef or mutton raw. They have no regular hours for meals, but eat whenever hungry, taking but little at a time and eating at short intervals. Men and women, old and young, usually eat with their fingers, or else they use a wooden bowl which they lick when they have finished eating, and carry about in their bosom.

They make a barbarous substitute for wine (蠻酒) out of

[1] 兒茶 *erh ch'a.* The Tibetans call the substance which the women put on their faces སྟོད་ཇ, pronounced *Teu-ja*, which can only be a transcription of the Chinese *erh-ch'a.* Dé-mo rin-po ch'é of Ten-rjyä-ling convent, to whom so many reforms are attributed by his countrymen, and who visited Peking in Ch'ien-lung's reign, is said to have ordered Tibetan women to daub their faces on the street so as not to distract the passing lamas from their meditation. Others say that the women adopted this habit to preserve their faces from the effects of the wind. This agrees with what Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, vol. ii. p. 175, note, says. "The pigment," he further remarks, "is mutton fat blackened with catechu and other ingredients." See also Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar*, p. 130, and Huc, Souvenirs, etc., vol. ii. p. 258.

[2] *T'u-pa* is a generic name for all kinds of soups. A very popular dish is composed of rice, melted butter (*mar-keu*), raisins, and sugar. It is called *drä-sil* (*hbras sil*), sometimes pronounced *drä-tsi.* Choma is often used instead of raisins.

barley; they call it *ch'ang* (ཆང).[1] There is also a kind of brandy (*shao-chiu*) made from barley. After drink, men and women take each other by the hand, and to amuse themselves go about the streets laughing and singing.

In their banquets the master of the house occupies the place of honour, and neither goes to receive his guests nor does he escort them out when they leave, but keeps his seat. In the first place he asks them to drink wine, and to the most honourable guest he offers buttered tea.[2]

The rich give banquets two or three times a month, the poor at least once. On the table there are dates (lit. jujubes, 棗),[3] apricots, grapes, beef and mutton, each one giving according to his means.

Forms of politeness.—In Tibet, from the Kalön, Däpön, Déba, down to the common people, when they see the Talé lama or the Pan-ch'en Buddha, they all take off their hats. It is a form of politeness to hold up one's hands clasped and to stick out the tongue. Thrice they raise their hands, then make a genuflexion and then bring their feet together. On approaching the Living Buddha's throne, they hold their breath. The Talé lama and the Pan-ch'en impose their hands on their heads, and this is called "to receive the gift of the hand."[4] On being introduced into a person's presence,

[1] The correct name is *nä ch'ang* (རྣག་ཆང), *ch'ang* being a generic term. I am told by Tibetans that grape wine *gun ch'ang* (གྲུན་ཆང) is made, though in small quantities, and fetches a high price; it is much esteemed as an offering to the gods. *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 4, also mentions the Tibetan grape wine, which it calls *Jan wei*, and which it says is very sweet and harmless. The brandy alluded to is called *arrak* throughout Tibet; it tastes very much like Chinese samshu and is distilled from *nä-ch'ang*.

[2] In Eastern Tibet at least the master of the house always takes the place of honour; his guests sit on his right, lower down the room.

[3] These are dried dates brought from India. They are called *kazurpani*, and are carried by Tibetan traders to China. I have bought them at Hsi-ning in Kan-su.

[4] Called in Tibetan *chya-wang* (ཇག་དབང). Bogle (p. 109) speaks of the *chawa*, by which the above is meant.

they all present a *k'atag*,[1] just as a Chinese sends in his visiting card. Between persons of equal rank it is customary to exchange *k'atag*, and they inclose *k'atag* in letters as a sign of respect. When they meet in the street, they take off their hats, let their hands drop to their sides, and stand to one side.[2]

From the Kalön down, when any one meets the Chinese Minister Resident, a civil or military officer, a Chinese, a rich man or a poor one, he comports himself towards him as he would towards a Kalön, Déba, or Däpön.

Marriages.—In Tibetan marriages not only is the bride selected, but even the family of the groom is a matter of choice. In a man education is esteemed, and in a woman a knowledge of business, of the price of things, of household affairs, are deemed qualities. They make use of go-betweens. With the exception of the families of the rich and of Déba, they are much given to illicit intercourse between the sexes.

When a man has determined to marry, he finds out the name of a girl, after which his family give *k'atag* to one or two of their relatives or friends, and say to them, "There is a man in our family who is desirous of marrying such and such a woman." Then the go-between take *k'atag*, repair to the girl's house and say, "In such and such a family there is a man who would like to make your daughter his wife." If the (parents) are pleased at this, they say, "We will select a day."

[1] *K'atag* (ཁ་བཏགས) play such an important rôle in the every-day life of Tibetans and of many Mongol tribes, that a few words about them cannot be out of place. They are made of silk, or coarse cotton stuff sized with lime, and are pale blue or white; in length they vary from eighteen inches to thirty feet, and in width from four inches to over a foot, and look like scarfs. The silk ones have generally figures woven in the texture, and they are distinguished by this pattern. The price varies from a few cash a piece to several taels. The names of the principal varieties are here arranged according to their value: *Nang-dzin* (ནང་འཛིན), *Ch'ü-dzin* (ཆོས་འཛིན), *Ch'ü-dän* (ཆོས་སྒོན), *Wang-dän* (དབང་སྒོན), *A-shé, A-yü-shé, Sa-kar* (ས་དཀར), *Jya-pa, So-der, Sem-par.*

[2] The Chinese mode of salutation.

On the appointed day the girl's family invite all their relatives and friends, and the go-between come with wine sent by the man's family, and *k'atag*, and tell them of the young man's position and of his age. If the parents, relatives and friends of the woman are satisfied with their statement, they drink the wine and each one takes a *k'atag*. Then the go-between take the engagement present, consisting of a gold disk set with turquoises, and called a *ser-dja*,[1] and put it on the girl's head. Moreover they present, as betrothal presents, tea, clothes, gold and silver, beef and mutton; and the girl's family send return presents.

If (the girl's family) withholds its consent, they neither drink the wine sent by the man's family nor do they take the *k'atag*.

When the time for going for the bride has come, the man's and the woman's families invite guests, each of whom presents the bride with a jacket, a skirt, or something of the kind for her portion. The parents give the bride land, cattle, sheep, clothes, or jewelry.

To come to the wedding, the Tibetans use neither carts nor horses. Outside of the door of the bride's house they put up a mat shed, beneath which are placed four or five cushions, the highest one being in the middle. Then they scatter grain about, as one might flowers. The bride sits down on the highest cushion and her parents on either side of her, the relatives and friends following in regular order. There are little tables on which are fruit and candied dates, different dishes of food, tea, wine, and congee.

When the bride has finished eating, the relatives and friends of both families accompany her on foot, or on horseback if the way (to her husband's house) is long. Each of the relatives and friends takes grain and scatters it over the bride,[2] her parents giving her a *k'atag* wishing her children. Then the relatives and friends go to the groom's house,

[1] གསེར་འབྱ *i.e.* "gold cap." See *suprà*.

[2] This custom obtained in India in olden times. See my *History of the Buddha*, p. 4.

where no ceremonies take place. The bride and groom sit down side by side, eat and take tea or wine. After a little while they stand apart, and the relatives and friends present them with *k'atag*. Those which are given them by distinguished guests they put around their necks, those from equals in their bosom, or in a pile in front of them. When the relatives and friends have finished eating, each one takes a little of the fruit and meats, and departs.

The following day the parents of the man and of the woman, their relatives and friends, dressed in their best, with *k'atag* around their necks, go about the streets in a body, accompanied by the bride and groom. When they come to the door of a relative or friend, they are not formally introduced, but take tea or wine, and then sitting down in a circle, holding hands, the bride and groom sitting cross-legged, they sing songs.

After three days everything is at an end.[1]

Tibetan women are robust and the men weak, and one may frequently see women performing in the place of their husbands the socage services which the people owe. As a consequence (of the superior physique of the women), three or four brothers sometimes marry one wife,[2] and if children are born to them, they take their choice of them and divide them among themselves. The woman who is able to live with three or four brothers is called by every one "a belle," because she knows how to manage a whole family.

There are many women engaged in trade, but if one (not married) works in the fields, spins and knits, and goes on the

[1] I am told that there is a religious ceremony or rather benediction at marriages; it is called *Tra-shi ts'é-wa* (བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་བ), and is conducted by lamas.

[2] I have frequently been told by Tibetans that polyandry did not exist—to any great extent—among the better classes of society. They looked upon the custom as a sign of lax morality. This view is confirmed by Georgi, *Alph. Tib.* p. 458, where he says: "Ab hoc turpitudinis genere (*i.e.* polyandry) alieni sunt viri nobiles, et cives honesti." What the Chinese author quoted in the next note says of the custom would also seem to agree with the above statements.

ula, she is the laughing-stock of all, and considered good for nothing.[1]

Adultery is not a shameful act; if a woman has intercourse with an outsider, she tells it to her husband, saying, "Such and such is my *ong-po*" (?). The husband is satisfied, and both parties are well pleased, no ill-feeling existing between them; they both make their choice and follow their fancies.

They do not wash and bathe newly-born children, but the mother licks them as soon as they are born. After three days they smear the child's body all over with butter and expose it to the sun's rays for several days. Children are fed on parched meal mixed with soup, the greater part of them getting no milk.

When they have grown a little, the boys are taught to write and count or learn a trade; the girls learn the weights and measures, how to conduct business, to spin and weave pulo; but they do not learn women's work nor acquire feminine accomplishments.

The birth of a daughter is a source of sorrow.[2] As it is customary to show great respect to lamas, a great many of the children become monks or nuns, and their conduct must be attributed to the above cause.

Funerals.—When a death occurs in Tibet, the corpse is tied up with ropes, the face being put between the knees and the hands stuck behind the legs. The body is wrapped in the every-day clothes of the deceased and put in a raw hide bag. The men and women having lamented in common over their loss, suspend the corpse by means of ropes from the rafters,

[1] The *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 7, from which our text is taken, is much clearer; it has, "As the people are poor, three or four brothers marry one wife, and the people then consider her an able person, because she is a good housekeeper. When a child has grown up, he is taken by one of the brothers, the other brothers being considered its uncles. But if a woman works in the fields, spins and knits so as to be able to support herself single, then every one laughs at her as a good-for-nothing."

[2] Among Buddhists to be born a man is a proof of better *karma* in a previous existence than if one were born a woman. The author of the *Hsi-chao t'u lüeh* estimated that there were three lamas for every family in Tibet. Nunneries are few and small in Eastern Tibet, and are far from numerous in any part of Tibet, I have been told.

and request the lamas to come and read the sacred books.[1] They send as much butter as they can afford to the Jok'ang or Ramoch'é, as offerings to be burnt in the lamps before the gods. One-half of the property of the deceased is given away in charities, and the other half is sent to Potala for the lamas who have been invited to read the sacred books and for making tea (for all the lamas). It follows that all the property of the deceased is disposed of, the parents, children, husband or wife retaining no part of it whatever.

A few days later on the body is carried to the corpse-cutters' place, where it is tied to a post and the flesh cut off and given to dogs to eat.[2] This is called a "terrestrial burial." The bones are crushed in a stone mortar, mixed with meal and parched grain, made into balls, and also given to the dogs or thrown to vultures, and this latter mode of disposing of them is called "a celestial burial." (Both these methods) are considered highly desirable.

A Déba is entrusted with the direction of the corpse-cutters, and cutting up a corpse is paid at least several times ten pieces of money.

The poor dead are buried in the water, the corpse being simply thrown in it. This is not an esteemed mode of burial.[3]

The bodies of lamas are burnt and cairns (*obo* or *dobong*) erected over their remains.[4]

[1] In Eastern Tibet bodies are kept in this state until the crops have been harvested, before which time it is not allowed to hold funeral celebrations.

[2] For a vivid description of this mode of disposing of the dead, see *Annales de la propagation de la Foi*, July, 1865, p. 289. Conf. also Georgi, *Alph. Tib.* p. 441 *et seq.*

[3] These modes of disposing of the dead were prohibited by an Imperial decree in the 59th year of Ch'ien-lung (1794), which is inscribed on a stone tablet in front of the Jo-k'ang. Since that date they are not so much in use. At Lh'asa dead bodies are thrown in a grove called the "Cold forest." See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 28. This name recalls the Çitavana of Buddhist books. At Lh'asa these "corpse-cutters" belong to the *Ra-jya-ba* (beggar-class).

[4] The ceremonies performed at the cremation of lamas and the prayers recited are contained in a work called དཔལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཞི་བ་དང་རྒྱས་པའི་སྤྱིན་བསྲེགས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་ག་ལག་ལེན་འདོན་གྱི་རིམ་པ. In the case of certain lamas of great saintliness, when the flesh has dried on the bones, the body is wrapped in silk and deposited in a *ch'ürten* or mausoleum. Captain Turner, *op. cit.* p. 313, describes such a building, which he calls *kugopea*.

When any one dies, the relatives and friends condole with the family, bringing money, if the family is poor, or *k'atag* if it is rich, presenting their condolences and sending tea and wine.

Men and women put on mourning clothes, and for one hundred days they wear no coloured clothes, and during that period they neither comb their hair nor wash. The women do not wear their earrings, and put away their prayer-beads, but these are the only changes they make. The rich invite lamas at short intervals to come and read the sacred books, so as to procure for the deceased the joys of the nether world.[1] After one year it is all at an end.

As a general rule the Tibetans are fond of the young and do not care for the aged. Finally, to die in battle exalts a person above all others.

Dwellings.—Houses in Tibet are generally several-storied stone buildings, all the rooms of a storey being of equal size, the largest ones on the middle storey. The Tibetans carve the rafters and sculpture the columns of their halls, so that they produce altogether a very brilliant effect. The common people make their houses on the hill-slopes, where it is most convenient for cutting wood and drawing water.

A large part of the population live in large black tents, which they can connect together so as to make them very spacious, some of them being so large that they can hold several hundred persons.

As to the great copper cauldron in the Jok'ang, which holds over two hundred buckets of water, and which is used to boil tea in for distribution to those reading the sacred books, I have verified this fact myself.[2]

The houses of their officials, which are built in the plain

[1] At the death of a person of wealth the lamas are paid to read the scriptures for 100 days. For persons of smaller means for forty-nine, twenty-one, seven, three, or a single day.

[2] The great cauldron mentioned is one of four in the Jok'ang; it is spoken of as the *Ja-kü sa-tso*. It is used, I have been told, when they hold the *Mön-lam ch'en-po*, or "general confession of sins," and it can supply all the lamas who congregate at the Jok'ang with tea, which is served to them by thousands of *cha-tré-ba* or tea-bearers. All lamaseries of note have such cauldrons, but not as large as the big one in the Jok'ang of Lh'asa.

where there are no defiles (to protect), are called *k'ang*;[1] the stone buildings on the mountain slopes, called *dzong*, enable their Déba and headmen to ward off attacks.

VII.

The white characters and the violet-coloured books have reduced the (medical) profession to a system, and divination by means of the *shih-ts'ao* and the *ts'ai* has led to a knowledge of first causes. So it is that while there are medicines for curing the sick, there is divination for uncertain cases, and these two branches are availed of in China in making a diagnosis.

Although in the profession as it exists in Tibet the masters are not able to derive all the assistance available from these two branches, still I have inquired into their methods of curing sickness. Though not very skilled in the use of surgical instruments, still, as regards casting lots by shells and by wands, they have works like our *Pei-hu-lu* (北戶錄),[2] and they have all such methods of divining as by the tiger, by cattle hoofs, burnt bones, or birds.

Thus we see how widely spread are customs and ways of doing, irrespective of place or people, and I have cited these facts to illustrate this point.

Doctors in Tibet are called *am-chi* (སྨན་པ་). Their medicines are either of Chinese or native origin, or are brought from foreign lands in the West. They receive them in a crude state, and make them up into pills and powders.

[1] ཁང་ *k'ang* "house, dwelling," རྫོང་ *djong* "a castle, fortress."

[2] This work is mentioned in the catalogue of Ch'ien-lung's library as an encyclopædic work in three books and fifty-one sections, written by a Salt intendent of the Liang-Huai. It contains sections on divination, botany, medicine, etc.

In their treatment of disease,[1] they commence by feeling the pulse of the patient, and afterwards administer medicine. To feel the pulse, they place the patient's right hand in their left and his left in their right, feeling both at the same time, and by this means they discern the gravity of the disease. If it be slight, they smear the patient all over with butter [2] and put him in the sun, wrapping him in blankets if he happens to get in the shade; they moreover fumigate him by burning juniper boughs.[3]

No matter whether the disease is slight or severe, they invariably invite lamas to come and read the sacred books,[4] or Bön-pa (Chinese, *Chu-pa*) to chant and pray. These Bön-pa are very similar (in their ceremonies) to the Tao-shih. Or they get men and women to sing Buddhist songs to bring about a speedy recovery.

Divination.—There are various modes of divining in use in Tibet. Sometimes the lama draws the eight *kua* accompanied by Tibetan characters, and divines by them. Or he will cast lots with barley-corns, divining from the difference in colour of those which he draws.[5] Again, he may divine by counting on his prayer-beads, by lines (which the person inquiring) traces on the ground, by burning sheep's bones,[6] or by gazing into a bowl of water.

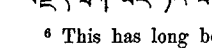
[1] "In olden times small-pox was unknown in Tibet; at the present day it makes terrible ravages. Those stricken with it used to be abandoned in a desert spot, there to die of exposure and want. In 1794 the Talé lama, under orders from the Emperor, erected special hospitals for small-pox patients, in which they were supplied with food and every necessary, and which were under the care of a special officer. Since then the number of deaths by this disease has greatly diminished. The same plan has been adopted by the authorities at Trashil'unpo and Ch'amdo."—*Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 28.

[2] Compare what has been said, *suprà*, about young children. *Ghee*, or melted butter, used to play an important *rôle* in the treatment of disease in India.

[3] The Tibetans have quite a large number of works on medicine, the *Jyu-dzi* (on which see Csoma de Körös, *J.B.A.S.* vol. ix), the *Vaidurya Nyon-po*, etc. According to Wassiliew they have a translation of Galien's works.

[4] These recitations are taken from the book of prayers to the god of medicine (*Män lh'a*).

[5] I have a Tibetan book on Divination containing most of the Chinese methods, and which is probably a translation of some Chinese work. It is called



Jé-t'o yang-tii zamatok.

[6] This has long been one of the modes of divination used by the nations of Northern Asia. See Etienne Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 267.

Notwithstanding the variety of their methods of divination and their unskilfulness in their modes of examining, they are quite frequently surprisingly accurate.

There are women who understand these methods of divination. Still more, there are diviners who find out at once what is going to happen by examining their sacred books and predicting according to what they disclose to them. Explaining all about a person's luck by what the sacred books say is a process similar to the Chinese method *shen chien* (神 籤).[1]

The custom of holding market in the daytime is one which comes down from the time of Huang-ti; it is followed in out-of-the-way places and in the most poverty-stricken regions; so how could this custom be put aside? It is then that in markets of the five capitals pulse and grain and various cotton stuffs are day after day spread out in the market-places and the streets for sale. But as to pearls and precious stones, the dealers keep them carefully secreted, and no one has ever heard of them displaying them in the market for sale or going about with lots of them calling aloud for purchasers.

As to the markets of the Western regions, they present some curious features. Thus, as a means of keeping order in the market, they hang up cudgels and keep (in evidence) whips to prevent disputes. This precautionary measure is a survival of the 'inspection of cases' (官 司 稽) of the Chou dynasty.

As to the workmen of Tibet, they can produce any kind of handiwork. Their *ciselle* silver-work is extraordinarily fine,

Divining by means of prayer-beads is, as far as my experience goes, the most commonly used system among Tibetans. Also Will. of Rubruk, *Itinerarium*, p. 318, edit. of the Soc. de Géog. de Paris. The K'amba of East Tibet enjoy great celebrity as diviners.

[1] This method consists in drawing lots by slips of wood on which certain characters are written, which correspond to certain passages in a book. These passages are looked up by the diviner and read to the inquirer. See Fortune, *Residence among the Chinese*, p. 31.

and shows more than human skill, greatly surpassing that of all other countries.

Markets.—The medium of exchange in Tibet is a silver coin, each of which weighs 1 *ch'ien* 5 *fen*; on the obverse there are Tibetan letters and an ornamented border. This is dividable, the fractions being in use.[1]

In the market are Tibetan silk cocoons, woollen stuffs, yak hair, pulo, Tibetan incense, Tibetan cotton stuffs, also eatables such as grapes, walnuts, etc. Men and women engage in trade. They do not erect high counters, but put their goods on mats on the ground. Silks, satins, sarcenets, and pongee silks, all come from China, and are sold by pedlers. Women are more frequently engaged in trade than men, but sewing and mending is done by the male sex.

The foreign merchants are turbaned Mahommedans, who sell pearls and precious stones, and white-clothed (Mahommedans), who sell pulo, Tibetan silks, satin, and cotton goods from Kashmere (卡契). All these merchandize come from Bhutan, Nepal, and India. There are miscellaneous articles, prominent among which are cow bezoar and assafœtida.[2]

A Déba sits in the market and sees to the proper prices, and prevents wrangling and contentions. All the merchants

[1] Prior to 1793 the silver coinage of Tibet was struck in Nepal, but after the Nepal campaign Ch'ien-lung ordered the Lh'asa authorities to make their own coins under the supervision of an official from Ssŭ-ch'uan. These coins bore on them the words *Ch'ien-lung pao Ts'ang.*—*Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 29. See also Lacouperie, *The Silver Coinage of Tibet.* The ornaments are the "eight signs of luck" referred to previously. The tranka in general use at present is called *gadän tranka*; it bears on the observe the legend རྒྱལ་བྱེད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གདན་ཁྲི་ས་ "From the Perfectly Victorious (*i.e.* the Talé lama's) Palace of Gadän." Prof. de Lacouperie translates this legend differently.

[2] Iron, copper, lead and tin are imported into Tibet, partly from Yün-nan and partly from India. Salt comes from a salt lake N. W. of Lh'asa and from the Ts'aidam. Gold mines are worked in Ngari, and there are old ones, now no longer worked, in the hill on which is Séra gompa. Rice is imported from S. Bhutan and from Nepal."—*Hsi-Ts'ang-fu*, pp. 29, 30. The "white-robed people" (白布回民), Klaproth renders by "Boukhars," but they are probably Hindus, while the turbaned Mahommedans may be Turkestanis.

who come to Tibet to trade have headmen (*vakils*), who inspect (the goods) and manage those who bring them.[1]

Workmen.—Tibetan carpenters and stone-cutters are very expert. The artisans make also gold, silver, copper, tin, and filagree vessels set with pearls, also married women's crowns (*pong-yü*, see *suprà*), the work being as good as Chinese. They carve very finely men, different objects, and bunches of flowers, reproducing very exactly the originals.[2]

NOTES.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TA-CH'ING HUI-TIEN,[3] BOOKS 52 AND 71, ON THE GOVERNMENT, ARMY, ETC., OF TIBET.

Chinese Civil Officers.

2 Ministers Resident in Tibet.[4]
1 Chief Clerk from the Colonial Office (*Li fan-yüan*).
1 Clerk (*Pi-tieh-shih*).
1 Sub-prefect from Ssŭ-ch'uan.
1 Deputy sub-prefect.
1 District magistrate.
1 Assistant district magistrate.
3 Commissary officers.
8 Manchu bannermen from Ch'eng-tu as Manchu writers.
1 Nepalese writer.
1 Nepalese interpreter.

[1] Called *Ts'onpön* (ཚོང་དཔོན) or *Kärpön* in Tibetan. Tibetans have such men at Hsi-ning, Peking, Ta-chien-lu, etc. They are like the Consuls of medieval times.

[2] The best silversmiths in Tibet are the Nepalese (*Peurbu*), Huc's *Péboun*.

[3] These extracts are taken from the edition of 1818, the latest one.

[4] The salary of the chief Ambān is put down in the Regulations of the Board of Revenue (*Hu-pu tse-li*) at taels 2060 *per ann.*, and taels 500 additional if there is an intercalary month. His perquisites greatly increase this sum.

Chinese Military Officers and Troops.

In Anterior Tibet there are:

1 Major (*Yo-chi*).
1 First captain (*Tu-ssŭ*).
2 Lieutenants (*Ch'ien-tsung*).
4 Sergeants (*Pa-tsung*).
8 Second sergeants (*Wai-wei*).
64 Soldiers.

In Ulterior Tibet there are:

1 Major.
1 First captain.
3 Second captains.
2 Lieutenants.
7 Sergeants.
9 Second sergeants.
782 Soldiers.

Commissary officers (*Liang-tai*) are in charge of each post from Ta-chien-lu on to Anterior Tibet (*i.e.* Lh'asa).

Tibetan Officers in Anterior Tibet.

Civil Officers.

4 Kalön.[1] 3rd class button. བཀའ་བློན་ { 3 laymen, 1 lama, no button.

[1] At present there are four laymen and a lama president called "King of Tibet." According to the Regulations of the Colonial Office (*Li-fan-yüan tse-li*), B. 13, the following Tibetan dignitaries receive salaries as follows from the Chinese Government. The money part of these salaries being paid since 1841 by the Governor-General of Ssŭ-ch'uan, the part payable in satin has not been forthcoming for the last thirty-five years on account of the difficulty of forwarding it in the troubled state in which the country has been. It will hereafter be regularly paid at Peking (see *Peking Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1887).

Salaries per annum of Tibetan Dignitaries.

		Money.		Satin.
1 Duke (*Fu kuo-kung*)	Taels	200	Pieces	7
1 Djatsak t'ai-chi	,,	100	,,	4
4 Kalön	,,	100	,,	4
6 Däpon	,,	50	,,	2
1 Yün-chi-yu	,,	42.5	,,	—

The Duke is the father of the Talé lama, the Djatsak (རྩྭ་ཚང) Tai-chi is the Peu-gi jyabo.

3 Tsipön. 4th class. རྩིས་དཔོན་.

2 Chyag-dzo-pa. 5th class. ཕྱག་མཛོད་པ.

2 Nyer-ts'ang-pa. 5th class. གཉེར་ཚང་པ.

2 Lam-sang-shak. 5th class. ལམ་སང་གཤགས or དགྲ་གཤགས.

2 Shag-pön. 5th class. གཤགས་དཔོན་.

2 Shag-déba. 5th class. གཤགས་སྡེ་པ.

2 Tapön (Master of horse). 6th class. རྟ་དཔོན་.

2 Chief Drung-yi. 6th class. རྒྱང་ཡིག་ཆེན་པོ.

3 Dronyer. 6th class. འབྲོན་གཉེར་.

3 Assistant Drung-yi. 7th class. རྒྱང་ཡིག་ཆུང་པོ.

3 Män déba ('Medicine Déba'). 7th class. སྨན་སྡེ་པ.

2 Tsamba déba ('Food Déba'). 7th class. རྩམ་པ་སྡེ་པ.

1 Tsa déba ('Grass Déba'). 7th class. རྩྭ་སྡེ་པ.

2 Shing déba ('Wood Déba'). 7th class. ཤིང་སྡེ་པ.

2 Ch'ang déba ('Wine Déba'). 7th class. ཆང་སྡེ་པ.

3 Déba superintendents of cattle. 7th class.

Military Officers.

6 Däpon.[1] 4th class. མདའ་དཔོན་.

12 Rüpon. 5th class. རུ་དཔོན་.

[1] According to the Regulations of the Colonial Office (*Li-fan-yüan tse-li*), B. 62, p. 18, the pay of Tibetan officers and troops is as follows: The pay of the Däpön is derived from the revenues of certain villages and fields assigned them.

Rupön	Per annum, taels	36.0
Jyapön	,, ,,	20.0
Dingpön	,, ,,	14.8

As to the soldiers, they receive two piculs five bushels of barley a year. If on active service, one catty of tsamba a day. The amount of money the soldiers receive is not mentioned in the Regulations, probably they get none.

24 Jyapön. 6th class. རྒྱ་དཔོན།

120 Dingpön. 7th class. སྡེ་དཔོན།

Encampments and Troops.

Anterior Tibet.

23 Frontier posts, under 5th class officers.
18 Large camps, under 5th class officers.
59 Medium-sized camps, under 6th class officers.
25 Small camps, under 7th class officers.

Ulterior Tibet.

4 Large camps, under 3rd class officers.
17 Medium-sized camps, under 6th class officers.
16 Small camps, under 7th class officers.

There are 1000 soldiers in Anterior Tibet, 1000 in Ulterior Tibet, and 1000 in the different parts of Kiang-tzŭ (Gyantsé).

Out of every ten companies (each of which has twenty-five men), five have guns, three bows and arrows, and two sabres. All soldiers wear long hair. The fusiliers wear a red woollen waistcoat, the bowmen a white one, and the swordsmen one white with red border. On their breasts are two letters.

Each company of twenty-five men is commanded by a Dingpön. A Jyapön has under him five Dingpön. A Rupön commands two Jyapön and a Däpön two Rupön.

Every year during the fifth and sixth months the Tibetan troops are inspected by the Minister Resident.[1] A lieutenant

[1] These regulations are all in vigour at the present day. In 1885 Sê-leng-o, Imperial Resident in Tibet, memorializing the Throne on his tour of inspection, says: "He then held a review of the troops, and has now to report that the three garrisons of Gyantsé, Shigatsé and Ting-ri, composed of Chinese and Tibetan troops, went through their various evolutions in good form, and their shooting, though not invariably excellent, was in fairly good style. Liberal rewards were bestowed upon those who displayed special proficiency, and their names were recorded for selection on the occurrence of vacancies. Those who were less deserving were given presents of silk, satin, pouches, knives, tea, etc., and the inefficients were publicly beaten upon the parade ground. . . ." See *Peking Gazette*, January 24, 1886. Half the expense of these inspections by the Amban is borne by the Tibetan treasury. See *Peking Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1885.

and sergeant of the Chinese forces are sent together with a deputy of the Kalön to Kong-po, there to manufacture the necessary powder, the slow-matches and balls being sent from Ssŭ-ch'uan.

In Anterior Tibet there are thirteen cannons and in Ulterior Tibet two.

Functions of Tibetan Officials.

The Kalön are selected by the Talé lama, who submits his candidates to the Chinese Minister Resident, who, since the 59th year of Ch'ien-lung (1793), supervises the appointment of Tibetan officials and has authority to confer buttons of the 3rd to the 7th class. If there occurs a vacancy among the native officials in Anterior Tibet, the Minister Resident concerts with the Talé lama on the choice of a successor, and if it be a vacancy in Ulterior Tibet, he concerts with the Pan-ch'en erdeni lama.[1] The Kalön have charge of the general administration of Tibet.

The Tsipön and the Chyag-dzo-pa manage the treasury department (*Chyag-dzo*).

The Nyer-ts'ang-pa are in charge of the granaries.

The Nan-tso-shak control the streets and roads (*i.e.* have charge of the police).

The Shag-pön administer justice.

The Shag déba superintend the people in the neighbourhood of Potala.

The Tapön have charge of the stud.

The Chief Drung-yi, the Dronyer, the Assistant Drung-yi, do the work of the Ka-shag (the Kalön's Court).

Beside the above-enumerated officers, who are all laymen, there are officials who, being lamas, wear no official button. Thus in Anterior Tibet there are the Tsi-dung lamas, who work in the Treasury and in the Kalön's Court, and in

[1] See *Peking Gazette*, April 2nd, 1876, also February 2nd, 1876, and Feb. 16, 1877, in which last Tra-shi Nar-jyé is appointed *Kalön* at Lh'asa. Relatives of the Talé lama or the Pan-ch'en rinpoch'é cannot hold office in Tibet. See *Li-fan-yüan tse-li*, B. 61, p. 18, and Introduction, *suprà*.

Ulterior Tibet there are the Suipön, Shenpön, Tsé-dung, and Dronyer lamas.

The son of an old and respected family is called in Tibet *Dung-k'or*. In former times all Tibetan officials were taken from among the Dung-k'or, and it frequently happened that very young men leapt up to the highest offices, and all the others were raised to offices higher than that of Ding-pön. An Imperial edict in the 58th year of Ch'ien-lung (1792) prohibited any Dung-k'or who was commencing his official career being promoted from the rank of Ding-pön to that of Dä-pön. Dung-k'or aged at least eighteen could be appointed Dronyer, Assistant Drung-yi, and subordinate military officers, and could receive further promotion when their capacity had been demonstrated.

Taxes and Monetary System.

Taxes in Tibet are paid in either grain, pulo, incense sticks, wood, cotton, salt, tea, butter, butter-milk (*djo* ?), or carcases of sheep. Two oxen are taken in lieu of one piece of Tibetan money, and ten sheep are taken for the same sum.[1]

When a Tibetan dies, one-half of his personal and real estate goes to the State. The Government revenues are, moreover, accrued by voluntary donations and by fines.

In Anterior Tibet the revenues are paid to the Talé lama, and in Ulterior Tibet to the Pan-ch'en erdeni lama. They are expended according to their orders under the management of the Chyag-dzo-pa in Anterior Tibet, and of the Tsi-pön lamas in Ulterior Tibet. All receipts and disbursements are examined by the Minister Resident.

[1] This ought probably to read "one piece of money is paid for every two oxen or ten sheep." The *Hsi-Ts'ang wen-chien lu*, I. p. 18, has, "Each head of cattle is received at an evaluation of taels 2.0., each horse at taels 8.0., each bushel of barley at taels 0.1.0." This is much more satisfactory, although I am at a loss to give the exact evaluation of barley; the character used to indicate the measure is 克 in the text, which supplies no exact sense, though it may stand for the Tibetan ཁལ *k'äl* 'bushel,' which is equal to twenty *bré*. A bushel measure is called *bo*.

In early days the Tibetan Treasury made use of Nepalese coins,[1] and cast none of their own. In the 58th year of Ch'ien-lung (1792) Imperial orders were issued for the casting of money by the Treasury of Anterior Tibet. The coins are made of silver, the large ones weighing one mace, the small ones half a mace. A tael of silver is equivalent to nine large coins or 18 small ones.

The import duty on grain is one wooden bowl full per bag; on exports of salt, one wooden bowl full per bag. All goods arriving from Nepal are reported to the Treasury by the frontier officials, and on entering Tibet all goods, no matter of what nature, pay one piece of money (*wen*) per parcel.

Tribute sent to the Emperor of China.

Every other year the Talé lama sends tribute-bearers to the Emperor of China, the Pan-ch'en erdeni lama sending them in alternate years.

The Talé lama's envoys are the Hutuketu appointed by the Throne for the management of Tibetan affairs, four Kalön, a duke (*Fu-kuo-kung*) without official employment, a brevet Chasak, a Taichi and four Taichi without official employment. The tribute consists of *k'atag*, bronze statues of gods, relics, coral, amber, pearls, Tibetan incense, and pulo.

The Emperor sends the following presents to the Talé lama by his envoys when they return to Tibet:—One gold-lined tea-cup, one silver-lined tea-cup, one gold-lined vase, one silver-lined vase, one silver bell, twenty pieces of satin of each colour (*i.e.* one hundred pieces), five large *k'atag*, forty small *k'atag*, ten coloured *k'atag*. To each of the two chief envoys he gives a saddle, a silver tea-cup, a silver tea-bowl, thirty pieces of satin, 400 (pieces?) of black gingham (*mao-pu*), one leopard skin, three tiger skins, five otter skins.

[1] Wei Yüan in the *Sheng-wu-chi*, B. 14, p. 53, says that in ancient times the Tibetans used cowrie shells and knife-shaped coins (*tao-pu*) as coins. Since the Sung, Kin and Ming dynasties they have used silver. The taxes, he adds, have been paid in silver since the time of the Kin dynasty, and silver coins have existed since the *cheng-tung* period of the Ming (A.D. 1434).

To each of the three assistant envoys he gives one piece of satin with embroidered dragons (*mang*), one set of embroidered insignia of office (*fang-pu*), one piece of fine satin, twenty-five pieces of ordinary cotton (*san-so pu*). To each of the other persons connected with the embassy he gives one piece of common satin (*peng-tuan*) and eight pieces of ordinary cotton.

Each K'anpo of Anterior Tibet who comes to China with the embassy is allowed to bring 160 mule loads of goods free of duty, and to have forty followers.

The Pan-ch'en erdeni lama's envoy is gratified with the title of Nomen khan; he is accompanied by a Chyag-dzo-pa. They have with them different K'anpo, also bearing tribute. The tribute consists of *k'atag*, bronze statues of gods, pearls, saffron, Tibetan incense, and pulo.

The Emperor sends as return gifts to the Pan-ch'en erdeni lama one silver tea-cup, one silver vase, one silver bell, twenty pieces of fine satin of each colour (*i.e.* one hundred pieces), ten large and ten small *k'atag*. To each of the envoys he gives one piece of gold and yellow embroidered satin, sixty-two pieces of black gingham (*mao-pu*), one silver tea-cup, one piece of satin. To each of the suite two pieces of satin, twenty pieces of black gingham. To each of the followers one piece of satin and ten pieces of black gingham.

Each K'anpo of Ulterior Tibet is allowed to bring into the Capital (*i.e.* Peking), free of all duty, 120 mule loads of goods and forty followers.

The Ch'amdo P'akbala Hutuketu sends tribute to the Emperor every four years. It consists of gold bowls and *huang-lien* (a species of *Justicia*).

The Chia-li (Djaya?) Hutuketu sends similar tribute at indefinite periods.[1]

[1] The Jaya (or Draya) authorities do not appear to have ever been allowed to send tribute to Peking, for in 1885, they petitioned the Throne that in view of the services their people had on different occasions rendered the State they might be allowed to bring tribute to Peking whenever the Ch'amdo mission came. This was granted them, and the first mission which arrived at Peking in 1886 brought the following articles of tribute: One *k'atag*, one silver *manta*, one

The Nepalese Dharmarājāh (*Erdeni wang*) sends tribute to Court every five years. It consists of elephants, horses, peacocks (*yen-pi*?), elephant tusks, rhinoceros horns, peacock feathers, and sundry other articles.

The Emperor sends the Ch'amdo Hutuketu as return gifts, one silver teacup, twelve pieces of satin of each colour (*i.e.* sixty pieces), seven large *k'atag*, seven small ones. To each of the three chief envoys he gives one piece of dragon-embroidered satin (*mang*), two pieces of satin, twenty-four pieces of cotton. To each of the suite he gives two pieces of satin, twelve pieces of cotton. To each of the followers six pieces of cotton.

image of the god of everlasting life (*Tsé-pa-mé*) in agate, one copy of the Sūtra of long life, one golden *ch'ürten*, one silver set of the *Tra-shi-tar-jyä* ("eight signs of happiness"), 200 bundles of Tibetan incense, ten rugs, twenty-five pieces of pulo, 800 ounces of *Tsan-To-sh'an* and *Tsan-huang-lien* (medicine), fifty ounces of snake grass (虫 草 probably *cordyceps sinensis*, referred to further on), 100 catties (!) of *maṇi rib-bu* (*chih-mu-yao*) and of "Long life fruit," and seven pelts of various descriptions. See *Peking Gazette*, June 12, 1885, and May 4, 1886. "Long life fruit" is the "fruit of benevolence and longevity" (*jen shou kuo*) of other writers. In Tibetan this root is called *choma*, it is known to botanists as *Potentilla anserina*.

BOOK III.

Mountains.—Rivers.—Historical Buildings at Lh'asa.—Monasteries and Temples.

Chapter I.

The mountains and rivers of Ssŭ-ch'uan aré considered the finest of the Empire. Thousands of miles and more to the west of Ta-tu ('great ford' over the Nya-lung ch'u ?), carved, written, and chiselled records, stores of carpets, fur garments, and fine clothing are common. Although one may go far into the wilds, still everywhere exist the two vitalizing principles (of heaven and earth), their combination producing the mountains and the dissolution of the waters, occasioning such a beautiful and interchangeable whole that the benefits derived from its perfectly harmonious operation can vie with those of the golden ages.

So I have composed a careful description of the mountains and rivers from (Ta-chien-)lu to (the province of) Tsang, and if any section has not been travelled, then I have not ventured to give (even) a brief general description of it.

Mountains and Rivers of Ta-chien-lu.

Nan-wu-chi shan. E. of Ta-chien-lu. Over 500 *ch'ang* high.

Chin-chai-pien. E. of Ta-chien-lu. Dangerous narrow (road). High precipices.

Kang-shan. E. of Ta-chien-lu. High. Steep circuitous road.

Kuo-ta shan. N.E. of Ta-chien-lu. Over 700 *ch'ang* high. There are black antelope (青 羊) running about the mountain. It is said that Wu Hou, chastising the southern (Man), sent Kuo-ta to make arrows at this place—hence the name.

A-la-mu-kung shan. W. of Ta-chien-lu. Over 800 *ch'ang* high.

Chih-to shan.[1] S. of Ta-chien-lu. It is on the road to Lh'asa.

Ta-kai hsüeh shan. N. of Ta-chien-lu.

Lu ho. It flows out of the S.W. side of the Chih-to shan and reaches Ta-chien-lu after 70 *li.*[2]

Yü-t'ung ho. It joins the Ta-chien-lu river.

Hui-ya-na-kou ho. Takes its rise in the N.W. of the Ta-kai hsüeh-shan and reaches Ta-chien-lu after 80 *li.*

The hot springs (*Wen ch'üan*) are S.E. of Ta-chien-lu. The water issues out warm and cures all one's disorders.

LIT'ANG.

Ta-o-kang shan, Chih-la-kang shan, Chu-la shan, Mang-la shan, Ta-sung shan, Chia-ko shan, Ssü-mu-la shan, are all E. of Lit'ang.

A-la-pai-sang shan. S.W. of Lit'ang.

La-ku shan. Conterminous with the Pai-sang shan.

Ssü-lo-lung-tsung shan. Conterminous with the La-ku shan.

O-tung-lo shan. Conterminous with the Lung-tsung shan.

Yün-lung-la shan, So-lung shan, Huo-shao po ("The burning hillock"), are all at Lit'ang.

Loan-shih-tiao shan. On the high road (to Lh'asa).[3]

O-lo shan is at Hsi O-lo.

Tieh-ts'a shan is at Tieh-ts'a.

La-pu shan, at Chia-tsung.

Ts'ang mu shan, at Ts'ang-mu.

[1] Altitude 14,515 feet (Gill).

[2] The Tibetan name of this river is Dar ch'u. The name Lu ho (Tibetan Do ch'u) is usually only given to the river *below* Ta-chien-lu, after it has received the Ché ch'u, the Yü-t'ung ho of the text. The valley of the Yü-t'ung river is called Gi-rong by the natives.

[3] The *I-t'ung-chih* also mentions the La-mu-li Kang-li shan, 180 *li* S.W. of Lit'ang, and the Kuo-la chiang-ka-erh ting, N.E. of Lit'ang, 95 *li*. *Kang li* = *Gang-ri* or "glacier." It also mentions a Tsa-ka-li ma-ni t'u-ya, N.W. of Lit'ang, 40 *li*. Its colour is black and on the rocks are Indian characters and images of gods. Tsa-ka-li = Jagar, i.e. India, *mani* is the name given in Tibetan to the prayers cut on rocks, usually *om mani padmé hūm.*

Sha-pu shan, at Sha-lu-pu.

O-wa shan, at O-wa-pen-sung.

La-ma shan, at La-erh.

Erh-lang hsüeh-shan, at Erh-lang-wan.

San-pa shan, at Li-teng san-pa.[1]

Ta-shan, at Mao-mao-ya.

She-lu shan, at the mouth of the Li-chu river.

Mao-ya shan, at Chü-teng.

Ch'iung-ts'ang shan is on the frontier.

Ya-lung river.[2] E. of Lit'ang. It comes out of a *Jam ts'o* (lake) of the Azure lake (*Koko-nor*) country. Flowing through the Ho-erh-tsan (*Hor Changa*) country, it empties into the Chin-sha chiang, which enters successively Ma-hu and Cho Fu, and then joins the (Ssŭ)-ch'uan river (*i.e.* the Yang-tzŭ).

Li-chu ho[3] (passes) at Lit'ang and flows into the Ya-lung chiang.

Ssŭ-lung-ta ho. S.W. of Lit'ang. Flows into the Chin-sha chiang. Crosses the high road to Bat'ang.

La-ti-chu ho. Source at Lit'ang zam-ba. After passing Erh-lang wan, it enters the Chin-sha chiang.

Chiao-chieh ho at Hsiang-cheng-shuo chu.

Li-chu ho, at Lit'ang. Source at Ssŭ-lu shan.

Wen-t'ang ch'üan ("Spring of the hot pool").

Bat'ang.

Chia-ko-la shan. E. of Bat'ang. Rises high aloft, piercing the clouds (lit. the milky way).

[1] In Tibetan *Lit'ang zam-pa* "the Lit'ang bridge."

[2] Called in Tibetan Nya ch'u or Nya lung ch'u. This river, which flows into the Chin-sha chiang, is frequently confounded by Chinese writers with the Yaru tsang po. See for instance the *Shui-tao t'i-kang*, B. 22, p. 1. The *I-t'ung-chih* says that its source is in the Pa-yen ka-la (Bayan kara) mountains, and that it is there called in Tibetan Chi-chi-erh ka-na river. It flows S.E., receiving during some 500 *li* over ten streams, then it passes mount Ma-mu pa-yen-ka-la, where it receives the Ma-mu mu, etc., etc. I do not believe its sources are so far north.

[3] The *I-t'ung-chih* says it has its source N.W. of Lit'ang, 150 odd *li* in the Li-mu and Sha-lu-chi mountains. The Tun-chu, which flows 180 *li* S.W. of Lit'ang, rises in the Kang-li la-ma-erh S.W. of Lit'ang, and after a course of a few hundred *li* flows into the Chin-sha chiang.

Lung-hsia shan. E. of Bat'ang. Very precipitous and high.

Pu-i-la shan. S. of Bat'ang.

Kung-tzŭ-la shan. S.W. of Bat'ang.

Ning-ching shan. S.W. of Bat'ang. Dangerous. (See Itinerary.)

Hsi-sung-kung shan. W. of Bat'ang. Exceedingly high and massive.

Pa-chung chu river. At the Min p'u (or 'the faubourg,' 民堡) of Bat'ang. Passing this, it flows into the Chin-sha chiang.

Ssŭ-chu river,[1] otherwise known as the Chin-sha chiang ("River of golden sands").

Lu ho, at the customs barrier of the (Chin-sha) chiang.

Djaya.

Chih-ta-la shan. E. of Djaya. Rough plateau.

Ang-la shan. N.W. of Djaya. High and precipitous; difficult to travel over in winter and spring. Quantity of deep snow.

Tso-la shan. N.W. of Djaya. High, dangerous, and precipitous.

Lo-chu river. At the front of the Great Temple (of Djaya). Takes its rise in the Ang-la shan.

Lo-chu river. Has its source in the Tso-la shan.

[1] We read in the *I-t'ung-chih*: "*Chin sha chiang*, formerly called Li-shui, Shen ch'üan or Li Niu ho. At present the Tibetans call it Muru usu, Pu-la ch'u or Pa ch'u. It has its source in mount Pa-sa-tung la-mu, which means "a cow" (*Pa-sa-tung* = *Ba-lang* in Tibetan ?). The stream leaves the mountain under the name of Muru usu. Flowing N.E. some 900 *li* it bends N. around mount Na-mu tang lung, then flowing S.E. for over 800 *li* it enters K'am, under the name of Pu-la ch'u. Thence flowing S. by W. some 800 *li* it passes 60 *li* W. of Bat ang as the Pa ch'u. Again flowing S.E. 600 odd *li* it enters Li-chiang Fu in Yün-nan, where it becomes the Chin-sha chiang. . . . It receives ten large affluents and an innumerable number of small ones." Among its affluents are the Akdam, Ch'i-ch'i-erh ha-na ku-ku wu-su, T'ê-mo-t'u ku-ku wu-su, Ka-ch'i wu-lan mu-lun, T'o-ko-t'o-nai wu-lan mu-lun, Na-mu-ch'i-t'u wu-lan mu-lun, T'u-ha-erh-t'u ka-la wu-su. It is marked on our maps as the Di chü in its upper course, but the local pronunciation is *Dré.* The Chinese call it in this part of its course T'ung t'ien ho (通天河), "The river of all Heaven." Sometimes the first character is written 東 *tung* "east," which supplies a more comprehensive meaning. In all the names of mountains and rivers in the text the word *la* (拉) means "a pass," and *ch'u* (曲) "a river."

Chia-ts'ang chu river. Joins the Lo-chu river and flows to the frontier of Djaya.

Ssŭ-chu river. Comes out of Shang-na-to, and flows into the big river of Ch'amdo.

Ch'amdo.

Ta-kai-la shan. E. of Ch'amdo.[1] High and steep mountain.

Chung-tê-la shan. E. of Ch'amdo. High and steep; reaches the clouds (*i.e.* is cloud-capped).

To-pu-la shan and *Ting-ko-la shan* are both S.E. of Ch'amdo.

Yü-pieh-la shan. S.W. of Ch'amdo.

Lieh-mu-la ling. E. of Ch'amdo.

Kuo-chiao (or *Chüeh*) *ta-shan.* S.W. of Ch'amdo. In winter and spring deep snow.

Pa-kung shan, Mêng-p'u shan, Ch'a-wa shan, Yün shan, Hsüeh shan, Pai-to shan, Na-to shan, Huang-yün shan, Yin shan, La-kung shan.

Ang-chu river.[2] To the left of Ch'amdo.. Takes its rise in the Ching-pa. Because of its passing through Yün-nan, it is called the Yün ho.

Tsa chu river. To the right of Ch'amdo. Has its source at Chin-jo. Because of its passing through Ssŭ-ch'uan, it is called the Ssŭ ho. This and the preceding river unite and enter the Yün-nan frontier.[3]

Lei-wu-chi.[4]

Wa-ho ta-shan. S.W. of Lei-wu-chi. High and steep mountain. In winter and spring there is a great accumulation of snow on it.[5]

[1] The *I-t'ung-chih* mentions a Chu la range (*ling*) N. of Ch'amdo 160 *li*.

[2] This branch of the Lan-ts'ang has its source, according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, in the mount Balak latan suk, 800 odd *li* N.W. of Tsa-tso-li-kang, and is called the O-mu ch'u. It flows into the Tsa ch'u some 300 *li* N.E. of Tsa-tso-li-kang.

[3] The two last-mentioned rivers form the Lan-ts'ang chiang, which, according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, is called in Tibetan La chu. It says the Tsa ch'u has its source in mount Ko-erh-chi tsa-ka-na, over 1000 *li* N.W. of the town of Tsa-tso-li-kang.

[4] The Tibetans pronounce the name of this country La-wo-shé.

[5] Or Wa-ho-i-chu la. In 1720 a detachment of over 500 cavalry was buried in a night in the snow while crossing it. See *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, I. 13.

Cha-ko-la shan. A rough plateau.

Yeh-ta-la shan. A rough, uneven plateau.

Tzŭ chu river. N.E. of Lei-wu-chi. It becomes lower down the Ang chu.

Lo-lung tsung.

Tê-kung la shan. E. of Lo-lung. The mountain is very precipitous.

Tê-ke-la shan. W. of Lo-lung tsung.

O-chu river. W. of Lo-lung tsung. Has its source in the Ko-erh-tsang ku-ch'a lake; falls into the Lan-ts'ang chiang.

Chia-lung-hsi chu river. S. of Lo-lung tsung. Has its source in the E. of Ko-la shan; flows into the O-chu river.[1]

Shobando.

Chang-la shan. E. of Shobando. Precipitous, dangerous, impassable.

Wu-ti la shan. S.W. of Shobando. Not very steep (or high).

Pa-la shan. S.W. of Shobando; plateau.

Shuo (or *So*)*-ma-la shan.* W. of Shobando, also known as the *Sai-wa-ho shan.* (Here) was captured To-to, the superintendent of the mulberry trees of Ch'u.

[1] The *I-t'ung-chih* says, "The Lu-chiang (passes) N.E. of Lho-rong dzong 60 *li*. It is called in Mongol *Kara usu*, and in Tibetan *O-i-erh chu*. It has its source N. of Lh'asa 280 *li*, where it is called Pu-ko kuang. After a course of 450 and odd *li* it takes a N.W. course. One hundred odd *li* further it enters the Ni-erh-chi-ken lake, which has a circumference of over 130 *li*. Fifty odd *li* further on to the N.E. it enters the I-ta lake over 100 *li* in circumference. Then taking a S.E. direction it enters, after some odd 150 *li*, lake Ka-la of over 120 *li* in circumference. Thence it flows S. under the name of Kara-usu. Flowing slightly to N.E. some 450 *li* it comes to Suk dzong, 100 *li* S. it leaves Lh'asa territory and enters K'am, under the name of O-i-erh chu. Flowing some 200 *li* S.E. by E. it passes Lo-rong dzong. Flowing some 300 *li*, thence some 800 *li* it passes through the Mi-la-lung country. Thence over 200 *li* and it enters the country of the savages of Nu (*Nu tzŭ*) and takes the name of Nu chiang. Flowing thence S. over 300 *li* it enters the territory of Li-chiang Fu in Yün-nan and becomes the Lu chiang. Going S. through a country of savages it then goes through Yung-chang Fu and Lu-chiang An-fu-ssŭ. It afterwards reaches Burma (*Mien-tien*), and thence flows into the South Sea. The *Ming t'ung-shih* says, 'Nu chiang is the old name of the Lu chiang.'" This river is therefore the Giama Nu ch'u of our maps on the upper Salwen. But according to the *Hsi-Ts'ang-fu* it would be the Lan-ts'ang or Mékong. The *I-t'ung-chih* mentions among its affluents the Ya-erh-chia tsang po, Pu-ko-sha-ko and Su-ko chan-tan-kun.

Chu-ma-ldng-tso ho. Its source is in the Ko-la shan; flows into the O-chu river.

Chou chu river. Its source is in the Wu-ti shan, and it flows into the O-chu.

Ta-Lung tsung.

Pi-ta-la shan. W. of Ta-lung tsung. A plateau.

Sha-kung-la shan. W. of Ta-lung tsung. High and precipitous mountain.

Lu-kung-la shan. Continuation of the Sha-kung la.

Sa chu river. N. of Ta-lung tsung. Has its source in the Shuo-ma-la shan.

Pien chu river. S.E. of Ta-lung tsung; flows into the Chou chu river.

O chu river. Has its source in the Sha-kung-la shan; flows into the Yeh chu.

Yeh chu river. Its source is in the Lu-kung-la shan, and it flows into the O chu.

La-li.

La-li ta-shan. W. of the great convent (of Lh'ari). The mountain is in shape like a dragon; from top to bottom it is dangerously precipitous. Snow all the year round.

Wa-tzŭ shan. The Tibetans call it Cho-la. Precipitous; covered with masses of snow.

Tung-to chu. E. of Lh'ari. Source in the Lu-kung-la shan; flows into the Tê-chu.

Tê-chu. N.E. of Lh'ari; flows into the Tung-to chu.

Sung-chieh chu. E. of Lh'ari; flows into the Tê-chu. The hot water pools (*jo-shui-t'ang*) E. of Lh'ari. Warm all the year round. The Tibetans call them *ts'a ch'u-k'a.*

Kung-pu Chiang-ta.[1]

Lu-ma ling. W. of Chiang-ta. A broad, flat plateau,

[1] "S.E. from Kong-pu, fifteen days' journey, is Upper Pomi, governed by the Déba of K'ams. Lower Pomi is under the rule of Lh'asa, which deputes an officer for that purpose."—*Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, 34. Upper Pomi is the Potodh of European maps, and Lower Pomi our Pomedh. "The Lu-ma ling is two days from Kong-po Jyan-ta."—*Chien-wen-lu*, I. 14.

swept by violent winds from all points; consequently very snowy. It is considered the most dangerous mountain of Tibet.

Chiang-ta chu-k'a river. Comes out of the Lu-ma ling; flows to Kong-po, where it joins the Tsang ho.

Ou-su chiang. N.E. of Central Tibet (*i.e.* Lh'asa).[1] It is crossed in skin boats (coracles).

Central Tibet (西 藏).

Mount *Potala.* W. of Lh'asa (*Hsi-Ts'ang*); over 100 *ch'ang* high. (See description of Temples.)

Ch'ao-la-pi-tung shan is in shape like a mill-stone, hence its (Chinese) name of *Mo-p'an shan.*[2] (See description of Temples.)

Niu-mo shan.[3] S. of Lh'asa, about 200 odd *ch'ang* high. (See chronology.)

Lang-lu shan. N.E. of Lh'asa.

Tung-ko-erh shan. W. of mount Potala. High mountain, rising to the clouds; 400 odd *ch'ang* high. On the summit of the mountain there is a (custom's) barrier; it is an important pass of Tibet.

Lang-tang shan. S. of Lh'asa, behind the Séra convent. Part of it is level, other parts are precipitous and rugged.

Kan-tan shan. E. of Lh'asa, behind the Galdan (*Kan-tan*) convent.

Sung-ko-la shan.[4] S. of Lh'asa. A succession of great terraced heights; road rough and difficult.

[1] This must be the Kyi-ch'u.

[2] Chapori (ལྕགས་རྫི་རི) is S.W. of Potala. The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu,* page 3, says, that Mo-p'an shan is contiguous to it on the W. and has a temple dedicated to Kuan-ti on the summit, and on the slope a lamasery called the Yung-an ssŭ, which has been repaired by the Chi-lung Hutuketu.

[3] *Niu-mo shan* means the mountain of Niu-mo, in Tibetan Lu-gon; it is the same which is called Nan shan in the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu,* and is the place of hiding of Lu-gon jyal-po when driven from Lh'asa. See section on festivals.

[4] The *Chien-wen-lu,* I. 14, mentions also among the mountains of Central Tibet the *K'u-erh-k'un shan,* "which name translated means 'the incomparable'" (*K'un-lun*). It used to be called *Tzŭ shan.* It is composed of three mountains, the *A-ko-tan ch'i-ch'in,* the *Pa-erh-pu-ha* and the *Pa-yen-k'o-la,* and contains the sources of the Yellow River.

Cha-la shan. Not very bad road. Conterminous with the Ko-la shan.

Chiao-tzŭ-la shan. N.E. of Lh'asa. A temple has been built on the summit. The road is narrow and winding. The birds and beasts (on it) are all silent. If a lama strikes a bell to call them, the birds, the musk deer (槁), and the deer on the mountain all assemble.[1]

Cha-yang-sung shan. E. of Lh'asa some 200 *li.* On its summit there is the old temple of To-chi dra (རྡོ་རྗེ་གྲགས ?).

Kan-pu-la shan. W. of Lh'asa; also called the western Kun-lun mountains. Steep and difficult road.

Kuo-ko-la shan. S. of Lh'asa. High mountain, accumulation of snow, much noxious vapour.

Mo-yü-la shan. W. of Lh'asa. Steep, dangerous road, accumulation of snow, noxious gases.

La-ko-la shan. N. of Lh'asa.

Ko-li-yeh-la shan. N. of Lh'asa. The road has long stretches of mud and sand. Accumulation of snow, noxious gases. If persons are compelled to enter the steppes by the *Yang-pa-ching* (pass), all the way from Po-t'u ho they will find high mountains and difficult roads.

Sa-yü-ko-kang-la shan. N. of Lh'asa.

Ju-niu shan. N.E. of Lh'asa.

Tung-la ta-shan. S.W. of Ulterior Tibet (Shigatsé) 100 *li.* A succession of ridges and peaks, dangerous and steep. Accumulation of snow which never thaws.

Kang-ti-ssŭ shan.[2] N.E. of the Ngari K'asum district (*O-li*) of Central Tibet. Its circumference is over 144 *li.* On all sides of it rise ridges and peaks the highest in Tibet, and great masses of snow hang over their edges. On the summit of the mountain are many springs, which all flow into a depression, and there the water remains. This is unquestionably the greatest of all mountains. In Sanskrit books it is called the A-o-ta (*Anavatapta*) mountain.

[1] The convent is Réchung gomba.—*Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 16.

[2] The *I-t'ung-chih* places it 310 *li* N.E. of the town of Ta-ko-la, and says its height is over 550 *ch'ang* (6500 feet in round numbers). This of course is counted from the surrounding plain. European observations give Kailas 22,000 feet above sea-level.

Ta-mu-chu-ko-pa-po shan.[1] The mountain resembles in shape a horse (*ta*, hence its name).

Lang-chien ko-pa-po shan. The mountain is shaped like an elephant (*lang ch'é*, hence its name).

Sheng-ko k'o-pa-po shan. The mountain is shaped like a lion (*senggé*, hence the name).

Ma-po-chia ko-pa-po shan. The mountain is shaped like a peacock (*ma-ja*, hence its name). All these (four) mountains are conterminous to the Kang-ti-ssŭ shan. The total length (of this chain) is over 800 *li*, and is called *A-li ta shan.*

Ts'ang chiang, also called the *Po chu.*[2] It has three sources. One flows out in three channels, and falls into the Po chu; the second comes out of a cleft in the Kang-la shan, and also flows into the Po-chu. The third comes out of Lu-ma ling, enters the Wu-ssŭ chiang, and flows into the Po-chu. The waters of these three rivers having met, flow on in a mighty mass, and those who want to cross it to go to Lh'asa have to pass it in wooden or hide boats.[3]

P'eng-to ho. There is an iron wire bridge over it[4] and also hide boats (for crossing this river). Three days to Lh'asa.

Ha-la-wu-su ho (Kara usu). N. of Lh'asa. Hide boats ferry across the river. Eight days to Tsang (*i.e.* Shigatsé).

A-ko-ta-mu ho. N. of Lh'asa twenty-five days.

[1] *Ta-mu-chu-ko k'o-pa-pu*, in the *I-t'ung-chih*, S. W. of Cho-shu-t'ê, 340 *li*, near Men-na-ko-nir shan, and facing Kailas on the S.E. It is one of a group of four high mountains. The Yara ts'ang-po flows from the E. of this mountain.

[2] Po chu probably for Bod ch'u or "River of Tibet." It is generally called in Chinese works Ya-lu ts'ang-pu chiang (Yaru ts'ang-po in Tibetan). The *I-t'ung-chih* says that it has "its source in Cho-shu-tê. It enters Wu after an easterly course of 2500 odd *li*, then flowing S.E. 1200 odd *li* it crosses the southern frontier of Wu (Lh'asa province), passes through the Lo-ko-ko-pu-chan (Lepsha?) country, comes around to a S.W. direction, enters the O-no t'ê-ko country, and the combined waters flow to the Southern Sea." It mentions among its affluents the Sa-chu ts'ang-po, Nawu ko ts'ang-po, Chiang-chia su-mu-la, Manchu ts'ang-po, Lung-chien, O-i-chu ts'ang-po, Shang, Nien chu, Kang-pu ts'ang po, etc. The O-no-t'ê country is Central India. This disposes of the Irawaddy theory as far as the Chinese are concerned, for the text shows that the Ts'ang-po is held to be the upper course of the Brahmaputra.

[3] Called by the Tibetans གོ་རྒྱ, pronounced *Ko-dru*, or ཟངས་རྒྱ, pronounced *pa-dru*.

[4] The text has 槁 "pole, oar," which is evidently a misprint for 橋 "bridge." This error occurs throughout the work.

Ch'un-ken no-erh ho. N. of Lh'asa. Nine days to Lh'asa. It is also called T'ien-ch'ih (天池 "Heavenly pool").

Ch'un-chieh ho. S. of Lh'asa. It is another name of the Ts'ang chiang.

Lo-pa ho. S. of Lh'asa. All the waters of Anterior and Ulterior Tibet flow into this (river).[1]

Yeh-tang ho. W. of Lh'asa. There is an iron rope bridge over it.

Ya-lu tsang-pu chiang. W. of Lh'asa. Has its source in the Ta-mu-chu-ko-pa-po shan.

Kang-pu tsang-pu ho. E. of Central Tibet.

Kang-ko chiang (the Ganges). Has its source in the Kang-ti-ssŭ shan.

Nien-chu ho. E. of Ulterior Tibet. Has its source in the Sha-yü-ko-kang-la shan.

Nu chiang.[2] S. of Lh'asa. Precipitous (banks), impassable.

Lu hai (Tingri meidam ?). This is the name given to all the land near Trashil'unpo which becomes flooded in summer.

A-o-ta ch'ih (lake Anavatapta).[3] S. of Kang-ti ssŭ (Kailas).

[1] The *I-t'ung-chih* mentions among the rivers of Ulterior Tibet the Sa-pu ch'u, which passes 80 *li* N. W. of Shigatsé, having its source S. of that place. The Nien chu, which flows 10 *li* N. of Shigatsé and has its source S. in the Chu-mu-la-mu shan and the Shun la chain. It flows into the Yaru ts'ang-po.

[2] Nu chiang is identified by Porter Smith with the Irawaddy. The remark from the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 26, that it flows into the Lan chiang (Mékong) would lead us to suppose that it is the Giama Nu ch'u or Lu chiang, although this river flows into the Salwen. The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu, loc. cit.*, says furthermore, "The S. frontier of Lh'o-yul is the Nu chiang. From Lh'asa, going S. one day, passing the great mountain of Kuo-ka (Gokhar pass), one comes to the village of Sung-po. Crossing the great mountain of Sung-ka one comes to the Ts'ang chiang, the frontier of Jagar (India). (After this) one comes to the Nu chiang." This probably means that after crossing the Ts'ang chiang and continuing east one comes to the Nu chiang. This is perfectly correct.

[3] The Yamdok Palti lake, which is not mentioned here, is, says the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 40, "456 *li* in circumference, and it requires forty-eight days to go around it. In it are three great mountains, Minapa, Yaposhih and Sang-li." The *I-t'ung-chih* calls the second mountain Ya-po-tu. Among the lakes of Tibet, the *I-t'ung-chih* mentions the "Ma-pin-mu ta-la, 200 *li* N.E. of Ta-ko-la in Ngari, and 65 *li* S.E. of mount Kailas. It is the source of the Ganges and is over 180 *li* in extent. Lake Chi-ka, 170 *li* N. of Ta-ko-la and 34 *li* S.W. of Kailas. It is over 300 *li* in extent, and is connected with Ma-pin-mu-ta-la. Lake Ya-mu-lu-ko yu-mu-tso, E. of Na-ka-la-tse, in extent over 460 *li*. There are three mountains in it called Minapa, Ya-po-tu and Sang-li. Lake Chia-mu-tso chi-mu tso, N.W. of Chang-a-pu-lin, over 60 *li* in extent; originally two lakes, the E. one called Chi-mu tso, the W. one Chia-mu-tso. Lake La-mu-tso hsi-mu-tso, N.E. of Ngari dzong, 120 *li*, 220 *li* in extent. Lake Ta-lu-ko yu-mu ts'o, N.W. of Ché-pa in Tsang, 550 *li*. Its extent is over 280 *li*. The salt lake of Cha-pu-yeh sa-ka, 20 odd *li* N. of

T'eng-ko-li ch'ih (Tengri nor). N.W. of Lh'asa. Of all the innumerable lakes, ponds, sources, pools, and salt lakes of Tibet, this is the largest.

Note on Ancient Remains at Lh'asa.

Lu-k'ang ch'a-mu.[1] It is behind Potala with a pond of some four *li* (in extent), in the middle of which is built a pavilion called (in Chinese) the *Shui-ko-liang-t'ing.*

Chia-ch'i yüan.[2] N. of Potala some four *li.* This is the place where the Talé lama generally comes in warm weather. There is a fish pond, a reading hall, and plantations of beautiful flowers, which give it also the name of *Hua yüan* ("the flower garden").

Shu-je kang.[3] Seven *li* W. of Potala. This is a place where the Talé lama and the Pan-ch'en (lama) stop their conveyances when passing, to drink tea. It is also called *Ching-yüan* ("The garden of the classics").

Liu-li ch'iao ("The glazed bridge").[4] Outside the town of Lh'asa, on the high road to Potala.

Ch'ung-ssŭ kang. In the main street of Lh'asa. Formerly a place of recreation for the Talé lama, now the yamên of the Minister Resident.

Tsung chio. Two *li* N. of Potala. A densely shaded grove. It is also a summer residence of the Talé lama.

the former, over 150 *li* in extent, produces white salt. Lake Chi-pu, near the previous lake to the N., extent 220 odd *li.* Lake Cha-mu ts'o tieh-no-ko, over 410 *li* N.W. of Cho-shu-t'ê, 10 *li* in circumference, contains borax. The eleven salt lakes of Kung-no-mu-cha-ka, 700 odd *li* N.W. of Lh'asa. They are all on either side of the Ya-erh-chia ts'ang-po. The largest is 190 *li* in extent, the smallest 50 or 60 *li.* Two produce a brownish salt, the others white salt. Lake Teng-ka-li (Tengri-nor), 220 odd *li* N.W. of Lh'asa, over 600 *li* broad and over 1000 *li* in circumference. Broad from E. to. W., narrow from N. to S. Three rivers flow into it on the east side, and two on the west."

[1] ཀླུ་གོང་ཀྱུ་མཚོ "The lake of the Naga." Pronounced *Lu gon jya-ts'o.* This appears to be the correct spelling of this name.

[2] བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླིང་ག "The grove of happiness." Pronounced *Tra-shi-ling-ga.*

[3] ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁང "The home of the classics." Pronounced *ch'ü-jyi k'ang.*

[4] The Tibetan name is གཡུ་གོག་ཟམ་པ "The turquoise roof bridge." Pronounced *yü-t'og zam-pa.*

Chapter II.

The western regions (*Hsi-yü*) are the most profoundly Buddhist of all countries, in consequence of which the display of fine clothing and the slaughtering of animals are matters of grave import,[1] and burning of incense on the hills a most meritorious action.

Mount Potala, at Lh'asa, the Jo-vo k'ang (*Ta chao*), and the Ramoch'e (*Hsiao chao*), Séra, Samyé (*Sang-yüan*), the four great Ling (*Ssŭ*), and the Trashil'unpo at Shigatsé[2] are the most important (temples); but the lists of temples enumerate 3000 more.[3] Although it is impossible to inquire into the history of all of them, still I have looked into and noted all the works containing their histories, and have picked out the most important ones to the end that I might make inquiries about those which I had selected; and I have carried out these investigations with untiring care.

Monasteries and Temples.

Ta-chien-lu.

Kuan-ti miao, Wu-Hou ssŭ. The Chinese temples (*Han-jen ssŭ*) are all E. of Ta-chien-lu.

Kuo-ta miao. W. of Ta-chien-lu.

Hui-ta miao. N.W. of the city of Ta-chien-lu. It was erected under Imperial orders the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), and also received this name.

Pao-kuo ssŭ, also called "the Lama monastery." W. of Ta-chien-lu.

Kao-je ssŭ. Thirty *li* S. of East O-lo.

[1] That is to say, that to wear fine clothing and to slaughter animals are both reprehensible acts in Tibet.

[2] The text reads *Jeng-chung-ning-wen chieh-pa-ssŭ*, which is = Trashil'unpo.

[3] Tibetans say that there are 3600 temples and convents both large and small in their country. The number does not seem exaggerated. *Sheng-wu-chi*, V. 27, counts about 3487; *Hsi Ts'ang t'u-k'ao*, I. 10, 3150 odd in the Talé lama's dominions, 327 in Pan-ch'en rinpoche's, this according to the census of 1737.

Lit'ang

Kuan-ti miao. Built by the Chinese of Lit'ang.

Chang-ching ch'un-ko-erh-ssŭ, at Lit'ang. Residence of a great lama K'an-po.

Chu-ching t'ang, Chin-kang ssŭ. Both at Lit'ang.

Kung-sha ssŭ, at Mo-na.

K'ung-sha ssŭ, at Upper O-lo.

Na-t'u ssŭ, Ma-t'ang ssŭ. Both at Ya-pa.

Säng-teng ssŭ, at La-ehr pu.

Nai-chi jung-pa ssŭ, at Upper Mo-na.

Teng-sha ssŭ, at Lower Mo-na.

Kung-ko-li ssŭ, at Kung-ko.

Yang-ting ssŭ, Pang-pu ssŭ. Both at Tao-pa.

San-pei-lin ssŭ, at Hsiang cheng.

Li-ch'an ssŭ, at La-ma-ya.

Shen-ch'üeh ssŭ, at Shen-pa.

Bat'ang.

The Great Monastery (*Ta-ssŭ*). Situated to the E. (of the town), facing the W., with an earthen wall of over 100 *ch'ang* in length, within which lives the K'an-po, who teaches and directs. The other lamas live all around him in mud-made houses.

Lama monasteries (*La-ma ssŭ*). There are eighty-four monastic establishments (in the Bat'ang district) which do not receive allowances for food, and fifty-seven which receive them. They cannot be all referred to here.

The Chinese temple (*Han-jen ssŭ*). (See the Itinerary.)

Djaya.

The great monastery of Djaya (*Cha-ya ta-ssŭ*). Built to the W. (of the town) and facing the S.E., inclosed in an earthen wall a hundred odd *ch'ang* in length. All the lamas live inside the monastery. A Chyak-dzo-pa manages all the business of this place and all the lamas of the monastery.

Chuan-ching ko.[1] In front of the great lamasery. All persons who want to get married come here, sing songs and make merry. The bridegroom puts some tsamba on the woman's hair, and with this the marriage is concluded.

Ch'amdo.

Jung-kung ssŭ, also called the Chamba ling (*Chiang-pa-lin ssŭ*).[2] The great hall is vast and grand, the finest of all Tibet (lit. the three Ts'ang). A Hutuketu and a Chyak-dzo-pa reside here.

P'u-an t'ang. At Ch'amdo. Erected by the Chinese.

Chiang-ching t'ang, Lung-wang miao. Both at Ch'amdo.

The great convent (of Ch'amdo). To the left of the Hsü-kung ssŭ. Inside the temple there is a throne of the Emperor, (to which) officials offer their homage on the 1st and 15th of the month.

Chinese temples. From Ch'amdo to La-tzŭ-to there are Chinese temples.

Kuan-yin ko, at Bat'ang.

Shan-hua ssŭ, Ko-erh ssŭ, Lin-kuang ssŭ. All at Pao-tun.

Wen-shui ssŭ, Yün-ting ssŭ, Ta-mu ssŭ, Ting-hai ssŭ. All at O-lo.

Chang-ming ssŭ, Yung-ting ssŭ, Po-i ssŭ. All at Kuo-chiao.

Chin-kang ssŭ, Kung-sha ssŭ, Chi-hsiang an, Ta Fo ssŭ, Yün-lin ssŭ. All at La-kung.

Shobando.

Great lamaseries (*Ta ssŭ*). There are two lamaseries at Shobando, built of rubble. They are close to the mountain in the vicinity of the river. Inside there is a statue of the Buddha. The lamas and the Débas live in the temple (lit. hall of the classics).

[1] "The pavilion for circumambulating the sacred books" probably contains copies of the Kanjur and Tanjur, or a *Kanjur k'orlo,* a huge prayer-wheel in which the whole of the Kanjur is placed.

[2] ཇམས་པ = Maitreya.

Lh'ari.

Tan-ta miao. There is a tradition that a certain Ts'an-chun (Paymaster) from Yün-nan, while passing this way escorting treasure, fell into a snow-drift. The following spring or summer, on the melting of the snow, he was found stretched out on a case of treasure.[1] The people of the place were greatly astonished, and honoured his remains and addressed prayers to him. (See the Prefect (*Tai-sho*) Shen Chin-an's book entitled *Tsung-cheng-chi-shih.*)

The great monastery (*Ta ssŭ*) is to the left of the great mountain of Lh'ari called the Yao-yo shan, up which there is a zigzag road. A high lama governs the place. All the monks live inside the monastery.

Central Tibet.

The convent of Potala (*Pu-ta-la ssŭ*).[2] Five *li* from Lh'asa on the plain there is an abrupt upheaval of the earth, forming two hills. One of them is Potala, on which is a golden-roofed (temple), and here is the residence of the Blessed Talé lama. The other is Chak-po ri (*Chao-la pi-t'ung*), on which are two pavilions for the use of foreign lamas who cultivate meditation. Between (these two hills) there is a pagoda. The successive peaks are very beautiful, the different buildings peaceful and secluded. The most beautiful of them is to the W.

The Chak-po ri convent (*Chao-la-pi-t'ung ssŭ*), is S.W. of Potala. The lamas of this convent are all doctors. (For details see above.)

[1] *Hsiang chiao.* A case of treasure is a hollowed-out log bound with iron; it holds 62.5 catties weight, or 1000 taels of silver.

[2] The *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* says that Potala is on top of a little hill called Manipuri. The temple is 36 *ch'ang* 7 *ch'ih* 4 *ts'un* high (about 436 feet 10 inches). Ch'ien-lung in 1760 conferred on Potala the name of *Yung-lien ch'u-ti*, or "the birthplace of springing lotuses." Manipuri is the Tibetan *Ma-pori* (རྨ་པོ་རི), or "the red hill," which was the name given it prior to its becoming in 1643 the residence of the Talé lama.

The great temple Jo-wo k'ang (*Ta chao ssŭ*).[1] The word *Jo-wo* (*Chao*) means *Ju-lai* (Sanskrit *Tathâgata*). (See Edict of the 60th year of K'ang-hsi at Lh'asa.) The Tibetan people call it Lh'abrang (*Lao-mu lang*). It was built in the T'ang period. It faces the W. Around the central court-yard there have been erected brick pavilions several stories high, and pillared halls, the tiled roofs of which are ornamented with gold. Inside there is a statue of the Buddha, or "Teacher," called Shakyamuni (*Shih-chia mo-ni*). It was originally brought in the T'ang period, when the Imperial princess came to Tibet. It represents the Buddha at the age of twelve. It is moreover said that it was cast by a Chinese from Tso-lang. There are also images of the T'ang princess, also that of the T'u-fan (Tibetan) Btsan-po (*i.e.* king) and of the Nepalese (*Pai-pu kuo*) princess. Inside this (temple) there are myriads of gods and a throne of the Emperor. All the year round it is bright with sweet-scented flowers and precious vases. To the S.E. there is a temple of Pal lh'amo (*Po-lo-mo*),[2] which takes its name from the divinity (there worshipped). It is majestic and gorgeously brilliant, and (this god) is greatly revered by the Tibetans. On the front of the wall of the verandah is painted the Master Yüan-chuang (元 奘) of the T'ang period, and three of his disciples searching for the sacred books.[3] There is also (a portrait) of Yü-chih Ching-tei

[1] In Tibetan called the རྒྱ་ནང་རྗེ་བོ་ཁང or རྗེ་ཁང. *Chao* or *Jo-wo*, is generally used in Tibet to designate Gautama Buddha, but saints (Atischa for example) also receive this title. The real name of this celebrated temple is རྒྱལ་བའི་འཁོར་ལོང, pronounced *Chi-k'or-ling*. It is commonly called *Jok'ang*. The image described in the text is the *Jo*.

[2] In Tibetan Paldan lhamo (དཔལ་ལྡན་ལྷ་མོ). This god is a *Ch'ü-jong* of Tibet, one of its great tutelar divinities. He is represented riding a horse along a road of blood. He has a human skin over his shoulders, and is drinking blood out of a skull; his horse's trappings are ropes of snakes.

[3] He is better known to Europeans as Hiuen Thsang. His travels and biography have been translated by Julien and Beal. On Yü-chih Ching-tei, see also *infrà*.

guarding the frontier, and (a quantity) of weapons of war. Outside the gate there is a stone pillar in a poor state of preservation; it is the tablet containing the alliance of T'ang T'ê-tsung with his nephew.[1] On either side of the pillar are old willows, whose aged trunks are bent and twisted like writhing dragons. It is said that they date from the T'ang period.

Ramoch'é (*Hsiao-chao ssŭ*). It is half a *li* N. of the Ta chao ssŭ,[2] and is generally called Ramoch'é (*La-mu chi*) by the Tibetans. It faces the E. and was also built in the T'ang period. It has vast and beautiful courts, nowise inferior to those of the Ta chao. Inside there is a clay image of a Buddha, called Chu-to-chi. He was a disciple of Shakyamuni, and reached enlightenment (*i.e.* died) at eight years of age. It is moreover said that the remains of the T'ang princess lie here.

[1] There are many inscriptions in Chinese extant in Tibet; a certain number have come to us in a small volume entitled 西藏碑文, published in 1851. It gives us eleven inscriptions:—1. Imperial autograph dated 60th year K'ang-hsi (1721) on the pacification of Tibet. It is in front of mount Potala.—2. Imperial autograph dated 59th year of Ch'ien-lung (1794); it is entitled 十全記. It is in front of Potala.—3. Imperial autograph dated 1808, in Chia-ching's reign; it is entitled, "Tablet of the narrative of the devotional ceremonies of the P'u-t'o tsung-sheng temple." It is N.E. of Potala, near mount Séra.—4. Tablet commemorating the victorious campaign against the Gorkhas. In front of the Jok'ang. Dated 1793.—5. Tablet of the hall of the drill ground, signed by the Amban and the Assistant Amban Ho Ning (author of *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*).—6. Tablet on the erection of a temple to Kuan-ti on Lu-pan shan. Dated 1795.—7. Tablet of the double devotion, N.E. of the Jo-k'ang. Dated 1793. This inscription records the history of the assassination in 1752 of the two Chinese Ambans. It has been translated by Jametel in the *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, No. 3 (1887), p. 446 *et seq.*, but he does not mention the work from which he took it.—8. Treaty between T'ang T'ê-ts'ung and the King of Tibet. In front of the Jo-k'ang.—9–11. Three tablets, dating from the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1721). Two on the top of the east slope of Potala and one at the east foot. They were composed by military officials who participated in the great campaign. Some of these inscriptions are also given in the *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, I.

[2] 珠多吉 *Chu-to chi.* This appears to be a transcription of the Tibetan *Ch'ö do-rjé* (ཆོས་རྡོ་རྗེ), which would be Dharmavajra in Sanskrit; but I know of no celebrated disciple of Gautama of this name. The *Sheng-wu chi*, V. 29, reads *Kung-chu-chi-to Fo*. Tibetans tell me that the image alluded to is that of Ch'ub-jé do-rjé (ཆུབ་རྗེ་རྡོ་རྗེ).

Galdan gompa (*Kan-tan ssŭ*). Fifty *li* E. of Lh'asa.[1] The Tibetans say that the Kan-tan mountain was the residence of Tsong-k'a-pa, a perfectly enlightened man. It is moreover said that he was Jeng-teng-ku Fo (*Dipankara Buddha*). Inside there is a hall of the classics with images of gods, pendant scrolls of silk, and gorgeous canopies; it is very grand, nearly equal to the Jok'ang or Ramoch'é. A K'an-po lama, who expounds and discourses on the yellow doctrine, resides here.

Dräbung (*Pieh-pang ssŭ*).[2] Twenty *li* W. of Lh'asa. It faces the high road and rises behind in the terraces, on which the different buildings lie scattered about. Inside there is a garden pavilion, where the Talé lama resides in the hot weather. Once every year he explains the sacred books (here). The greater part of all the Tibetan teachers of the sacred books reside here. At the foot of the mountain there is a temple of the Ch'ü-jong (*Shui chung*).[3] The Ch'ü-jong of this monastery have no wives, in which they differ from those of other temples. (See the paragraph on the Ko-ma-hsia ssŭ.)

Séra (*Se-la ssŭ*). Ten *li* N. of Lh'asa. It is built against a mountain. There are three gilded temples, and the buildings are very lofty. The Talé lama comes likewise here once a year to expound the sacred books. Inside (this

[1] Nain-sing, p. xxiii, says, "After crossing the Kichu stream we arrived at Galdan monastery, situated on the summit of a low hill. The circumference of this monastery is about three-quarters of a mile. There are numerous well-built temples, with idols much the same as those at Sárá. It is reported to be a very wealthy monastery, and is occupied by 3000 priests."

[2] འབྲས་སྤུངས Pronounced Dräbung. Dräbung, *vulgo* Däbung, is said to contain 7700 lamas. See Georgi, *Alph. Tib.* pp. 413 and 453.

[3] On this class of magicians see Georgi, *Alph. Tib.* p. 242 *et seq.*; Schlagintweit, *Buddh.* p. 157; Köppen, *Lamaische Kirche*, p, 259; and Fra Orazio's *Notizia del Regno del Thibet*, p. 77 (Klaproth's edition). They are called the བླ་མའི་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་, or "Protectors of the law of the Highest One," and are not, so I am told, considered lamas. On the female Ch'ü-jong, see *infrà*. The most celebrated Ch'ü-jong is that of Nachung, whose oracular powers are very great. The Ch'ü-jong are even consulted when a person wants to dig a well; they shoot an arrow, and where it enters the ground, there water will be found.

temple) is the magic club which descended from above, which the Tibetans call Dorjé (*To-ehr chi*).[1] It came flying from the great western country (大 西 天, Persia). The K'an-po of this convent prizes it. Tibetans must see it once.

Samyé (*Sang-yüan ssŭ*). S.E. of Lh'asa, near the Kan-tan ssŭ.[2] Its towers, halls, temples (lit. hall of the classics), images, are like those of the Jo-k'ang and Ramoch'é. Inside there is an image of Kuan-ti chün, which dates from prior to the T'ang period. There used to be a great many monsters here, which were a source of terror, so Kuan-ti chün came down. The sage removed them and brought tranquillity (to the land). For this a temple was built (to him), and he receives sacrifices. The Talé lama comes here yearly to explain the *Gāthās* (偈).

Muru (*Mu-ru ssŭ*). E. of Ramoch'é, and facing the S. Its temple, statues, and precious vessels are all perfect. Every Tibetan monk who studies the classics resides here (for a while).

W. of the convent is "The Grove of the Classics,"[3] where the blocks for the sacred books of the Three Vehicles are cut and the printing is done.

Ch'ü-k'ang (*Chü-kang ssŭ*). Conterminous with the Grove of the Classics. It is here that the Mongol monks study the classics.

[1] It is known to the people as the གསེར་གི་རྡོ་རྗེ, or "The golden vajra." See Huc, *Souvenirs*, vol. ii. p. 383.

[2] The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 9, says that it is two days' journey S. of Lh'asa, and Nain Sing *op. cit.* p. xxiv, says that it is three days' journey (thirty-six miles) E. of Lh'asa, and is situated on the left bank of the Ts'ang-po ch'u. The State Treasury, he adds, is at this place. It was founded during the reign of Tri-song ché-tsan (the K'i-li-tsan of the Chinese) (A.D. 755–786), under the direction of Wu-pamé (Padma Sambhava), and is said to have been copied on the Nalanda monastery in Middle India. The library of Samyé is celebrated. According to the *Vaidurya karpo* it was founded A.D. 749. Kuan-ti is confounded by all natives with the Tibetan Gésar.

[3] In Tibetan this would be མདོ་གི་རའཁོར, pronounced *Do-gé ra-k'or*. I do not know if this is the name of the printing-house (*Par-k'ang*) of Muru gompa. The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 10, says that the name of "Grove of the classics" is given to Muru itself.

Karmasha (*Ko-ma-hsia ssŭ*). Also called the Ch'ü-jong's temple. It is half a mile E. of the Jo-k'ang. The images of the divinities are most repulsive. Inside live "the Protectors of the Law," or Ch'ü-jong (*Shui-chung*). These lamas have a special dress; moreover they marry and bring up their children, transmitting their secrets to their descendants, as do the magicians of China. On the 2nd and 16th of every moon[1] there comes down a spirit. (The Ch'ü-jong then) wears on his head a golden helmet with cock's feathers on top and five little flags behind, and around his body are tied white *k'atag*. He wears tiger-skin boots, and in his hand he bears a bow and a sword. He ascends the altar and tells men's fortunes, answering at once (all questions). Afterwards he departs, and the people (*i.e.* the other Ch'ü-jong) follow after him dressed up as demons and monsters, holding flags, and to the sound of drums, he directing them in the way. Every one of all the great monasteries have Ch'ü-jong; sometimes even women hold this office.[2]

Ch'u-pu ssŭ, Yeh-lang ssŭ.[3] Seventy *li* N. of Lh'asa; each one is the residence of a Hutuketu.

The old convent of Do-je dra (*To-chi-cha ku ssŭ*). It is near the convent of Samyé, on the top of Mount Cha-yang tsung, which is over 2000 *ch'ang* high. Wooden ladders are used to ascend it. There is a cavern (or hole), in which there is eatable white clay, which has the taste of tsamba.[4] When all has been eaten, more takes its place. Lights are necessary to enter this cavern. Behind it there is a large lake. It is said that those who have done evil, on coming here, inevitably fall in. Tibetans are afraid, and do not dare go near it.

[1] The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 10, says the spirit descends on the 26th of each moon. It is two or three *ch'ih* high, etc. The Ch'ü-jong participate in nearly all church ceremonies. They are merely magicians.

[2] They are called *Ta-ma ch'u nyi-ba*.

[3] *Ch'u-wo gomba* and *Nalenda gomba* are probably the Tibetan equivalents.

[4] It is called *sa tsam-ba* "earth tsamba." I am told that it is also found in holes in the low ground near the river at Wu-t'ai shan, the Tibetan Ri-vo tsé na (རི་བོ་རྩེ་ན) in Shan-hsi. Comp. Wood, *Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, p. 19

Ta-tung (*Ta-lung ssŭ*). N. of Lh'asa, one day the other side of mount Kuo-ka la. The convent is very beautiful.

Chio-tzŭ-la shang ssŭ (or the temple on Mount Chio-tzŭ), *Jo-cheng ssŭ*. Are N.E. of Lh'asa.

Jeng-chung ning-weng chieh-pa ssŭ.[1] Eight days' journey S. from the Jo-k'ang. It is the residence of the Pan-ch'en (lama).

Sakya (*Sa-chia ssŭ*).[2] At Sa-kya (Sa-chia), Ulterior Tibet (Tsang). There was a lama, Pa-ssŭ-pa by name (native of this place), who was the preceptor of an emperor of the Yüan dynasty; he later on became the head of the red hat lamas (*Nyimapa*). The lamas of this sect have wives, and when they have had a child, they abandon their homes and devote themselves to religion.

Kuan-ti miao. W. of the city of Trashil'unpo (lit. *La-tsai Cha-shih*).

Shuang chung ssŭ ("The temple commemorative of the double devotion"). Built at Ch'ung-ssŭ kang in honour of (the Ambans) Fu and La. In the 15th year of Ch'ien-lung (1752) there was a conspiracy to kill Chu-erh kuo-te-na-mu-cha-erh. These two (Ministers) killed him, but were

[1] Another name of the Trashil'unpo lamasery, 2 *li* W. of Shigatsé; see *Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, V. 25. The town is called Dzi-k'a-tsé (གཟི་ཀ་རྩེ་) or Dé-gar-tsé (དེ་གར་རྩེ་). The convent of Tra-shi-lhun-po (བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ་) was built by Gédun drupa (དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་པ) in 1446. He was an incarnation of Ts'ong k'a-pa. The *I-t'ung-chih* says that the convent of Trashil'unpo is 2 *li* W. of Dzik'atsé. It contains over 3000 rooms, and images in gold, silver, copper, etc., without number. It has over 5000 lamas, and has under it fifty-one small convents with over 4000 lamas. Ch'ien-lung gave it the name of *Fu-yüan-heng-hu*, or "the constant patron of the source of happiness." Later on he gave it other names of a similar character. 30 *li* S. of Trashil'unpo, at the foot of a mountain, is Nart'ang lamasery. Inside is an image of Maitreya and of the eighteen Arhats. It has blocks for the printing of the whole Kanjur and Tanjur. It has also a small bronze pagoda containing a relic (*sharira*) of (Shakyamuni ?). It is over an inch long, crooked and yellow. Among other relics it has a crystal staff brought there by an Arhat in olden times, etc.—*Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 39.

[2] The Sakya monastery was founded in the eleventh century.

injured by his followers in the scuffle (and died from their wounds).[1]

Ao-na miao. N.E. of Lh'asa.

Ka-erh-tan miao. N.W. of Lh'asa, near mount Sha-yü-kó-kang la.

Sa-mu-ta miao. S.E. of Lh'asa.

Niang-niang miao. N.E. of Trashil'unpo.

Lin-ka-erh miao, A-ko-pa-cha-sang miao, Tui-sa-mu-no-erh-pu-lin miao, Hsieh-erh-tzŭ miao, Chi-k'ang miao. The five temples above mentioned are at Trashil'unpo.

The temple of Dor-je p'a-mo[2] (*To-erh-chi pa-mu kung*), in the lake of the Yamdok Palti (*Yang-cho pai-ti*). The convent is on top of a mountain, and is exceedingly beautiful, more beautiful than Ying-chou and P'eng-tao. In the convent resides the female Hutuketu Rdo-rje p'a-mo (*To-erh-chi pa-mo*). It is said that she is an emanation of the Northern bushel (*Ursa major*). Formerly, when the Déba Sang-jyé had revolted in Tibet, she transformed herself into a sow and escaped.[3] In Tibetan a sow is called *p'ag* (ཕག), hence the name.

[1] Comp. section on monasteries and temples, Dräbung.

[2] It is generally called Yamdo Samding gom-ba. Dor-jé p'a-mo is the incarnation of Dolma, the wife of Shenrézig. The lake is usually called Pé-dé jya-ts'o. 斗母 *t'ou-mu*, "the Northern bushel," is a Taoist divinity which may be confounded by the Chinese with Dolma; just as Kuan-ti is with the Tibetan Gésar.

[3] The convent was attacked by the Sungans, but was saved by the abbess and all the nuns transforming themselves into swine. Bogle visited the Dor-jé p'a-mo near Trashil'unpo. She was then the niece of the Pan-ch'en rinpoché.—See Markham's *Tibet*, p. 108. He writes the name Durjay Paumo. Sarat Chandra Das told me that he also had visited her, and that she had cured him of a severe illness from which he was suffering.

BOOK IV.

Indigenous Products.—Military Depôts and Garrisons.—Number of Convents.—Ecclesiastical Dignitaries.—Famous Statues.—Extracts from the *Hsin T'ang shu*, *I shih*, etc.—Veneration shown Hsüan-chuang (Hiuen Tsang).—Notes on Various Archæological Remains.

CHAPTER I.

The fame of the *chüeh*[1] of the West and of the *chien*[2] of the South has been transmitted through the Erh-ya. The white pheasants of Ch'i-kung, the palaces of the tributary princes, how flourishing they were! The excellence of the creation of things, of their growth and diffusion, is it not like the benevolence of the Emperor, which is as heaven and earth?

Now the wine and fine grapes of Hsi-yü, Kang-chü, and Shu-i,[3] the wild beasts (lions) and *fu-pa* of An-hsi and Tiao-chih,[4] are (mentioned) even in remote antiquity. At present the New Dominion is spreading daily; present-bearers and princes are coming. It would be impossible to enumerate all the different objects which they bring from afar. If one undertook to write down the endless varieties of strange

[1] 蛩 The Siberian jerboa or helamys (*Dipus sibirica*). The Chinese say that one helps to carry another, whence its descriptive name of 比肩獸 "mutual-shouldering beast."—Williams, *Dict.* s.v. *Küeh*.

[2] 兼鳥. Described in Chinese works as a strange bird like a duck; the 比翼鳥 or "paired-wings bird," with one eye and one wing, two of them must unite for either of them to fly. It is also the spoonbill (*Platalea major*).—Williams, *op. cit.* s.v. *Kien*.

[3] Kang-chü = Sogdiana.—See *T'ang shu*, B. 221. Shu-i = Kashgar.

[4] The *Hou Han shu*, B. 88, says, "The *fu-pa* (符拔) has the shape of a *lin* (unicorn), but has no horn." An-hsi = Parthia. Tiao-chih = Chaldæa, according to Hirth, *China and the Roman Empire*, p. 144.

things or to add up the tribute, it would require a scholar's copious vocabulary; yet in the Palace these are considered neither precious, rare, nor curious (so abundant are they).

The most remote regions have their useful products, so now I will enumerate the produce from Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa, according to the nature of the soil and the growth of each locality.

PRODUCTS OF TA-CHIEN-LU.

Barley, yak (long-haired, wild cattle), mountain sheep, butter, turnips, (lit. "round roots") (like turnips, but round, a barbarous species), cabbage.[1]

LIT'ANG.

Blocks for printing the Tripitaka, gold dust, wooden bowls of grape-vine root, beads of *feng-yen* (鳳 眼), mother-of-pearl, *Tung-ch'ung hsia-ts'ao* (冬 蟲 夏 草)[2] (comes from Mount Po-lang-kung, not in the Chinese Herbal (*Pen-ts'ao*), has heating properties, strengthens the generative powers, and

[1] The Tibetan names for turnips (*la-p'u*), cabbages (*pé-tsé*), onions (*ts'ong*), show that they are of Chinese origin. White potatoes are common at present in some parts of Eastern Tibet, especially around Ta-chien-lu. It is strange that the text mentions neither rhubarb nor musk among the products of Eastern Tibet.

[2] The *Cordyceps sinensis*.—See Porter Smith, *Materia Medica of China*, p. 73. Tibetans call the plant *Chyar-tsa gon-bu* (ཇྱར་རྩ་དགུན་བུ). The *Li-t'ang chih lüeh*, p. 17, says, "On the Pu-lang-kung mountain there grows an extraordinary medicine called *Tung-ch'ung hsia-ts'ao*; it is thus called because while torpid in winter it is an insect, whereas in summer it puts out sprouts and is a plant. The natives call it *hsieh tsa ngo-ma* (see above). Its root is like a wriggling silkworm, the shoots like those of alliacious plants, and at first they are all closed one over the other. If picked on or before the 5th of the fifth month (early part of June), it is good; later than that the shoots sprout forth and the root gets spongey. The natives say that it is a tonic, and that eaten boiled with pork or chicken, it developes the procreative powers; and that if barren women eat it habitually, they can conceive." T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 300, calls it a "ground caterpillar." In New Zealand a fungus (*Sphæria Robertsii*) grows on a caterpillar (*Hipialis virescens*); it is called by the natives *aweto*.

is a tonic for the marrow), yak, mountain sheep, felt, butter, oats, barley, turnips.

Bat'ang.

White grapes, wooden bowls of grape-vine root, pomegranates, flying squirrels (skins like a cat's, used for fur garments), quicksilver, yak, barley, beans, wheat, yellow wax, honey, butter, cabbage, turnips, leeks, peaches, plums, water-melons, peonies (牡 丹, *Pœonia mowtan*), medicinal peonies (芍 藥, *Pœonia albiflora*).

Djaya.

Turquoises, dried pears, grapes, walnuts, domestic yak (犏 牛),[1] merino sheep (綿 羊), barley.

Ch'amdo.

Hang (chou) rice, wild ginger, *huang-lien*,[2] musk, bear's gall, *po-li-wa*,[3] felt, yak, mountain sheep, barley, turnips, a species of marrowfat beans (豆宛 豆), walnuts, turquoises.

Lawoshé.

Iron, mules, horses, fowl, yak, merino sheep, butter, felt.

Lho-rong dzong.

Yak, mountain sheep, barley, lapis-lazuli.

Shobando.

Barley, edible sunflowers (蕨 麥), cattle, sheep, butter.

[1] *Dzo* (མཛོ), yak bull and common cow; *Bri dzo* (བྲི་མཛོ), common bull and yak cow.

[2] 黃 連 "A species of leontice and justicia," Williams.

[3] 波 黑 凹 lit. "concave glass." The only explanation which suggests itself is that *po-li-wa* is a transcription of the Tibetan *bul-wa* "borax, tincal"; but at Ta chien-lu, where I consulted several merchants about this word, they failed to identify it as that of any known product of Tibet.

Ta-rong rdzong.

Gold-dust,[1] silver mines, dried pears, walnuts, horses,[2] mules, yak, barley, butter.

Lh'ari.

Domestic yak, merino sheep. (As grain will not grow in Lh'ari, they raise cattle, and eat beef and mutton, these being the only products.)

Kung-pu chiang-ta.

Barley, carpets, lapis-lazuli, broad pulo, Hang(chou) rice, broad shawls, broad felt, cabbage, bamboo sprouts,[3] bamboo for bows, bamboos for arrows, mules, big-headed dogs.[4]

Lh'asa.

Hang (chou) rice. (To collect water at the Jo-wo k'ang ditches are used, and in these a great deal (of rice) is planted. The mode of tilling is similar to that of China, only the oxen being small, five are used in a team.)[5] Barley, broad beans, wheat, a species of marrowfat beans, roots, green peas, yellow beans, perennial beans (lit. "four seasons' beans"), onions, garlic, coriander, cabbage, greens, spinach, lettuce, radishes, turnips, Tibetan walnuts, Tibetan apricots, Tibetan jujubes, salt (Chayeh and Koteng, in Ulterior Tibet, furnish a great deal of salt; it is found there in the sandy soil. The Tibetans exchange it for provisions and other objects), Tibetan incense

[1] Gold is said to be found in the mountains of Shobando.—*Hsi-Ts'ang chien wen-lu*, I. 22.

[2] Wild horses are found in the Huor-ha (Horpa, plains of North Tibet?)—*Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, I. 22. The *Hsi-yü tsung-chih*, B. I. p. 19, says that the wild horses of Central Asia live in bands among the rocky recesses of the mountains.

[3] Sulphur, cedars, pines, and parrots are mentioned as being products of Kung-pu.—*Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, pp. 28, 31.

[4] These are the "mastiff dogs as big as donkeys, which are capital at seizing wild beasts," of which Marco Polo speaks. See Yule's second edition, vol. ii. p. 41. They are rare in Eastern Tibet.

[5] The reservoir at the Jo-vo k'ang is probably the source of the legend of the subterranean lake mentioned previously. I am told that at present no more rice is grown around Lh'asa.

(there are two varieties, the violet and the yellow,[1] which, when it is the genuine, on being burnt, the smoke ascends straight to heaven; it is consequently very highly prized), black and white incense (the white incense is also called *chi-chi* incense; the black incense is also called *an-pa* incense),[2] Tibetan cocoons, flowered velvets (*tsai-jung*), fine shawls (細 氈, also called *chih-tieh*, an expensive Indian cotton fabric; see the *Huang yao* (?) *ching*), hair fringe (毡 子), coloured silks and cottons, Tibetan saffron, lapis lazuli, turquoises, moss agates, beeswax, coral, mother-of-pearl (硨 磲), small stones (磠 砂), assafœtida, *hüang-lien* (medicine),[3] *hu-lien* (胡 連),[4] *ch'ien-ts'ao* (茜 草),[5] *tzŭ-ts'ao-jung* (紫 草 茸),[6] indigo, cassia bark, *k'o-li-lo* (訶 梨 勒),[7] wooden bowls. There are two kinds; one kind is called *cha-mu-cha-ya* wood, the colour of which is light yellow; it is hard and polishes. (The bowls) have fine tracings (on them), and they have the property of detecting poison. The other is called *hun-la-erh* wood;[8] it is of a yellowish colour, has a large pattern marking, and detects poison also; they are very expensive). Horses, mules, donkeys, domestic yak, yak (*li-niu*), yellow cattle, *ling-yang*,[9] wild yak, *ching-yang*,[10] merino sheep, swine (very small, the largest not weighing

[1] *Sha-ka-ma pö* "saffron-coloured incense." The best incense is called *Djam-ling kun kyab* "world-pervading." I am told that a package (five or six sticks) of it costs about Tls. 20 at Lh'asa. This last is the one referred to in the text. Some of the latter was given me at Ta-chien-lu, but I prefer the odour of the Shakama-pö.

[2] *ham-pa-spos* "mouldy incense." The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 30, has it that black incense is called *ku-ku* and white *an-pa*. All incenses procured from pine trees are called *Yün-hsiang* 芸 香 in Chinese.

[3] See above.

[4] A medicine of the same species as the *huang-lien*. *Barkhausia repens*, according to Porter Smith.

[5] A red dye, also used as a tonic medicine. See Williams, s.v. *ts'ien*[4], p. 983.

[6] Also a red dye. See Williams, s.v. *tsz*[3], p. 1031.

[7] An astringent nut used for toothache. The fruit of the *Terminalia chebula* or *myrobolanus*. See Williams, s.v. *ho*[1], p. 215.

[8] Called *dza-ya shing* and *ho-lo shing* by Tibetans. *dza-ya* means "markings or veins in wood." Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, vol. ii. p. 68, says that the *Balanophera* produces the great knots on the maple trees from which the Tibetans form their cups. Dzaya wood cups sell as high as 50 taels.

[9] Species of antelope.

[10] Lit. "black (or blue) antelope."

over fifty catties), fowls (also small), yellow ducks, white eagles,[1] fish hawks (君 鷹), pheasants, hares, foxes, swans, fine scaled fish, peonies, Western (or Persian) flowers (西 天 花, also called *yü-mei-jen*),[2] *chien-sui-jung* (剪 碎 絨),[3] the Ssŭ-ch'uan hibiscus, marigolds,[4] lilies (? 山 丹) (there are red and white ones), *Sai-lan* perfume, Tibetan chrysanthemums (there are red and yellow ones), pine trees, cedars, white aspen, different varieties of birds.[5]

Chapter II.

The offices and ranks in Tibet, its climate, and finally its products, have all been referred to above by hearsay or from personal observation. As to the commissariat department, the officers, and the garrisons to guard the frontiers, I have verified and controlled each word and every question concerning them. Moreover, these are all facts well established by official records. I have recorded all in detail, seeking only to bear in mind what I have heard or seen.

There are six depôts from Ta-chien-lu to Lh'asa. The Ta-chien-lu depôt is the most important, as it is the frontier

[1] The Mongolian barkut or burgut.

[2] I take this to be the 鯽 細 鱗, a species of *labrax*.

[3] There are yellow, white and violet ones.—*Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 30. "A pale (yellow) flower with violet petals, dentalated, odour like cassia. Called in Chinese *chien-ching-la*, in Tibetan *chen-to*." *Shinto* is colloquially used in Tibet for "fruit."

[4] Klaproth translates it wrongly "chrysanthemum."

[5] The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, loc. cit., mentions red and white camellias blooming in the fifth month, asters blooming in the fifth and sixth months, edible lilies, *Kusha* grass, poplars, willows, etc., among the plants of Lh'asa.—See also Nain Singh, *op. cit.* p. xxv. The same Chinese work mentions white cranes, wild duck, swans, a species of sheldrake called *huang-yang* or *lama huang-yang*, snow fowls (ptarmigan ?), elephant-nose pheasants (*hsiang-pi chi*) with variegated plumage, beak five or six inches long touching the comb, changing colour of beak from violet to white, small pheasants, swallows, partridges, in season during the fourth and fifth months, mud fish, white fish, like Chinese *hsi-lin* or small scaled fish Potatoes are well known throughout Eastern and Central Tibet; in the former they are called *droma* or *tiseu*, and in the latter country *shu-ko*. Mr. Jaeschke gives several other local names for this tuber. Its use is confined to the poorer classes. Sai-lan (Sairam) is the name of a city in Russian Turkestan, between Kucha and Aksu. On English maps the name figures as Sailim or Sairim. See Bretschneider, *Not. med. geo. Central Asia*, p. 266.

one, and a *Chün-ch'eng* is in charge of the supplies. There is also a depôt guard consisting of one *Wai-wei* (second sergeant) and forty-six men, both cavalry and infantry. They are relieved every three years. This depôt receives every year, to provide for the passing troops, 500 odd taels in silver, 100 odd piculs of rice, and 100 odd piculs of parched flour.[1]

At Lit'ang resides a quartermaster. There is also a depôt guard of 92 soldiers, consisting of 1 *Shou-pei* (2nd captain), 1 *Pa-tsung* (sergeant), 1 *Wai-wei* (corporal), and 90 men, both cavalry and infantry.[2] They are relieved every three years. There are besides these 300 men of native troops, both cavalry and infantry. Each man receives per month for his provisions Tl. 1.5. This depôt receives every year for its expenses Tls. 5000, 100 odd piculs of rice, and 200 odd piculs of parched barley (*tsamba*).

At Bat'ang resides a quartermaster of the same rank as the preceding one. (The three above-mentioned depôts are in China proper, and under the control of the high provincial authorities.) There is also a depôt guard of 302 soldiers, consisting of 1 *Tu-ssŭ* (1st captain), 1 *Shou-pei* (2nd captain), 1 *Pa-tsung* (sergeant), 1 *Wai-wei* (corporal), and 298 cavalry and infantry men.[3] They are relieved every three years. There are moreover 60 men of native troops. Every man receives daily, *in lieu* of one *sheng* (one pint) of meal, Tl. 0.0.1 (in silver); for eight *ch'ien* (10.6 ounces) of tea Tl. 0.0.0.5. Every ten men receive per month Tl. 0.5 for a sheep. This depôt receives every year for its expenses 9000 odd taels, 200 odd piculs of rice, and 300 odd piculs of parched flour.

At Ch'amdo resides a quartermaster like the previous ones.[4]

[1] The present garrison is vastly more important, comprising over 200 men under a Colonel. The Commissary-general (*Chün-liang-fu*) stationed here is also the chief magistrate of the locality. The Taot'ai at Ya-chou supplies him with funds for the Chinese troops in Tibet.

[2] In 1759, when the *Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu* was written, the garrison of Lit'ang was composed of one quartermaster, one sergeant and twenty-five soldiers. These garrisons are nominally the same at the present day.

[3] One quartermaster, one captain, one sergeant and fifty soldiers.—*Hsi-Ts'ang chien-wen-lu*, II. 23.

[4] One major, one commissary, one captain and one sergeant, *op. cit.* II. 24.

There is a depôt guard of 333 men, comprising 1 *Yo-chi* (major), 1 *Ch'ien-tsung* (lieutenant), 2 *Pa-tsung* (sergeants), and 329 corporals and soldiers, both cavalry and infantry. They are relieved every three years. There are also 10 men of native cavalry. Every man receives daily, for 1 *sheng* of meal, Tl. 0.0.0.9 (in silver). Every ten men receive monthly Tl. 0.5 for one sheep. The depôt of Ch'amdo receives for its yearly expenses, exclusive of provisions, rice and flour, a sum of 10,000 odd taels.[1]

At Lh'ari resides a quartermaster like those above mentioned. There is a depôt guard of 128 soldiers, comprising 1 *Pa-tsung* (sergeant) and 127 *Wai-wei* and soldiers, both cavalry and infantry. They are relieved every three years. There are also 20 men of native cavalry. Every man receives daily, for 1 *sheng* of rice, Tl. 0.0.1.5. Every ten men receive as above for a sheep per month. This depôt receives for its expenses a sum of 8000 odd taels per annum.

There is a *Ch'eng-ts'ui* (assistant magistrate) in charge of the depôt of Lh'asa. There are also two Imperial Ministers Resident, each of whom has a secretary and a clerk.[2] They divide the place of their residence between Lh'asa and Shigatsé. There are 621 men of Chinese troops, comprising 1 *Yo-chi* (major), 1 *Tu-ssŭ* (1st captain), 1 *Shou-pei* (2nd captain), 1 *Ch'ien-tsung* (lieutenant), 1 *Pa-tsung* (sergeant), and 630 *Wai-wei* and men, both cavalry and infantry. They are relieved every three years. As is the custom in Tibet, every man receives per month for all his supplies a sum of Tls. 4.0.

The five quartermasters of Ta-chien-lu, Lit'ang, Bat'ang, Ch'amdo, and Lh'ari receive Tl. 60.0 a month pay, and the one of Lh'asa Tls. 70.0. Each quartermaster is allowed to

[1] Prior to this there was a garrison at Jaya composed of one commissary officer, one sergeant and fifty men. This seems to have been removed together with that of Atsu before the Gorkha expedition, probably in 1745, when Jaya was joined on to the Lh'ari district.

[2] The *Hsi-Ts'ang-chien-wen-lu*, which was written in 1759, says (II. 26) that there was stationed at Lh'asa, one Minister (*Chin-chai ta-jen*), one Assistant-Secretary of the Colonial Office, one Colonel, one Commissary, one Captain, two Sergeants and two Corporals. It does not state the number of soldiers.

have 13 servants and three interpreters. (The above is from the *Lu-pu-cheng-chüan-shu*, 錄布政全書).

Central Tibet (西藏) comprises four parts; one is called *Wei* (དབུས), one Tsang, (གཙང), one K'a-mu (ཁམས), and one *A-li-hsia* (མངའ་རི). It has over 60 towns, and *La-ts'ai* (Lh'asa) is in the central one of Tsang, hence it is also called "Central Tsang."[1] It is over 12,000 *li* from the Capital (*i.e.* Peking).

Ulterior Tibet (*i.e.* Shigatsé) is S. of Anterior Tibet (*i.e.* (Lh'asa). It is over 13,000 *li* from the Capital.

K'a-mu is E. of Wu and Tsang. It is over 9000 *li* from the Capital.

Ngari is far to the W. of Wu and Tsang. It is over 14,000 *li* from the Capital. (See for the above the *Ta-ch'ing hui-tien.*)

The convents of Central Tibet are innumerable, and the names of the convents of the three provinces of K'am, Wu, and Tsang would make a volume, for there are over 3000,[2] and there are over 84,000 lamas who receive allowances.

[1] This seems to allude to the name ལྷ་ས་ལྟེ་བ་གཟུང་རང "Lh'asa the very centre." This orthography is probably a corruption of ལྷ་ས་ལྡེ་བ་རྫོངས "Lh'asa district," the pronunciation in both cases being *Lh'a-sa de-wa dzong.* The total number of towns in Tibet is, Wei 30, Tsang 18, K'ams 9, and Ngari 12: total 68.—*Sheng-wu-chi*, V. 27.

[2] The *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 28, says that the number of lamas in Tibet as compared to the laymen, is as three to one. The following numbers of lamas in the principal convents of Central Tibet were given me by a lama friend whose statements I have generally found correct.

Dräbung . .	9000
Séra . . .	7000
Trashil'unpo . .	5000
Gadän . . .	4000
Muru . . .	4500
Dorjé dra . .	1000
Potala . . .	700
Samyé . . .	500
Chapori . .	300
Ten-jyé ling .	300
Kun-du ling. .	200
Tsé-cho ling .	200
Tsum-bé ling .	150

It must be understood that all the lamas who belong to a given convent do not

The high lamas are called *Hutuketu*,[1] and they derive their incomes from the districts under their rule. The great Hutuketu have under them *Chya-dzo-pa*, who manage the temporal affairs of their district.

All convents have *K'an-po* lamas, and for purposes of general police among the lamas, there are lamas with official rank (*p'in*) from the 1st to the 8th and 9th class. In short, the rank of the (directing) lamas is in accordance with the importance of the convent and the number of the monks. All the lamas who reside in a monastery are known by the same name as the convent itself.

All the living Buddhas of Tibet go through successive regenerations. Their parents are known as "father of Buddha" and "mother of Buddha." When a living Buddha is about to transmigrate, he tells beforehand of the place where he will reappear.[2] At his birth he can without difficulty tell of the events of his former existence. This is a source of great wonder to the Tibetans, who for this reason always ardently devote themselves to them and trust in them.

In the verandah of the Jo-k'ang there are statues of the Imperial Princess of the T'ang, of the Tibetan (T'u-fan)

necessarily reside there, but wherever they may be they remain a Séra lama, a Drébung lama, etc. See also *Hsi-Ts'ang-t'u-k'ao*, V., which gives Gadän over 5000 lamas, Dräbung 5000, Séra 3000, Muru 300 to 400, Samyé several thousand, etc.

[1] "There are eighteen Hutuketu and twelve Shaburung in Tibet, nineteen Hutuketu in North Mongolia, fifty-seven in South Mongolia, thirty-five in Kokonor, five in Ch'amdo and Ssŭ-ch'uan, fourteen resident in Peking: total 160. Among these the Nomenhan of the Kokonor is alone hereditary. All these dignitaries are *hubilhan*."—*Sheng-wu chi*, V. 19.

[2] In 1793 Ch'ien-lung sent to Lh'asa a golden urn (*ser-bum*) to be used in selecting the new incarnations. Little slips of wood, each bearing the name of one of the candidates, are thrown into the vase, which is then placed in the Jok'ang before the image of Tsong-k'a-pa. A slip is drawn from the bowl and the child whose name it bears is declared the *hubilhan* (subject to the approval of the Emperor).—See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 15. He is enthroned at the age of four years. The father of the Talé lama receives from the Court of Peking the rank of *kung* or noble of the first rank, and is permitted to wear a button of precious stone with a peacock's feather. This title is hereditary.—See *Peking Gazette*, May 8th and August 29th, 1879; also *J.R.A.S.* N.S. Vol. IV. p. 284 *et seq.* The other members of the family of the Talé lama receive titles from China, the said titles being hereditary.—See *Peking Gazette*, August 22nd, 1872. and September 4, 1887. All *hubilhan* are registered at the Chinese Colonial Office (*Li-fan-yüan*).—*Sheng-wu-chi*, V. 19.

Btsan-po (*i.e.* king), and also of the second wife (*ch'ieh*) of the Btsan-po, the Nepalese princess. There is a tradition that the T'ang princess delighted in embellishing the Jok'ang and Ramoch'é, and that she and the princess of Nepal kept these places in good order; for this reason they are worshipped (there).

The *Hsin T'ang shu* says: "The productions of Hsi-fan (Tibet) comprise gold, silver, copper, tin, yaks, a celebrated breed of horses, flying squirrels, and a species of camel, which can travel a 1000 *li* a day." The *I shih* (譯吏),[1] speaking of the curious products (of Tibet), says: "There is a plant which flies. It resembles a dog in shape, its colour is like tortoise-shell, and it is very tame. If lions or elephants see it, they are frightened; hence it is the king of animals. There is also a kind of black donkey, swifter than the *suan-i* (狻猗).[2] In a day it can go 1000 *li*, and it can cope with a tiger. There are argali (羺羊) which weigh several hundred catties. There is a very hard kind of rhinoceros horn, of a slightly bluish colour; when struck, the sound is as clear as that of jade, and it has an odour by which one is enabled to detect poison. There is also a variety of precious stone, like purple stone; it is so hard that it cannot be scratched with a knife or hurt by fire, but it can be easily broken if struck with a chamois (*ling-yang*) horn. They used to cast in Wu-ssŭ-tsang (Tibet) a kind of copper Buddha, the value of which increased as the size diminished; it is not common nowadays, but the people esteem alike all copper Buddhas. There is also a holy object (lit. Buddha) made of *tsamba*, which they consider the very best of the kind, for they say, if worshipped, it can dispel impending evil. (It is made as

[1] "In 160 books, written by Ma-su; a work of historical records extending from the creation down to the end of the Chin dynasty, B.C. 206." See Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 23. The title correctly written is 繹吏.

[2] A fabulous beast of the lion species which devours tigers and can go over 500 *li* a day. Other authors describe it as a fleet horse.—See Williams, *Dict.* s.v. *Swan*.

follows): A person cuts off a piece of *tzŭ-mu* medicine[1] as big as a pea, and wraps it in a clean *k'atag*. After a short while the little grain gradually grows to the size of the original *tzŭ-mu*. It is sent (miraculously) to the Talé lama. Then, after meditating and reciting *dharani*, one kneads (pills) with the *tsamba*, and by the foregoing means they become singularly potent.

Before the Jok'ang there were two tablets of the T'ang period; one the tablet of the T'ê-tsung treaty, the other that of the Mu-tsung treaty, or the "Tablet of long happiness" (*chang-ch'ing pei*). See Ch'i Tzŭ-feng's *Hsi-ts'ang chu-shui-k'ao-chu*. At present there remains only the T'ê-tsung tablet, and it is in an impaired condition.

All Tibetan lamps are shaped like women's shoes (lit. "bow-shaped shoes"), which it is generally thought the T'ang princess wore. All Tibetan boilers (or kettles) are shaped like a *po-tou* (鉢頭 a high conical hat). It is said that Yü-ch'ih Ching-tei of the T'ang wore one,[2] and from it the Tibetans derived the model (of their boilers).

The *sai-lan* perfume[3] of Tibet is used in the worship of Buddha. In the Buddhist books there is mention of "I-lan flowers" (伊蘭花). The flower is as small as a grain of gold. On account of its great fragrance it is worn as an ornament in the hair. The fragrance can be detected at ten paces, and it is not lost for quite a month. The *Hou Han shu* speaks of "offerings of *I-p'u*" (伊蒲).

[1] 子母, but it is also known as 滋生丸 "spreading pills," at least this is the name by which it goes at Peking. My informant told me that it had the power of flying (*hui fei*), and that it was thus enabled to go to the Talé lama of itself. These pills are known in Tibetan as མནི་རི་བུ, pron. *Maṇi ri-bu*, and are considered most potent medicine. Those I have are painted red, about the size of a hempseed. The ceremony of making them is known as the *mani rilbu grub-gi ch'oga*.—See Proceedings American Orient. Soc. Oct. 1888, p. xxii, where I have minutely described this ceremony.

[2] Mention is also made of this personage on a previous page.

[3] Colloquially known as *pom pü*. The finest quality of red and yellow incense, is manufactured at Shang-ma k'ang near Trashil'unpo. *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, p. 29.

The "Record of Illustrious Priests of the T'ang Period" (*T'ang kao-seng chuan*) says: "Hsüan-chuang of Ch'en-liu, of the family name of Ch'en, was a Doctor of the Tripitaka.[1] In the early part of the *Cheng-kuan* reign (A.D. 627–650) he departed from the Capital, and travelled for six years to the countries of the West to examine the places where the Saint (*i.e.* Gautama Buddha) had trodden, and the Sacred books. He lived in the (capital) city of Magadha in all twelve years, visiting successively the beauties of the palace of the Saintly Prince, and the Mountain of the Vulture's Peak (*Gridhrakûta*), all of which he examined most carefully. (He saw) also the monument (stūpa) of the council of Kashyapa. At the Tree of Knowledge (*Bodhidruma*) he humbled himself in profound worship, burnt incense, and scattered flowers. He arranged a great meeting for five days, to which came myriads of persons. The princes of eighteen kingdoms presented him carpets and gave him pearls. They all gave him the name of 'Master of the Faith,' or 'Māhayāna.' The Master of the Faith was eight *ch'ih* high; his eyebrows were sparse and his eyes bright. Altogether he travelled through 118 countries."

At present, in the verandah of the Jok'ang, there is a painting representing the Master and three of his disciples. At Ts'ai-li, on account of the farm of Kao-lao (or Kao-lao-chuang), where it is believed that the Master of the Faith passed, they do good works.[2]

[1] Hsüan-chuang, or Hiuen Tsiang, was born in 603. He started on his travels in 629 and returned in 645. His life was written by one of his disciples named Hui-li, and this work has been translated by Stanislas Julien. 元 in the text is for 玄, which last character, being the personal name of the Emperor K'ang-hsi, is not used.

[2] He is known to the Tibetans as *T'ang-Tseng lama* or "the lama Tseng of the T'ang period." Klaproth says Ts'ai-li or Begonithang. The text is 及乎里爲高老莊蓋以法師飛其地而好事爲之者. I am told by Tibetans that Ts'ai-li or Tsa-li is some three days' journey S.W. of Trashil'unpo on the road to India,—but I am not quite clear in my mind as to the meaning of the text, and I can find no reference to a village of this name in the travels of Hsüan chuang.

In the western temple of the Convent of Potala there are impresses in butter of a hand and a foot.[1] They are said to be those of Tsong-k'a-pa, the founder of the yellow school. These traces have remained unobliterated all this time, and they are worshipped, and great copper bowls filled with butter burn (before them).

There is also (in the Jok'ang) a collection of antique arms, two-edged swords five or six *ch'ih* long, fowling-pieces from eight or nine *ch'ih* to a *ch'ang* long, resembling the *Chiu-tzŭ* (九 子) cannon of the present day, great bows, and long arrows. They are all strange-looking objects.

The mountain streams of Eastern Tibet are full of fish resembling perch and bream, but the Tibetans, on account of the Buddhist prohibitions, do not make use of them for food (lit. to make fish hash).[2]

Tibet does not produce bamboo. From the leading scholars down to the people, all Tibetans require bamboo pens, which they prize very highly. The bamboo utensils brought from China to Tibet are consequently bought regardless of price.

NOTES.

I.

The following extracts from the *Li-t'ang chih-lüeh* may prove of interest:—

(I. p. 18.) "Snow tea" (雪 茶, *hsüeh-ch'a*)[3] grows on the snowy mountains (in the Lit'ang district). The natives pluck it during the fourth and fifth months (middle of May

[1] It is called by Tibetans *Djab-chyak* (ཇབ་ཆྱག).

[2] The reason I have heard Tibetans assign for not eating fish is their custom of throwing the dead into the streams.

[3] It is called in Tibetan *ri ja* "mountain tea," and *Pai ch'a* (白 茶) or "white tea" by the Chinese of Ta-chien-lu.

to middle of July), and sell it. The leaves are like those of the ordinary tea shrub, only white in colour. The shoots are like ice, and look like white clouds;[1] the taste (of the leaves) is aromatic and pungent. It relieves thirst and cures fever and pain in the head. By these properties it supplies defects of the real tea.

(I. p. 19.) "The snow maggot" (雪 蛆, *hsüeh ts'u*) is also found in the snowy mountains. It resembles in shape the silkworm; in colour it is translucid. The biggest ones weigh over ten ounces (*liang*). Boiled and eaten, it is sweet, crisp, and aromatic. Growing amidst the pure *yin*, and having all the power of the *yang*, its properties are heating, repairing and stimulating the seminal fluid and the marrow. It is a most extraordinary substance, but also a very rare one. It is said to taste like milk, and if eaten in excess it will produce hemorrhage of the nose and by the mouth.

(I. p. 19.) The *Chio-ma* fruit (脚 嗎, *chio-ma*) grows (around Lit'ang) in sandy soil. In form it is like the black jujube (*yang tsao*); in taste it is sweet and aromatic. The natives use it as an ordinary article of diet. Chinese visiting Tibet frequently bring it home to give their friends, hence it has received the name of "fruit of benevolence and longevity" (*jen-shou-kuo*). If one eats too much of it, it produces depression and inflation of the stomach. Its root, which is round and is in shape like a turnip, is habitually eaten by the natives. These two articles of food are valuable additions to the scanty resources of the country.[2]

(I. p. 26.) At Lit'ang, in cases of adultery, the adulterer's nose is cut off without referring the matter to the officials.[3] In unimportant cases, such as disputes, the parties appear before the officials, who, in case the question cannot be adjusted, order both parties to go to the municipal temple,[4]

[1] This probably means that the roots are white and curled up.

[2] It is the *potentilla anserina*, and is eaten all over Tibet and Chinese Turkestan; it grows in great quantities in Eastern Tibet where the country is damp, mostly in old cattle pens.

[3] In Korea a husband has the right to cut his wife's nose off if she be found committing adultery.

[4] Lit. "the wall and moat temple" (*Ch'eng-huang miao*).

and there make asseveration to tell the truth. Then putting a multicoloured cord around the necks of both litigants, they prostrate themselves before the gods and tell the exact truth concerning the whole matter. This is called "wearing the coloured cord" (*tai hua-sheng*). When the ceremony is at an end, the coloured cord is hung up in the temple wrapped in *k'atag*. Then both parties repair to the Jo-wo k'ang, and prostrate themselves before the Jowo with purified hearts. The most important litigations are settled in this manner, such is the faith of the people in the Buddhist religion.

(II. p. 9.) Whenever one of the native officials of Lit'ang comes across (when leaving his house) a woman water-carrier, he looks if her bucket is full. If it is, he gives her a *k'atag*; but if it is empty, he beats her and breaks her pail. So it happens that all water-carriers, when they see officials coming, run and hide themselves. This is a most inexplicable custom![1]

II.

The Talé Lamas of Lh'asa.

1. *Gé-dun dru-pa* (དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་པ). Born A.D. 1391.[2] This lama invariably figures as the first of the succession of Talé lamas, but his connexion with them is rather of a spiritual description, his spirit having become incarnate in Gé-dun jya-ts'o, who was the first Talé lama. Gé-dun dru-pa was an incarnation of Jérin-po-ch'é (Tsong-k'apa); he studied

[1] This custom or superstition prevails all over Tibet and Mongolia. To see anything empty which ought to be full is a sign of impending danger or bad luck, the reverse being a sign of good luck. So likewise it is unlucky to offer a person anything which is cracked or broken, even slightly. Water-carriers are not the only persons to whom the superstition applies, the sight of any one carrying any vessel is looked upon in the same light.

[2] The *Vaidurya karpo* (Csoma, *op. cit.* p. 187) says 1389; all the dates Csoma gives disagree with those I have given by being two years earlier.

under a lama called Bodung, and founded the Trashil'unpo monastery at Shigatsé in 1446. He died at the age of 87.

2. *Gé-dun jya-ts'o* (དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1476. He was an incarnation of Gé-dun dru-pa. He left the Trashil'unpo lamasery, of which he was abbot, for the Dräbung lamasery at Lh'asa, of which he was made the head.

3. *So-nam jya-ts'o* (བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1543. He may be properly considered as the first Talé lama. He visited Altan Khan, who had been prompted to invite him through Khutuktai Setzen his nephew, who, in 1566, had conquered Tibet. The Mongol princes imagining that *jya-ts'o* (in Mongol *talai* or *talé*) was his family name, addressed him as Talé lama,[1] such is the origin of the name.

4. *Yon-tan jya-ts'o* (ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1589, according to some accounts in the Mongol King-kor (?)[2] tribe, according to others he was the son of Dara Khatun, the wife of a grandson of Altan Khan, of the Tumed Mongols. He came to Tibet at the age of fifteen, and lived at Gadän (1603). He appointed the first of the Taranath lamas who reside at Urga (*Ta Kuren*), and are styled Jé-btsun dam-pa lama.

5. *Na-wang lo-zang jya-ts'o* (ངག་དབང་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1617. Of a princely family (called in Chinese *Tsung-kieh sa-erh-ho*) of Anterior Tibet; according to other authorities he was the son of Daba Guruba Noyen, in the land of Sakia Dakpo.[3] He called the Mongols to his aid to subdue

[1] The Tibetan name of the Talé lama is Jyal-wa jya-ts'o (རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) "Ocean of victory." He is also spoken of as *Chyab gon rin-po-ch'é* "Precious protector."

[2] *Sheng-wu-chi*, V. 4, says he belonged to the Mongol T'u-ku-ling-han tribe.

[3] The *Hsi-yü k'ao ku lu*, B. 6, p. 7, speaks of him as the Talé lama Pu-t'ung ao chi, and says he died in 1682.

the Red lamas, or national party, and in 1643 Gushi Khan of the Khoshotes, with the Sungars and Torguts as his allies, conquered Tibet and made Lo-zang jya-ts'o sovereign of it. In 1645 he built the present palace on Mount Potala. On his death the Dési Sang-jyé jya-ts'o kept the event secret for sixteen years and ruled in his stead.

6. *Lo-zang rin-ch'en ts'ang-jyang jya-ts'o* (བློ་བཟང་རིན་ཆེན་ཚངས་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1683. A creature of Sang-jyé jya-ts'o. At an early age he was noted for his vicious and licentious habits. He is the author of love songs, still popular at Lh'asa. He was dethroned and taken prisoner by the Sungar chief, Lazang Khan, who had to storm the Dräbung monastery to capture him. He died in Manchuria, where he had been exiled by the Chinese.

7. *Lo-zang kal-zang jya-ts'o* (བློ་བཟང་སྐལ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1708 at Lit'ang.[1] He was put on the pontifical throne by the Chinese.

8. *Lo-zang tan-pé wang-chug jam-bal jya-ts'o* (བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་འཇམ་དཔལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1758, at Dorjé, in Ulterior Tibet.

9. *Lo-zang lung-tog jya-ts'o* (བློ་བཟང་ལུང་རྟོགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1805. Thomas Manning was received by him in 1811 (see Markham's *Tibet*, p. 265).

10. *Tsul-trim jya-ts'o* (ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1815.

11. *K'as-drü jya-ts'o* (མཁས་འགྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1838, near the Tai-ning (ling) monastery, known as the Hui-yüan miao, in the jurisdiction of Ta-chien-lu. See Mayers,

[1] Belonged to the family of the Chahan Nomenhan.—*Hsi-Ts'ang t'u k'ao*, VI. 17.

J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol. IV. p. 287 *et sqq.*, and Huc, *Souvenirs*, vol. ii. p. 347.

12. *Trin-lä jya-ts'o* (འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born 1856. Pundit Nain Singh was received by him in 1866.

13. *T'ub-tan jya-ts'o* (ཐུབ་བསྟན་རྒྱ་མཚོ). Born *circâ* 1874. It is popularly believed that he will have no successor.[1]

III.

THE PANCH'EN RIN-PO-CH'E LAMAS OF TRASHIL'UNPO.

1. *Paṇ-ch'en Lo-zang Ch'ü-gyi-jyal-ts'an* (པན་ཆེན་བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན). Born 1567. Died 1663.

2. *Paṇ-ch'en Lo-zang yé-shé* (པན་ཆེན་བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས). Born 1663.

3. *Jé-btsun Pal-dän yé-shé* (རྗེ་བཙུན་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཡེ་ཤེས). Born 1738. His mother was a relative of the Rajah of Ladak. He received Bogle in 1774. In 1779, at the request of the Emperor of China, Ch'ien-lung, he went to Peking and died at the Summer Palace of small-pox, July 5th, 1780.[2]

4. *Jé-btsun Pal-dän tan-pä nyi-ma* (རྗེ་བཙུན་དཔལ་ལྡན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ). Born 1782. His father was an uncle of the Talé lama (Turner, *Embassy*, etc., p. 230).

5. *Jé-btsun Pal-dän Lo-zang ch'ü-jyi dra-pa* (རྗེ་བཙུན་དཔལ་ལྡན་བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ). Born 1853. Died 1882.

[1] See *Hsi-Ts'ang-fu*, *Hsi-yü-t'ung wen-chih*, Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. p. 511 *et sqq.*, and Markham's *Tibet*, to which works I am indebted for some of the above facts.

[2] For a full account of his journey to Peking and death, see Turner, *Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama*, p. 443 *et sqq.*

My Chinese authorities count three pontiffs before Ch'ü-gyi jyal-tsan, to wit, 1°. Do-rje-jyal-po k'or (? *Cho-erh-chi chia-lo pu ko-erh*), born 1445; 2°. So-nam chyog-jyi-lang po (བསོད་ནམས་མཆོག་ཀྱི་གླང་པོ); and 3°. Lo-zang don-dru-pa (བློ་བཟང་དོན་གྲུབ་པ).[1] My Tibetan friends insist however, that Ch'ü-gyi jyal-ts'an was the first Pan-ch'en rin-po-ch'é. The new Pan-ch'en has been discovered in the early part of 1888 in Po-yul.

IV.

TSONG-K'A-PA, *vulgò* JÉ RIN-PO-CH'É.

The following notes are chiefly derived from a little Tibetan tract, without title, written by a Kashmīri pundit called Punyashri, and printed at the Galdän monastery. Lamas have told me that there exists a full biography of Jé rin-po-ch'é,[2] but I have been unable to procure it.

Tsong-k'a-pa was born in the province of Amdo, N.E. of K'am, at Tsong-k'a, or Mdo-smang btsang-k'a as it is also called, in A.D. 1360[3] (the "fire bird year"). His father's name was Klu hbum dgé (pronounced *Lu-bum-gé*), and his mother's Shing-bzah-a-ch'os (pronounced *Shing-zä a-ch'ü*).

At the age of seven he was consecrated by his parents to the Church, and at sixteen he commenced his theological studies. His name in religion was Blo-bzang-grags-pa (pronounced *Lo-zang dra-pa*), and later on he became known and is now generally spoken of as Jé rin-po-ch'é. The

[1] See *Hsi-Ts'ang fu* and *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen-chih*.

[2] In a work of his called the *Sumbum* (*Gsung hbum*) in sixteen vols.

[3] Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 319, says he was born in 1232, the *Hsi-Ts'ang fu*, in 1418. Csoma, *op. cit.* p. 186, says 1355, the *Sheng-wu-chi*, V. 2, 1417, and Huc, *Souvenirs*, etc., puts this event in 1357.

name Tsong-k'a-pa may be correctly rendered "the Tsong-k'apite," or "the Man from Tsong-k'a."

The following year, on his teacher's advice, he went to Central Tibet, where he was presented in the Hbri-k'ung monastery[1] to the "Prince of the Law" (*Dharmarajah*).

Later on he studied medicine in the Gung-t'ang (monastery).[2] He also studied at Dé-va-chan, Pal-dan, Sakya, etc., after which he devoted himself to the study of the elements of devotional practices, in which branch he attained great eminence. So as to arrive at a broader knowledge of the sacred texts, he studied them according to the teachings of the various schools, and "went to the ocean's shores"[3] discussing his and other's theories.

At the bidding of the goddess of music, he commenced his public teaching. At the request of the king and ministers at Lh'asa, he instituted the ceremony of the Mön-lam ch'em-po, or "Great purification prayer meeting."[4]

In 1410 (the "she-earth-ox" year) he founded the Gadän monastery, and down to 1422 (the "she-earth-hog" year), in which it was finished, he taught there.

In the year of the hog (1422 ?), in the morning of the tenth day of the last half of the tenth month, he died at Gadän.[5]

The written works of Jé rin-po-ch'é are very numerous, comprising commentaries on different canonical works, disquisitions on the tenets of Buddhism, prayers, controversial works, and ethical works. With the exception of a small book of prayers, the only work of Tsong-k'a-pa I have examined is one entitled *Lam-rim ch'en-po*, or "Easy steps

[1] Georgi, *loc. cit.* says, "In asceteriis Bricum legem et disciplinam asceticam . . . . . didicit." Founded in 1177. Csoma, *Tib. Grammar*, p. 185.

[2] Georgi has it that he studied medicine at the Chapori medical college at Lh'asa. Gung-t'ang may be the same place under another name, for all I know.

[3] This is a curious expression, but too much weight must not be given it, nor must the words be taken literally. I suppose it means that he travelled the country over.

[4] Instituted in 1407, according to the *Vaidurya karpo* (Csoma, *op. cit.* p. 187). The same authority says he founded the Gadän convent the same year.

[5] Georgi, *loc. cit.* says, "Impuram denique animam exhalavit annos natus octoginta, post Chr. 1312." Howorth (quoting Kœppen ?) puts his death at about 1417. Csoma, *op. cit.* p. 187, also has 1417, *Sheng-wu-chi*, *loc. cit.* 1478, and Huc, *loc. cit.* 1419.

to perfection," which gives us, however, a good insight into his theological views.

The Lam-rim ch'en-po is divided, as Georgi correctly remarks, into three great divisions: 1°. Elucidation of important steps in the way of the lowly and ordinary man; 2°. Elucidation of the steps in the way of the superior man by which, having learnt to lead a saintly life, he may arrive at a state of perfect abstraction (*dhyâna*); 3°. Elucidation of the steps of the way of the superior man by which, having learnt to lead a saintly life, he may acquire the essence of knowledge—superior insight (*vipashyana*).

It would be tedious and out of place for me to enter here into a detailed analysis of his teaching in this work. Suffice it to say that in the first part he recommends the practice of morality, and detachment from all worldliness, frequently quoting the Agamas, Karma shataka, Udânavarga, etc. In short, he recommends the practice of the tenets of Hinayâna. In the two other divisions of his work he adopts the theories of the masters of the Mahayâna and early Tantra, such as Maitreya, Dipankara shridjnana, Jo-vo Atisha, and the Tibetan Rin-ch'en bzang-po. His method throughout is—1°. to set forth the authority of the first expounder of a given doctrine; 2°. to establish the importance of the doctrine under consideration; 3°. to expound it; 4°. to point out the step which the disciple should take to fulfil its requirements.

Like all Buddhist works of this class, it shows an immense amount of study and research in the classical fields of Buddhist literature, and is, in common with all of its kind, atrociously dry reading.

ART. V.—*Contribution to the Study of the Jewish-Arabic Dialect of the Maghreb.* By HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D.

IN the 18th vol. of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* the late Prof. FLEISCHER published a specimen of the Jewish Arabic Literature in the Maghreb. Considering the fearful state of oppression in which the Jews of this country live, we have, of course, not to deal with great productions, yet these pieces offer a certain philological interest and give, although the external form seems rather neglected, another proof for the assertion of the FREIHERR v. MALTZAN (Z. d. M. Gesell. vol. xxvii. pp. 232 ff.) that Arabic in Maghreb comes nearer to that in the Arabic mother country than the Egyptian dialect.

That which gives to the language of the Maghreb its barbarous appearance is principally the interchange of the related consonants and the contracted pronunciation. This impression is corroborated in the Jewish dialect by the use of the Square Alphabet and the occasional intermingling of Hebrew words. These circumstances in addition to the Jewish Maghrebine running hand which is rather troublesome to decipher, the orthography being left to the arbitrary choice of the copyist, render the reading of those texts extremely difficult. But he who becomes versed in reading them will find at any rate a better language than he expected.

Besides this poem published by FLEISCHER, I am also cognizant of a poetical narration of the martyrdom of the seven sons of Hanna, which exists in three MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Another piece I found in one of the MSS. left by the late Dr. L. LOEWE, containing *Piyyūṭim* or

liturgical songs according to the ritual of the Jews of the Maghreb. Among them is a song written in Arabic but with Hebrew characters. It belongs to the liturgy for the end of the Sabbath, and occupies itself with the Prophet Elijah, who plays an important *rôle* in the prayers appointed for that night, but principally it treats of his meeting with the woman of Zarepta. Some verses are devoted to prayers for deliverance from the Moslem yoke in which are naturally substituted the words Rome and Edōm for that of Islām.

Judging from the first verse we may conclude that the song was composed at the end of the sixteenth century. It consists of thirty-six verses of four lines each with a refrain. The latter is but once given after the superscription, and afterwards only intimated at the end of the single verses, according to the amount of space, by one or two words or not at all. The refrain, however, has mostly no reference to the verse preceding it.

The first three lines of the verse rhyme with each other, the fourth with the refrain. There is no metre at all.

I will now give the text with a translation, to which is added a short explanatory Appendix. Some of the words which I have not been able to decipher with certainty I leave open for the correction of the reader.

פיוט בלערביה דילהבדלה

כאם לי שאייאק נסתרנאהו חביב אלאה אליהו

1. אלף וכמם מייא מן דוך אשנין
ואנא נסרזא לדאך אחאנין
יבשר לאבות מעא לבנין
יבשרהם בפלאכאהו

2. פנחם בן אלעזר חפיץ לימאם
תלמיד סידנא מוסא בן עמרם
אליהו עליה אסאלם
בטריק אלאה סייראהו
חביב אלאהו

3. מלבי מטרוד ועקלי שאיק
ראני מחסור פייד אלכלאיק
דאים מחקור ברזו לחקאיק
רוחי תבלי אדא תלקאהו
חביב

4. בן אלעזר יתסמא
הדין לגדאב מן דיך לאומא
פקתיל זמרי וכוזבי תמא
קיד גאר עלא אסם רבאהו
חביב

5. יחבי לאוונן יאקות חמאר
אוו תמאמא פוואסט לקמאר
אוו לסזאר פי כתית נוייאר
בייאד חמאר פי לאוונאהו

6. אוו להוקעה מעא אסולא
אוו לזערא בלא סומאלא
קאדיר יסרפרא רב לקודרא
עאלים בזמיע כולאהו
חביב

7. אוו לכחלי פי ליאקות
אוו זמראד אינהו מנעות
אוו סריז פלביות
אוו דייאמאנט פי סריקאהו
חביב אלאה

8. אוו לוויז אידא ידרוז
אוו לאסיד אידא יחרוז
אוו אסלטאן אידא יכרז
אוו לקמאר פי בורזאהו
חביב אלאה

9. הווא וואחד מן לעשרא
אלדי מא ראוו למות לחרא
ולא דאקו דיך לגמרא
ומליך אלמות לא מן זאהו
חביב

10. נטלבו מן לאה כאלה אסמא
לארד ודנייא ונאר ולמא
הווא יכרגנא מן האד אדלמא
צובחאנהו לא אלאה אלהו
חביב

11. שבענא לכסיפא וכתורת אדיקא
פכנא בזכות אומנא רבקא
כמא פכית אסתר המלכא
ומרדכי ובני עמאהו
חביב

12. לכסיפא ריאהא בעינינא
לומאם ינעלו ויסתמו פינא
ווידא נגוזו ידכולו עלינא
ומבאר ללאה סובחאנהו

13. מבאר יא וודי מא תנדים
דאבא תשמעו רומא תנהדים
יעלא סאנכום וויתעדים
בענאיית אלאה סובחאנאהו
חביב

14. הווא אלאה אלמווזר אבדא
הווא אלמוגית פי כול סדא
הווא יפכנא מן ייאד לעדא
סובחאנא(הא)הו לא אילאה אילא הוא
חביב

15. בשם אלאה רב אלמווזד
חליף אליהו צלטאן ליהוד
מא יכון למטר פרוך לבלוד
אגיר אידא עלא אמראהו
חביב

16. וקאם ומשא אילא צרפית
וקאל אילהא ענדיך נבית
ראוני בזוע פנית
ובראכת אלאה מא תזול מנאהו
חביב

17. קאלתלו יא דאך אצדיק
מא ענדי אילא ספא מן דקיק
נאכלוהא ונמותו בתחקיק
אנא ובני יונה אישאמהו
חביב

18. קאל אילהא קום טעמני
ראזיני זוע הלכני
קום פישאע ועתקני
וואזריך עלא אלאה צובחאנאהו
חביב

19. פלחין קאמית ועמלית מלא
וכיל ושבאע ותמלא
וטלאב ללאה יתעאלא
ימליא זפנא מן כייראהו
חביב

20. טלבו ללאה יא האד זמאעא
אין הווא יהדינא לטאעא
וייאתי למשיח פישאעא
ולמבשאר הווא אליהו
חביב

21. הווא יכרזנא מן באין לומאם
בזכות לאבות עליהום אסאלם
ובזכות אהרן ואלעזר לימאם
וסיידנא מוסא ויישעיהו
חביב

22. שמעו קצת האד אנביא
הווא אליהו התשבי
חין חליף בלאה רבי
מא יכון למטר גיר באמראהו
חביב

23. וועמאה אלאה האמאד עלא דא
יחדאר פברית מילה אבדא
וואלו יכונו אלף בלעדא
אלאה למולא יעוונאהו
חביב

24. נחל כרית לאם כאן מסא
לגרבאן יזיבולו לגדא ולעסא
אטביך אטבוך כאם כליק אלאה ונסא
חתא יבים לוואד ומסא פחאלחו

25. ראהא פתריס וקאל איהא
רוחי בזוע משא יקתלהא
קום פישאע ועתקהא
וואזריך עלא אלאה סובחאנאהו
חביב

26. עזנית אדקיק ושעלת אנאר
עמלית קרצא קיד דוואר דינאר
אתסחלאת למות ולא לכלאם לעאר
ודקיק נקצית שוואי מנאהו
חביב

27. יא לווואד מא עאד לקרצא עמלית
ורקיק פוואחד זפנא עמלית
פחין זראת לבנהא וקאלית
האד אראזיל אנביא אלאה הוא

28. פחאל תמנייאם אוו עשרא
ומאת יא לווואר בן דיך למרא
עייטית ומאלית יא חסרא
וזראת קבאלה לענד אליהו
חביב

29. עייטית וקאלית יא סידי
מאת יונה בני פרידי
קאל אילהא סברי יא כבדי
קאדיר רבי יעיסאהו
חביב

30. גמא לווליד וקאם צלא
ובקא ידראע ללאה יתעאלא
קאל אילו יא רב אנזלא
קאדיר אנתי תעישאהו
חביב

31. זיד פעמרו יא גאלים עלי כורסי
בזכות אנביא סידנא מושא
יקום דאבא יתסארא וימסי
עלא ריזליה לענד אימאהו
חביב

32. מאזלו יסלי וויסזאד
ולווליד נחייא יא לזוואד
ועלא כדו קאם וקעאד
ועלא ריזליה מסא לענד אימאהו
חביב

33. יא מולאנא חיי מותאנא
כמא חיית בני יונה
ומיכאל יספאע פינא
יחכים שופר פיידאהו
חביב

34. חין ידרוב דאק אסופר
ינזמעו ליהוד מן כול עיר וקפאר
וויבדאוו יתלוו פבלאד לכפאר
ומלך לאדום יתנקמו מנ[א]הו

35. אזוו תראוו עזיב כול שי
חין ינקטעו בני מושי
דיב מעא לחריך ימשי
ולא מן יכדיר יכלמאהו
חביב

36. נטלבו מן לאה רבאנא
יכרֵאב אזמן פייאמנא
ונראוו לישועה בעינינא
בוזאה רבנא צובחאנאהו
תם

Translation.

Poem in Arabic for the end of the Sabbath.

How great is my longing, whilst I am waiting for him, Elijah the Beloved of God.

1. One thousand and five hundred years I have been waiting for this merciful man, who will announce to the fathers with the children their redemption.

2. Phineas, the son of Eleazar, grandson of the High Priest, Elijah,[1] peace be upon him, the disciple of our master Moses, son of Amram, in the way of God he walked. The Beloved of God.

3. My heart is troubled and my mind is longing, I am ill at ease in the hand of men, incessantly despised on account of my hope for truth, my spirit yearns for the time of meeting him—the Beloved of God.

4. The son of Eleazar he is called, he appeased the wrath [and turned it] from his people, for he killed Zimri and Kozbi there, being zealous for the name of his Lord.[2] The Beloved of God.

5. His colour is similar to red ruby, or to the full moon or to the trees with a multitude of blossoms white and red in their colour.

6. Or to the Huq'a with the Shaula[3] or to Sirius in its beauty which the Almighty has extolled, the Lord of omnipotence who knows all of them. The Beloved of God.

7. Or he is described the lustre in the ruby, or in the smaragd, or to the [sun]light in the rooms, or to the diamond in its splendour. The Beloved of God.

8. Or [he is compared] to the ostrich when it is running, or to the lion when it is tearing its prey, or to the Sultan

[1] For the identification of Elijah with Phineas of the Pentateuch see my *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Ḳorān*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 81.

[2] Numb. ch. xxv. v. 7–9.

[3] The fifth and nineteenth domiciles of the moon (*Mondstationen*), viz. *Alhaca* (الهقعة) over the heads of the Twins and *Axula* (الشولة) in the tail of the Scorpion. They are opposite to each other, so that the one rises when the other sets.

when he marches forth, or the moon among her constellations. The Beloved of God.

9. He is one of the ten who did not experience ordinary death,[1] and have not tasted of this decay; also the angel of death did not come to him. The Beloved of God.

10. We beseech from God the Creator of the heavens above, and the earth beneath, of the fire and the water, that He may take us out from this darkness; praise Him, for there is no God beside Him. The Beloved of God.

11. We are weary of ignominy, and great is our sorrow; release us for the merit of our mother Rebekka, as thou hast released Queen Esther and Mordecai and the children of his people. The Beloved of God.

12. We have seen the ignominy with our eyes; the nations imprecate and despise us, and when we pass, they rush upon us, but hope be in God, praise Him!

13. Bear patiently the being despised; soon you may hear that Rome is destroyed; your estate will then be raised and become glorious by the help of God, praise Him! The Beloved of God.

14. He is God the Ever-existing, He is the Helper in every misfortune, He will release us from the hand of the enemy, praise Him, there is no God beside Him.

15. In the name of the living God, swore Elijah, a prince of the Jews, that there would be no rain in the towns except by his commands.[2] The Beloved of God.

16. And he arose and went to the woman of Zareptah[3] and said unto her: I will sleep to-night in thy house, I am dying with hunger, and the blessing of God will not cease from thee. The Beloved of God.

17. She replied: O righteous man! I have nothing but a little flour, we will eat it and surely die, I and my son, Jonah is his name.[4] The Beloved of God.

[1] See *Derech Erez Suttah*, ed. Harburger, p. 18, and M. Gaster in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, vol. xxx. p. 413.
[2] I. Kings, ch. xvii. v. i.
[3] *Ibid.* v. 10-12.
[4] Chapters of R. Eliezer, ch. 33; Midr. Yalkut, § 209.

18. He said unto her: Arise and give me to eat, for the hunger kills me, arise at once and relieve me, and thy reward will rest with God, praise him! The Beloved of God.

19. At once she arose and baked a cake, he ate, was satisfied and filled, and thereupon prayed to God, most High, to let her vessel overflow with His blessing. The Beloved of God.

20. Pray to God, every one of you that he will lead us to obey Him, the Messiah will come at his appointed time, whose joyful herald is Elijah the Beloved of God.

21. He will take us out from among the peoples for the merit of our forefathers, peace be to them; for the merit of Aaron, and Eleazar the High Priest, of our master Moses and Isaiah. The Beloved of God.

22. Listen to the history of this Prophet, viz. Elijah the Tishbite. He swore by God the Lord that there would be no rain save by his command. The Beloved of God.

23. God gave him the [power over] drought. He is also the presiding spirit of every circumcision[1] so that if there were a thousand in number, God the Helper would assist him. The Beloved of God.

24. When he went to the river Cherith,[2] the ravens brought him in the morning and the evening cooked food, which God created and multiplied,[3] till the river was dried up, when he left in his [former] condition.

25. He saw the woman on the way and said to her: I am hungry, the wandering kills me, arise at once and relieve me, and thy reward will rest with God. The Beloved of God.

26. She kneaded the flour and lighted the fire and then made a cake which was not larger than a dinār; she found death then sweeter than the dishonour of refusal, although there was but little flour.

27. O Most Merciful; how did the cake she made continue to come; and the meal she prepared in the one vessel!

[1] Ch. of R. El. ch. 29, end.
[2] I. Kings, *ibid.*
[3] Talmud Chullin, fol. 5r°, Sanh. fol. 133r°.

Then she came to her son and said: this man is a prophet of God.

28. And after eight or ten days then, died, O Most Merciful! the son of this woman. She began to speak: O misfortune! So she went towards Elijah, the Beloved.

29. She began and said: O Lord, Jonah my son died. He answered her: Have patience. How grieved am I! The Almighty, my Lord, will revive him. The Beloved.

30. He covered the child and stood praying and stretching his hands, and said unto Him: O Lord of revelation, Almighty, Thou wilt revive him. The Beloved.

31. Revive him again, O Thou who sittest on the throne, for the merit of the prophet, our master Moses, let him now arise and go and walk on his feet to his mother.

32. Whilst he was still praying and kneeling the child returned to life, O Benevolent! At his command he arose, sat up and walked on his feet to his mother.

33. O our Helper, revive our dead as Thou hast revived my son Jonah, and may Michael be our intercessor, may he seize the Shofar in his hand. The Beloved.

34. When he blows the Shofar, the Jews will gather from all caravans and deserts, and leaving the country will be revenged upon the King of Edom.

35. Come and see the wonderful events when the sons of Moses will be separated (?). He will soon come (?) and no one will dare to address him—the Beloved.

36. We beseech from God our Lord, that he may bring the time of release in our days, so that we may see this salvation with our eyes in His presence, praise Him!

Appendix.

A. *General Remarks.*

1. The notes added by Fleischer to his dissertation, together with the observations made by Maltzan and the grammatical works of Dombay (Grammatica linguae Mauro-Arabicae iuxta vernaculi idiomatis usum, Vienna, 1800) and

DELAPORTE (Principes de l'idiome arabe en usage à Alger, Paris et Alger, 1845), etc., should in general suffice to explain the dialectic peculiarities of the preceding poem, especially as the language in which it is written differs but slightly from the vernacular. The prevailing irregularity, however, of the orthography renders it necessary to give a kind of grammatical commentary, as many of the idioms are so hidden, that they would scarcely be recognized, owing solely to their being written in Hebrew characters. The chief cause of this irregularity is, that most words are spelt exactly as they are spoken.

2. In order to bring about the final rhyme of each verse with the word *Eliyāhu* of the refrain, these words are prolonged by means of a syllable *āhu* without regard to number, gender or case.

3. The custom of transcribing the Arabic letters into Hebrew Square is the usual one. Diacritical points are rarely applied; ג occurs but twice, viz. in the refrain and v. 10, צ׳=ז in v. 2, ך=ك in v. 1, 4, 9, 15, 28, 34.

B. *Orthography.*

1. א is very often used as *mater lectionis* (*a*) both in the middle and at the end of the word, ex. באם (refr.)=كم,[1] מעא=مع v. 1, האמאד=هَمَد v. 23 (Z.D.M.G. xviii. 336); (*b*) when standing in the place of ĕ, ex. אדיקא=الضيقة v. 12, בלעדא=بالعدّة v. 23, למרא=المرّة v. 28 (*elmrā*, Delap. p. 52), לעשרא=العشرة v. 9 (*elašera*, Delap. *l.c.* p. 119, cf. Z.D.M.G. *ibid.*); the Hebrew name רבקא *ibid.* with א because of the rhyme; (*c*) when standing in the place of *Alif almaqṣūra* (Z.D.M.G. *ib.* 337), ex. יתסמא=يتسمّى v. 14, יעלא=يعلى v. 13.

[1] Pronounced as ĕ in ולמבשאר (*walmbešŏer*)=والمُبَشِّرُ v. 20, and יקראב (*iqerreb*)=يُقَرِّبُ v. 36.

2. א is dropped at the commencement of the word (*a*) in the article before the lunar letters (Z.D.M.G. *ib.* 335) לחקאיק=الحقائق v. 3 (but אחאנין=الحنين v.i.), in some cases also before a solar letter, ex. לסוואר=الشجر v. 5, לוואד= الجواد v. 28, לתריק=الطريق v. 35. On the other hand ל falls away before a solar letter, ex. אסלטאן=السلطان v. 8. The whole article is omitted when the prepositions ב and פ (shortened from פי) and the conjunction ו are joined to a noun; the double letter following is in this case only expressed in the pronunciation (Z.D.M.G. *ib.* 335); (*b*) as *Alif conjunctionis*, ex. נחייא=إحيّ v. 32, לבנהא=لِٱبنها v. 27, שמעו=إسمعوا (imper.) v. 32, אלאה=לאה vv. 10, 36; (*c*) as *Alif separationis*, ex. לימאם=الإمام v. 2, לומאם=الأمم v. 12; the same might be the case with לאסיד=الأسَد (*lăsăd*) and לארד=الأرض (*lard*, cf. Nöldeke, Gesch. des Qorān, p. 345, and Maltzan, Z.D.M.G. xxiii. 658), א being only *m.l.*; (*d*) *Hamza* disappears entirely, ex. חמאר, בייאד= أحمر أبيض v. 5, רינאהא=رأيناها v. 12, and ווידא *ibid.*= وإذا (in the MS. וויאידא is here struck out most probably to mark the pronunciation *widā*), וכיל=وأكَلَ (*ukăl*) v. 19, תמנייאם=ثمنية أيّام v. 28, etc., comp. Maltzan in Z.D.M.G xxvii. 236, xxiii. 657); (*e*) always at the end of words, as *Alif otiosum*, this being noticeable in most Arabic MSS. written in Hebrew characters; finally האד=هٰذا v. 22 and 27 (*hād*, Delap. *l.c.* p. 51).

Remark: The combination ﻫ is also sometimes used for לא, ex. אסלאם=السلام v. 2, also הוﻫ=هوَ إلّا v. 10.

3. א is added in אגיר, v. 15, אווו=أجيوا v. 35 (Delap. p. 91, and Tab. 3, No. 8, id. *Guide de la convers.*, p. 17, last line), אנביא=نبى v. 27, compare v. 22.

4. ו is *m.l.* in יבשרהום = يُبشّرهم v. 1, כתורת = كَثُرتْ v. 11. In the Hebrew word כוזבי v. 4, it stands to mark the *Qam. Chat.*; for the rest compare Z.D.M.G. *ib.* 337.

5. י is *m.l.* in אידא v. 8. Besides it is very often used to mark the *Imāla* or rather a short *e*, ex. הדין = هَدَنَ v. 4 (*hĕdĕn*), יתעדים = يتعظّم v. 13, אראזיל = الرَجُل (*erreǧel*), קאלית = قالَتْ (*qālĕt*), ואוריך = وأَجْرَكَ (*waǧrek*, א *m.l.*), v. 17, 25, אנתי = أنتَ (*ĕntĕ*), v. 30.

6. י is dropped in אילהא = إليها (*ilhā*) corresponding to masc. אלו (*ilū*), v. 30; for the other cases and י as consonant see Z.D.M.G. *ibid.*

7. ד represents not only د and ذ, but also ض in לאדד, בייאד (see above), ידרוב = يضرُب, v. 34 and ظ in אדלמא = الظلمة, v. 10 (cp. No. 5).

8. The sibilants are used promiscuously and without any rule. We find many words once written with one of these letters, another time with another. For their pronunciation see Maltzan in Z.D.M.G. xxiii. 661 seq. Thus (*a*) ז represents ج in למוזוד = الموجود (*lmūǧūd*) v. 15, לסזאר = الشجر v. 5; ش in אזערא = الشعرى v. 6; (*b*) ס is used in the place of ג, צ and ש and *vice versa*, ex. אסלטאן v. 8, and צולטאן v. 15 = سلطان, מוסא v. 2 and מושא v. 31, סומאלא = جمالة (Marcel, Vocab. arab.-franç. p. 87).

9. יֵ is used for ד in حفيد in v. 2.

10. ק for ך in לתריך = الطريق v. 35.

11. ת for ה in קצת = قضة v. 22, for ט in פתריק = فى الطريق (*fiṭṭarīq*) v. 25; ת is dropped after ס in נסרזא = نَسْتَرْجِاء v. 1 (cp. Z.D.M.G. xxvii. 237) and probably also after ש in שאייאק = اشتياق (refrain); on the other hand, ת = *ts* in

אתסחלאת (with *Alif* prosthet.) = تحلّت v. 76 (cp. Z.D.M.G. xxiii. 663).

12. A transposition of consonants we find in ינעלו = يلعنوا v. 12, cp. Dombay, *l.c.* p. 7, l. 4.

C. *Morphology.*

1. *Verb*: (*a*) Plural first person imperf. used for sing. in נסרוא v. 1, נבית v. 10, cp. Delap. *l.c.* p. 77, de Bussy, L'idiome d'Alger, p. 38 ff. etc. (*b*) קום טעמני and ועתכני v. 18, instead of feminine (cp. v. 25), a common form which otherwise is only applied to the pron. poss., ex. ואוריך, cf. B. 5. (*c*) Application of the shortened form of the third pers. plur. imperf. ex. ידכולו v. 12 = يدخلون, תשמעו = تسمعون, v. 13. (*d*) Use of the form مَفْعول instead of مُفَعَّل in מחסור and מחקור, v. 3, مُحَسَّر and مُحقَّر. (*e*) Use of the 10th form in נסתרגאהו refr. and נסרוא v. 1.

2. *Noun*: (*a*) Pron. demonstr. sing. האד comm. *this* v. 10, 20, 22, 27; דאך masc. v. 1, 17, 34, דיך fem. sing. v. 4, 9, 28, דוך plur. comm. v. 115 *that* (Dombay, p. 27), יא דאך v. 17 and יא האד v. 20, for يا أيّها *O thou!* (*b*) The pron. poss. masc. is a suffixed ו = ū the pronunciation of both of which is ū, ex. קאלתלו v. 17 = قالت له (*qālatlū*). (*c*) Pron. relat. אלדי, with noun or verb in plural, v. 9. (*d*) וואחד v. 27, when standing before the noun remains unchangeable (comp. Delap. *l.c.* p. 118).

D. *Etymological Remarks.*

בית pl. ביות *room* (Bussy, *l.c.* p. 120 and 382), יזיבולו v. 24 = يجيبوا له v. جاب (*ǧāb*) *to bring* (Marcel, *l.c.* p. 44, s.v. *apporter*). The verb is a contracted form of جاء به, cp. *Muhit-*

al Muḥ. vol. i. p. 325, 1st col. s.v. حكم — جيب v. 33 *to grasp* (Bussy, *l.c.* p. 307, l. 6). דאבא v. 13, *now*, דיב מעא לתריך probably the same as داب الطريق *shortly* cp. Dombay, *l.c.* p. 36, §72.—זיד v. 21 *again* (Dombay, *l.c.* p. 109, s.v. *amplius*, Delap. *l.c.* p. 103, etc.): יא כבדי v. 29, *O my liver!* i.e. *it makes me melancholy.* מא זאלו v. 32 (with suff.) *still*, ما زال Marcel, *l.c.* p. 223.—נוייאר=نوار sing. نور (Dombay, *l.c.* p. 72; Bussy, *l.c.* p. 188).—סריז = سِرَاج (*sirēǧ*) *light* or *sunlight.* ראו'ני v. 16, 18, probably prolonged form of ראני v. 3 (Dombay, *l.c.* p. 32, § 57, Delap. Guide, p. 2, etc.). *Behold me* or *I am*, v. 25, רוחי in the place of it, and with the same signification. שווא' v. 26=شوية *a little*, Dombay, *l.c.* p. iii. Marcel, *l.c.* p. 453.

ART. VI.—*Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian: With some Remarks on the Age of Sanskrit Classical Poetry.* By Prof. PETERSON.

IN the course of a first reading of Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali I came upon the following verses ascribed by Vallabhadeva to "Pāṇini."

I.

अथास्तमादास्तमनिन्द्यतेजा
जनस्य दूरोज्झितमृत्युभीतेः ।
उत्पत्तिमद्वस्तु विनाश्यवश्यं
यथाहमित्येवमिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥

"Now he has reached his setting, at whose glory none could cavil: to thee, O man, that hast put far from thee the fear of death, he seems to say, Everything that is born must die as I am dying."[1]

[1] "Behold the sun, that seemed but now
Enthronéd overhead,
Beginneth to decline below
The globe whereon we tread:
And he, whom now we look upon
With comfort and delight,
Will quite depart from us anon,
And leave us to the night.

Thus day by day doth Nature take
The life that Nature gave;
Thus are our bodies every day
Declining to the grave:
Thus from us all our pleasures fly
Whereon we set our heart,
And when the night of death draws nigh,
Thus will they all depart."—*G. Wither.*

II.

सरोरुहाक्षीणि निमीलयन्त्या
रवौ गते साधु कृतं नलिन्या ।
अक्ष्णां हि दृष्टापि जगत्समग्रं
फलं प्रियालोकनमात्रमेव ॥

"Well done of the lake to shut its lotus eyes now that the sun is gone. What profit is there in eyes that see the whole world, if they see not the loved one?"

III.

विलोक्य संगमे रागं पश्चिमाया विवस्वतः ।
कृतं कृष्णं मुखं प्राच्या नहि नार्यो विनेर्ष्यया ॥

"The East sees the West redden as the Sun draws near, and her own face darkens; for there is no such thing as a woman that is not jealous."

IV.

निरीक्ष्य विद्युन्नयनैः पयोदो
मुखं निशायामभिसारिकायाः ।
धारानिपातैः सह किं नु वान्त-
श्चन्द्रोयमित्यार्ततरं रराव ॥

"The cloud sees with his lightning eyes her face, as she goes by night to meet her lover, and, saying to himself, 'What, have I with my showers let fall the moon?' thunders his loud lament."

So far back as 1860 Aufrecht had called attention to the fact that the Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara contains two verses attributed to "Pāṇini."

V.

उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं
तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया
पुरोपि रागाद्गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

"The Moon, red with love's passion, caught to his breast the face of his lady the Night, with all her quivering starry eyes, in such manner that, though before her the darkness covering her breast fell in answering passion to her feet, she saw it not."[1]

VI.

The Rainy Season.

क्षपाः क्षामीकृत्य प्रसभमपहृत्याम्बु सरितां
प्रताप्योर्वीं कृत्स्नां तरुगहनमुच्छोष्य सकलम् ।
क्व संप्रत्युष्णांशुर्गत इति तदन्वेषणपरा-
स्तडिद्दीपालीका दिशि दिशि चरन्तीव जलदाः ॥

"Methinks the clouds roam over heaven, seeking out the sun with their torch of the lightning, and saying, Where is he now

[1] I took this differently before, following Aufrecht, as I understand his translation. "On came the flushed Moon: Night fixed her quivering eyes, the stars, upon him, and was so taken with the sight that she noticed not how her whole mantle of darkness had slipped to her feet." My First Report, p. 39, note. But that गृहीतं must be taken literally, as in the translation now offered, is shown I think by a comparison with No. X. below, as also from the terms पुरोपि and अंशुकं (bodice). How Böhtlingk takes the verse (Indische Sprüche, 1311) is not quite clear to me. "Der vor Leidenschaft roth gewordene Mond griff nach dem Antliz der Nacht (nach der beginnenden Nacht) mit ihren beweglichen Augensternen der Art, dass diese, obgleich es vor ihren Augen geschah, nicht gewahr wird, dass ihr ganzes Gewand, die Finsterniss, ob der Leidenschaft (Röthe) entsunken war."

gone, who smote the nights with languor, tore from the rivers their waters, burnt up the whole earth and sent his heat into the deepest forest glade?"

From the Saduktikarṇāmṛita of Śrīdharadāsa, Aufrecht gave later seven additional verses ascribed in that anthology to the poet Pāṇini.

VII.

असौ गिरेः शीतलकन्दरस्थः
पारावतो मन्मथचाटुदक्षः।
घर्मालसाङ्गीं मधुराणि कूज-
न्व्यंवीजते पक्षपुटेन कान्ताम् ॥

"See how yon dove in a cool cleft of the hill, well skilled in love's caresses, fans with his wings his dear mate exhausted as she is by the heat, and cooes sweet things in her ear."

VIII.

The burning ground.

उद्वृत्तेभ्यः सुदूरं घनजनिततमःपूरितेषु द्रुमेषु
प्रोद्भावं पथ्य पादद्वयनमितभुवः श्वेणयः फेरवाणाम्।
उल्कालोकैः स्फुरद्भिर्निजवदनदरीसर्पिभिर्वीक्षितेभ-
स्रोतत्स्नान्द्रं वसाभ्रः कुथितशववपुर्मण्डलेभ्यः पिबन्ति ॥

"See how those troops of jackals plant their hind legs on the ground, and, with outstretched necks, drink the fat that drips from the rows of putrid corpses hung too high for them in the trees that are enveloped in deeper and deeper darkness, so that the

bodies of the malefactors are revealed to them only by the flickering flames that issue from their own mouths."[1]

IX.

चञ्चत्पक्षाभिघातज्वलितहुतवहप्रौढधाम्नश्चिताया
क्रोडव्याकृष्टमूर्तेरहमहमिकया चण्डचञ्चुग्रहेण ।
सद्यस्तप्तं शवस्य ज्वलदिव पिशितं भूरि जग्ध्वार्धदग्धं
पश्यान्तःप्लुष्यमाणः प्रविशति सलिलं सत्वरं गृध्रवृद्धः ॥

"See how that old vulture, with a fierce blow from his beak, gulps down in a moment a great lump of half-burnt flesh from the corpse, hot, and seeming to be itself on fire, (taken) from the pyre, the blaze of which is heightened as its fire is fanned by the beating of his wings, while its symmetry is spoiled by the impact of his breast,—and then, burning within, plunges eagerly into water."[2]

[1] Compare Aufrecht's translation, Z.D.M.G., 36, 366, and Böhtlingk's note on the same, *ibid.* p. 659. उद्बद्धेभ्यः for Aufrecht's उद्बुद्धेभ्यः is Böhtlingk's conjecture. Both Aufrecht and Böhtlingk take घन in the sense of "cloud." It is the light from the funeral pyres, or the flames issuing from the mouths of the jackals, that deepens the darkness of the trees. The time is of course night. उल्कामुख is a name for jackal in Mālatīmādhava, 78, 4. Compare also the following verse from Govardhana's Saptaśati:

तमसि घने (cf. our घनजनिततमः) विषमे पथि जम्बुकमुल्कामुखं प्रपन्नाः स्मः ।
किं कुर्मः सोपि सखे स्थितो मुखं मुद्रयित्वैव ॥

I do not know what natural phenomenon is referred to. Aufrecht takes उल्का to mean meteors, Böhtlingk the burning brands (of the pyres). Both refer निजवदन to the corpses, not to the jackals. These plant their hind legs on the ground: their fore legs are on the trees. Aufrecht and Böhtlingk take पादद्वय of the fore legs.

[2] क्रोडव्याकृष्टमूर्तेः is Böhtlingk's conjecture for Aufrecht's क्रोडव्याकृष्टमूर्तेः. Aufrecht notes that the second syllable in व्याकृष्ट is not distinct in the Mrs.

X.

कह्लारस्पर्शगर्भैः शिशिरपरिचयात्कान्तिमद्भिः करायै-
श्चन्द्रेखालिङ्गितायास्तिमिरवसने संसृमाने रजन्याः ।
अन्योन्यालोकिनीभिः परिचयजनितप्रेमनिस्यन्दिनीभि-
र्दूरारूढे प्रमोदे हसितमिव परिष्वष्टमाशासखीभिः ॥

"When the Moon took his lady the Night in his fair arms (rays), cold as the touch of white lilies, and Night's garment of darkness fell, methinks her friends, the East, the West, the South and the North, looking at each other, and raining down the love begotten of old acquaintance, smiled brightly in their great delight."

XI.

पाणौः[1] पद्मधिया मधूककुसुमभ्रान्त्या गण्डयो-
र्नीलेन्दीवरशङ्कया नयनयोर्बन्धूकबुद्ध्याधरे ।
लीयन्ते कबरीभरे निजकुलव्यामोहजातस्पृहा
दुर्वारा मधुपाः कियन्ति करुणे स्थानानि रक्षिष्यसि ॥

"They settle on your hand taking it to be a lotus, on your cheeks which they mistake for madhūka flowers, on your eyes deeming these to be full-blown indīvara flowers, on your lip because they think that a bandhūka flower, in your dark hair which they take to be a swarm of their companions: truly the bees are hard to get rid of, how many parts of your body, my girl, will you be able to guard?"

There may be some mistake in the word. In the Introduction to the Subhāshitāvali I wrote चञ्चत्पचाभिघात and क्रोडात् with Aufrecht. But the v.l. चञ्चत्पचाभिघात° seems distinctly preferable, and there is an apparent parallel between the action on the pyre of the wings and the breast of the vulture. Böhtlingk takes सद्यः with तप्तं.

[1] In the Śārṅgaddharapaddhati this verse is ascribed to Achala. Its given in the Subhāshitāvali anonymously. The reading पाण्योः in the edition seems now wrong. The girl is using one hand in the attempt to protect herself from the bees.

XII.

पाणौ श्रोणतले तनूदरि दरच्छामा कपोलस्थली
विन्यस्ताञ्जनदिग्धलोचनजलैः किं म्लानिमानीयते ॥
मुग्धे चुम्बतु नाम चञ्चलतया भृङ्गः क्वचित्कन्दली-
मुन्मीलन्नवमालतीपरिमलः किं तेन विस्मर्यते ॥

"Why, lady, do you let your tears, stained with the eyesalve they wash off, spoil all the beauty of your cheek, already somewhat wasted, as it rests on that red palm of yours: foolish one, the bee in fickleness may kiss the kandalī flower, but think you that on that account he forgets the fragrance of the opening mālatī?"[1]

XIII.

मुखानि चारूणि घनाः पयोधरा
नितम्बपृथ्वो जघनोत्तमश्रियः ।
तनूनि मध्यानि च यस्य सोभ्यगा-
त्कथं नृपाणां द्रविडीजनो हृदः ॥

This verse must for the present be left untranslated. हृदः does not, so far as I can see, yield any sense. Aufrecht notes that it would be easy but risky to substitute गृहान्. Böhtlingk suggests that the MS. reading is हृद: not हृदः and corrects to हृदम्. He compares Indische Sprüche, 345, a verse in which a king's palace is said to be वार्धिवत् like the ocean.

It remains to add to this collection of Pāṇini verses three more from the Subhāshitāvali of Vallabhadeva, and one which is quoted by Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyalaṃkāra. I give the text of these only.

[1] Böhtlingk's idea that the second half of this verse is the answer, put in the mouth of the deserted fair one, does not seem right.

XIV.

ऐन्द्रं धनुः पाण्डुपयोधरेण
शरद्घनार्द्रेनखचताभम् ।
प्रसादयन्ती सकलङ्कमिन्दुं
तापं रवेरभ्यधिकं चकार ॥

XV.

प्रकाश्य लोकान्भगवान्स्वतेजसा
प्रभादरिद्रः सवितापि जायते ।
अहो चला श्रीर्बलमानदामहो
स्पृशन्ति सर्वं हि दशाविपर्ययै ॥

XVI.

प्रबुद्धस्वभावान्यपि संहतानि
निनाय भेदं कुमुदानि चन्द्रः ।
अवाप्य वृद्धिं मलिनान्तरात्मा
जडो भवेत्कस्य गुणाय वक्रः ॥

In illustration of the remark that even great poets permit themselves the use of forms which grammar condemns, Namisādhu cites the fragment (XVII.) संध्यावधूं गृह्य करेण from "Pāṇini's Pātālavijaya," and adds the following verse "of the same poet."

XVII.

गतेर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्दं
गर्जन्ति यत्प्रावृषि कालमेघाः ।
अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बं
तच्छर्वरी गौरि डुंकरोति ॥

Another fragment from Pāṇini's Jāmbuvatīvijaya, is preserved to us by Rāyamukuṭa in his commentary on Amarakosha I. 2, 3, 6.[1]

XVIII.

पयःपृषन्तिभिः सृष्टा
वान्ति वाताः शनैः शनैः ।

Who is this Pāṇini, author of verses which would do no discredit to Kālidāsa himself, and which in all respects resemble the well-marked type of poetry of which that great writer is for us the best known representative? His countrymen have forgotten his name and fame; and one well entitled to speak for them, I mean Professor Bhandarkar, has rejected the suggestion that he cannot well be any other than the grammarian with something not far removed from scorn. "In my opinion the style and manner of a work written by Pāṇini the grammarian must resemble those of the Nirukta: but in the few verses attributed to Pāṇini there is no such resemblance whatever. Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim to be the work of Pāṇini; but at present we must reject that advanced on behalf of those artificial verses."

[1] Aufrecht, Z. d. M. G. 14, 582.

"The great grammarian may have been a poet, and may have written a work called Jāmbuvatījaya. But if the verses brought to light are from that work, and consequently the work is of the nature of those belonging to the period of the Renaissance, then at once the tradition which represents the author of that work to be the same as the author of the Āshṭādhyāyī must be rejected as conflicting with the clearest evidence, internal as well as external."[1] In his 'Second Reply'[2] Bhandarkar would dismiss the anthologies, and the whole body of the literature which has revealed the poet Pāṇini to us, as "mere trash in comparison with that Ārshagrantha or Book of Light, the Mahābhāshyā."

It appears to me to be certain that the tradition which identifies Pāṇini the poet with Pāṇini the grammarian, and which attributes to the one writer the verses at the head of this paper, cannot be disposed of in this fashion. It has gained immensely in strength from the discredit into which the Renaissance theory, referred to by Bhandarkar, has fallen. In his recent paper "Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie" Bühler has shown that the gap between, say, for example, the supposed date of the Mahābhāshya and the fifth or sixth century of our era, is an imaginary one; and that, scanty as the stone records are, enough remains to render it certain that the art of "poetry" (kāvyam) as expounded by writers like Daṇḍin and Vāmana, and practised by poets like Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, was already an old art in the first century of our era. This is a point to which I shall recur immediately. I use it here to press home the consideration that in view of it, it has become ten times more probable than it was before, that writers like Rājaśekhara, Kshemendra, Namisādhu, and, *pace* Bhandarkar, I will add the compilers of the despised anthologies, inheritors of an unbroken tradition, could not possibly have been mistaken in a matter like this. The fact is, that the gap is between these writers and us,

[1] The Date of Patañjali. A Reply to Professor Peterson, pp. 4 and 6.
[2] P. 20.

not between them and Pāṇini. Until evidence to the contrary is adduced, we are bound, I contend, to accept Rājaśekhara's explicit statement that "by Rudra's grace Pāṇini wrote first his grammar, and then his poem the Jāmbuvatījaya." [1]

A side light, it may be noticed in passing, is thrown upon this controversy when we notice that Pāṇini's is not the only name which is connected by Indian tradition with the two muses of Grammar and Poetry. What is true of Pāṇini is true of his two commentators, Kātyayāna or Vararuchi, and Patanjali. Patanjali refers to Vararuchi's poem, and the Subhāshitāvali contains seventeen verses ascribed to him. They are of the same character as the Pāṇini verses, as will be seen from two examples for which room may be found. In the first Vararuchi is breaking a lance with his master.

प्रत्यग्रयौवनां श्यामामापेततिमिरांशुकाम् ।
विलोक्य जातहासोभून्मुदेव कुमुदाकरः ॥

"The bank of night lotuses laughed as it were for joy (*i.e.* the white petals unfolded) to see his swarthy lady the Night, in her fresh youth, and with her covering of darkness laid aside."

व्योम्नि नीलाम्बुदच्छन्ने गुरुवृष्टिभयादिव ।
जगाह ग्रीष्मसंतापो हृदयानि वियोगिनाम् ॥

"The sky is covered over with dark clouds, and the heat of summer, in fear as it were of the heavy rain, has taken up its abode in the hearts of lovers away from their mistresses." [2]

This last verse resembles a verse by Kumāradāsa, which Aufrecht quotes, and compares to the Anacreontic *μεσονυκτίοις ποτ' ὥραις.*

[1] The references to Pâṇini as a poet occurring in treatises on rhetoric, commentaries, and the anthologies, have been put together in the article Pāṇini, in the Introduction to the edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitavāli. Compare also Pischel's paper in the Z.d.D.M G. 39, 75.

[2] With the approach of the rains travellers ought to be able to make for home.

शिशिरसीकरवाहिनि मारुते
चरति भीतभयादिव सत्वरः ।
मनसिजः प्रविवेश वियोगिनी-
हृदयमाहितशोकहुताशनम् ॥

"The wind was laden with drops of icy spray: Love, as it were in fear of the cold, entered the hearts of forsaken girls in which the fire of sorrow burned."

The resemblance cannot be accidental. For, as I was able to show in the paper already referred to, Patanjali quotes Kumāradāsa, and the resemblance between these two verses therefore goes to show that the Vararuchi of the anthologies is the Vararuchi of the Vārttikas, and that the type of poetry of which they are fine examples is as old as Patanjali. I know of no verses ascribed in the anthologies to Patanjali himself *eo nomine*. But I have little hesitation in ascribing to Patanjali, the great commentator on Pāṇini, the fine verse by the "Commentator" (Bhāshyakāra), which Aufrecht cites from the Saduktikarṇāmṛita, and to which a peculiar interest perhaps attaches.

यद्यपि स्वच्छभावेन दर्शयत्यम्बुधिर्मणीन् ।
तथापि जानुदघ्नोयमिति चेतसि मा कृथाः ॥

"Though the sea be so clear that it shows the jewels lying at the bottom, think not on that account that it is but knee-deep."

If the "Bhāshyakāra" of this verse is the "Bhāshyakāra" of the Mahābhāshya, Bhartṛihari had it in mind when he described the Mahābhāshya as **अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्** "so deep that its soundings cannot be taken, so clear that it seems shallow."

Bhartṛihari himself is a third example of the grammarian poet. A fourth is Vyāḍi, author of the "Sangraha," to take the place of which the Mahābhāshya was written. All that is left of Vyâḍi (for his Sangraha, according to Bhartṛihari, had perished before the Mahābhāshya was written) is one verse which Aufrecht cites from the Saduktikarnāmṛita. It is noticeable as a conspicuous example of the metaphorical use of expressions, intolerable in their literal sense, which Daṇḍin (Kāvyādarśa, i. 95–97) tells us had the sanction of good poets.

कवलयति न चेतस्तस्य दारिद्र्यदुःखं
न च पिशुनजनोक्तिः कर्णकण्डूं करोति।
वरकविकृतगोष्ठीबन्धगन्धोपभोगे
य इह मधु वमन्तीं काव्यचिन्तां करोति॥

"The pains of poverty do not swallow up his heart, the talk of bad men does not make his ear itch, who, in the enjoyment of the soul-ravishing conversation of good poets, gives all his mind to poetry, that vomiteth honey."

It seemed at the time to me and to others[1] that the discovery that Pāṇini wrote poetry of the same kind as that of Kālidāsa, and that his commentator Patanjali quoted a writer who is by Rājaśekhara placed after Kālidāsa, afforded reason for throwing doubt on the high antiquity claimed very generally for the two grammarians. A re-adjustment of some kind seemed necessary. But I was tempted to look on Kālidāsa as the fixed point, and on Pāṇini as the movable one, in any attempt to reduce the interval of some nine centuries which in common opinion then divided them. Before this Society I need not dwell at any length on the reasons for this. It was to you that the late James Fergusson unfolded his theory of the

[1] Compare especially Pischel's paper already referred to.

Vikramāditya era, a theory which was adopted and developed by Professor Max Müller, and on which that scholar built his own theory of an interregnum, and a renaissance of, Sanskrit literature. According to Fergusson the Brahmins who, in or about 1000 A.D., invented the Vikramāditya era—through hatred of a current Buddhist mode of reckoning—chose as the eponymous hero of the new era a sovereign who defeated the barbarians in 544 A.D., but, for convenience of reckoning, put him in the year 601, instead of the year 1 of his own era. By and by this odd detail dropped out of memory, and the consequence was that a whole body of literary tradition which centred round Vikramāditya was shifted back 600 years, to the utter confusion of the whole subject.

To this theory Max Müller gave his provisional assent. But that distinguished scholar did not omit to lay due stress on the consideration that the whole weight of Fergusson's scheme rested on the fact that it was at that time impossible to produce a document, written or engraved, in which the Vikramāditya era was used and which was itself prior to the year 600 of that era, or 544 A.D. "The era of Vikrama Mr. Fergusson holds was not invented before the sixth century A.D. It cannot therefore occur on any historical document before that date: and the whole theory would collapse if one single coin or stone could be produced dated contemporaneously 543 [read 599] of the Samvat of Vikrama."[1]

It was my good fortune to be the first to produce the missing stone.

In the early part of 1885 I was at Kotah, engaged in one of the too few tours through Rajputana in search of MSS. which brighten the lot of a Sanskrit professor in Bombay. Bhagvanlal Indraji was with me. We visited the hermitage of Kanva outside the city, and took a fresh rubbing of the inscription there, which was first described by Colonel Tod.[2] That inscription is dated in the 796th year "of the Lords

[1] India: What can it teach us? p. 284.
[2] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, p. 795.

of Malwa," an era which had not previous to my visit to Kotah, been identified with any of the well-known Indian eras, though, as I have learned since,[1] General Cunningham had already expressed the opinion that it must be identical with the era of Vikramāditya. Passing south to Jhalra Pathan, Bhagvanlal and I learned from the Brahmins of that place that they traced their lineage to a band of immigrants from the west, who had settled for the most part at Daśapura, now called Mandasor. Bhagvanlal's eyes brightened. He knew from Mr. Fleet that the place referred to contained at least one old inscription, and the account of the Jhalra Pathan Brahmins convinced him that it probably contained more than one. He was already suffering from the disease which was to bring his life to an untimely end. Yet nothing would satisfy him but to start off, in a country *ekka*, with no provision for his comfort, across a roadless country, on his pilgrimage of seventy miles to the place where the larger body of this late migration from the West had settled. He had his reward. For when we met again in Bombay he placed in my hands his transcript of an inscription, before which, if I may borrow in this room the language of politics, the combinations of Fergusson, and his reckless charges of mendacity, crumble to dust and ashes. In my paper on the Kotah inscription[2] I showed that Bhagvanlal's Mandasor inscription does contain what was wanted, a date in the Vikramāditya era prior to the year 600 of that era. I may recapitulate the argument briefly here. The Mandasor inscription is dated "in the 494th year of the reckoning of the Mālavas,[3] while Kumāragupta was ruling the earth." Kumāragupta's dates were known. He was reigning in the year 463 of the Vikramāditya era, and in the year 508 of the same. An era in the 494th year of which he was on the throne, and which was so firmly

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction.

[2] The Aucityalamkara of Kshemendra, etc., p. 45.

[3] We owe the correct explanation of the term गणस्थित्या to Kielhorn.

established that it is found three centuries later in the Kotah inscription, can only be the Vikramāditya era itself under another name. This view of the significance of the Mandasor inscription was generally accepted, and has now received the support of Mr. Fleet.[1] It is accordingly, I believe, no longer doubted by any competent authority that Fergusson's theory with regard to the Vikramāditya era must be abandoned, and that Max Müller's view of an interregnum in, and a renaissance of, Sanskrit literature has lost all the support afforded to it by a theory out of which it avowedly in great measure sprung.

The question, however, has rested here. Attention was drawn to the fact that Patanjali's Mahābhāshya contains a quotation from a poet who must have lived after Kālidāsa, and Kielhorn followed this up with a list of similar quotations occurring in Patanjali's work. Kielhorn has also very recently shown good reason for believing that the author of this Mandasor inscription was familiar with one of Kālidāsa's works. In Bühler's essay an immense step forward is taken. He reviews the whole question with the aid of eighteen of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, and some earlier ones. The results arrived at are briefly such as to make the "renaissance of Sanskrit literature" theory no longer tenable. The existence of Sanskrit poetry of the classical type, and of well-known and opposing schools of that poetry, is by Bühler traced step by step from the fifth, through the fourth and third, back to the second century of our era. The paper is one which must arrest the attention of every student of Sanskrit literature, and I am glad to be able to state that an English edition of it will shortly appear in our Bombay Society's Journal. In the remarks which follow I propose to confine myself to a consideration of the new light which has been thrown on Kālidāsa's date, and to certain illustrations which I think the anthologies can be made to furnish in support of Bühler's main result, that it is to the centuries before our era, and not to the fifth

[1] Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction, *passim*.

or sixth century A.D., that we must look for the beginnings of Sanskrit classical poetry.

Vatsabhaṭṭi, the author of the Mandasor inscription, was far from being himself an original poet of the first, or any rank. He speaks of the pains of composition (prayatnena rachitā), and an examination of his work shows that what he means is that he has been at great trouble to follow the best models, and to observe all the rules of the art. Bühler has shown that he does not always succeed in keeping clear of inelegancies and even positive mistakes. In thirteen places throughout his brief poem he uses the weak pause at the end of a half verse, a license which the best poets never permit themselves. He ekes out his verses with expletives, which add nothing to the sense, and tautologies which repeat it. And in one passage he saves himself from a false quantity only by using a false gender. These considerations would be important in any case as showing that at the time when Vatsabhaṭṭi set himself this task, 472 A.D., there was a rich poetical literature for him to copy. They derive extraordinary interest from the fact that, as Bühler and Kielhorn have joined to show, we can identify one of Vatsabhaṭṭi's models, and that his model is no other than Kālidāsa himself. The proof of this is as follows. In verse 10 Vatsabhaṭṭi begins his description of the city Daṣapura (Mandasor) with the words:

चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाथान्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।
तौडिल्लताचित्रसिताभ्रकूटतुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥

"Where the white, high houses, with their waving flags, and the women in them, are like the edges of white clouds, when these are streaked with the lightning-creeper."

This is taken from a verse in the Meghadūta:—

विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः
संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम्।
अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुङ्गमभ्रंलिहाग्राः
प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैर्विशेषैः॥

"The palaces there rival you thus and thus: you have your lightning, they have fair women; you have the rainbow, they have their paintings; you have your sweet, low roar, they have the drums that are beaten for music; you have water within you, they have their crystal pavements; you are high, they touch the clouds."

It is spoiled in the taking. For Kālidāsa would not have complicated the comparison of the lightning playing along the edge of the lofty cloud to women appearing on the terrace of the high house by throwing in the additional comparison of the waving flags. And तुलयितुमलम् is good Sanskrit: तुल्योपमानानि is not.

In his next verse, Bühler goes on to show, Vatsabhaṭṭi returns to his model here, and fills up a few *lacunae* in his first copy. He finds he has said nothing of the music for which Kālidāsa finds a parallel in the murmur of the thunder. And he has been led to drop all mention of the pictures. Accordingly he writes a supplementary verse referring to "other" houses!

कैलासतुङ्गशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्या-
न्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभीनि सवेदिकानि।
गान्धर्वशब्दमुखराणि निविष्टचित्र-
कर्माणि लोलकदलीवनशोभितानि॥

"And others shine like peaks of the Kailāsa hill, having long upper rooms and terraces, resounding with the noise of musicians, full of pictures, adorned with rows of waving plantain trees."

Kielhorn has shown that in another passage we can actually restore Vatsabhaṭṭi's text, as that has been edited by Fleet, by a reference to the passage in the Ṛitusaṃhāra of Kālidāsa on which it is modelled. Kālidāsa is describing the cold season, and writes:

निरुद्धवातायनमन्दिरोदरं
सुताशनो भानुमतो गभस्तयः ।
गुरूणि वासांस्यबला सयौवनाः
प्रयान्ति काले च जनस्य सेव्यताम् ॥
न चन्दनं चन्द्रमरीचिशीतलं
न हर्म्यपृष्ठं शरदिन्दुनिर्मलम् ।
न वायवः सान्द्रतुषारशीतला
जनस्य चित्तं रमयन्ति सांप्रतम् ॥

"The inner room of a house all the windows of which are shut, a fire, the rays of the sun, warm clothing, young and tender women—these be the things that people seek after at this season.

"Sandal wood powder cold as the moon's rays, the palace-roof, white as autumn's moon, winds cold with moist icy spray—these things now bring no delight to men."

Vatsabhaṭṭi drags in to his poem the same theme and the same words:

रामासनाथभवनोदरभास्करांशु-[1]
वह्निप्रतापसुभगे जललीनमीने ।

[1] Fleet wrote रामासनाथ[र]चने. Bhandarkar reads वने for Fleet's चने, and suggests रामासनाथभवने. With रामासनाथ as an adjective qualifying भवन compare अबलासनाथानि गृहाणि in v. 10 of the inscription. Kielhorn's correction भवनोदरं, corresponding to Kālidāsa's मन्दिरोदर, seems certainly right.

चन्द्रांशुहर्म्यतलचन्दनतालवृन्त-
हारोपभोगरहिते हिमदग्धपद्मे ॥

"(In the season) that rejoices in the inner rooms of houses full of women, the rays of the sun, the heat of a fire, and in which the fish lie low in the water: in the season that knows nothing of the cooling pleasure caused by the rays of the moon, cold palace roofs, sandlewood powder, fans, necklaces of pearls, and in which the lotuses are wasted by the cold."

Kālidāsa's sharp contrast between the things that delight men in the hot and cold seasons respectively derives no additional force from the touches about the fish and the lotuses, which are Vatsabhaṭṭi's clumsy additions.

The earliest date we had previously for Kālidāsa was 634 A.D., the date of the Aihole inscription, in which he is mentioned. The discovery that in 472 A.D. he was already a model for poetasters sends us back with fresh curiosity to the passage at the beginning of the Mālavikāgnimitra in which Kālidāsa speaks of himself modestly as a "poet of the day" whose works had to run the gauntlet of *laudatores temporis acti* who troubled him as critics of the same kind troubled Horace. "Nay, why should the audience pass over the words of world-renowned poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla and the Kaviputrau, to pay this honour to Kālidāsa, a poet of the present day?

"*The Manager.*—What a silly thing to say. Look you. A poem is not good because it is old, nor bad because it is new, etc."

Can we use this reference to carry the argument a step further? Have we any fragments that will serve to show that they, who are referred to as "poets of the olden time" by an author, who was himself a classic in 472 A.D., wrote Indian classical poetry of the "renaissance" type centuries before the epoch at which that renaissance is fixed? We are thrown back on the anthologies here. For Kālidāsa has been amply revenged of the critics. Not one

of the plays which they preferred to his has survived. But the fragments in the anthologies are enough for our purpose, I give examples under the three names.

BHĀSA.

I.

कठिनहृदये मुञ्च क्रोधं सुखप्रतिघातकं
लिखति दिवसं यातं यातं यमः किल मानिनि।
वयसि तरुणे नैतद्युक्तं चले च समागमे
भवति कलहो यावत्तावद्वरं सुभगे रतम्॥

"O hard-hearted one! put away the anger that is spoiling our bliss. You are proud, but Death is writing "Past, past!" against each of our days. We are young, and short is our time together: were it not better done to love than to quarrel?"

II.

तीक्ष्णं रविस्तपति नीच इवाचिराढ्यः
पृष्ठं रुरुत्यजति मित्रमिवाकृतज्ञः।
तोयं प्रसीदति मुनेरिव चित्तमन्तः
कामी दरिद्र इव शोषमुपैति पङ्कः॥

Autumn.

"The sun burns hot like a mean man lately exalted; the deer leaves his horn as an ingrate leaves his friend; the water grows clear within like the heart of a sage; the mud is dried up like an impecunious lover."

III.

विरहिवनितावक्त्रौपम्यं बिभर्ति निशापति-
र्गलितविभवस्याज्ञेवाद्य द्युतिर्मलिना रवेः ।
अभिनववधूरोषस्रादुः करीषतनूनपा-
दमरसजनाश्लेषक्रूरस्तुषारसमीरणः ॥

Winter.

"The moon grows pale like the face of a girl whose love has left her; the beams of the sun are as gentle as the orders of a man stripped of his power; the cowdung fire is charming as the anger of a young wife; the cold wind as harsh as a knave's embrace."

IV.

यदपि विबुधैः सिन्धोरन्तः कथंचिदुपार्जितं
तदपि सकलं चारुस्त्रीणां मुखेषु विलोक्यते ।
सुरसुमनसः श्वासामोदे शशी च कपोलयो-
रमृतमधरे तिर्यग्भूते विषं च विलोचने ॥

"All that the gods got with such pains within the ocean is to be seen in the faces of women, the flowers of heaven in the perfume of their breath, the moon in their cheeks, nectar on their lips, —and poison in their sidelong glances."

SOMILA.

We know from Rājaśekhara that Somila and Rāmila were joint authors of a "Śūdrakakathā." They were the Beaumont and Fletcher of their day. But of plays that delayed the acceptation of Kālidāsa's works one verse is all that remains. It was first quoted by Aufrecht from the Śārṅgaddhara-paddhati with the observation that it is one of the finest in that collection.

सव्याधेः क्षुधता क्षतस्य रुधिरं दष्टस्य लालास्रुतिः
किंचिन्नैतदिहास्ति तत्कथमसौ पान्थस्तपस्वी मृतः ।
आ ज्ञातं मधुलम्पटैर्मधुकरैरारब्धकोलाहले
नूनं साहसिकेन चूतमुकुले दृष्टिः समारोपिता ॥

The Dead Wayfarer.

"If he had been ill his form would be wasted; if he had been wounded there would be blood; if a snake had bitten him there would be foaming at the mouth: none of these things is here: then how did this wretched wayfarer die? Ha! I see: it must be that he rashly let his eye rest on the mango bud round which the bees eager for honey are buzzing."

Under Rāmilaka the Subhāshitāvali has one verse:

परपुरुषादिव सवितुः संप्रति भीताः करायमंस्पर्शात् ।
कुलवध्व इव सलज्जाः प्रविशन्ति गृहोदरं छायाः ॥

The Hot Weather.

"The shadows now retire into the inner rooms of the house like modest and chaste wives fearing the touch of the hands (rays) of another man than their husband—the sun."

KAVIPUTRAU.

That "Kaviputra" in Kālidāsa's sentence is a dual, and not a singular, we know from the Subhāshitāvali, which assigns this verse to the two "sons of the poet."

भ्रूचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ताः कटाक्षाः
स्निग्धा हावा लज्जितान्ताश्च हासाः ।
लीलामन्दं प्रस्थितं च स्थितं च
स्त्रीणामेतद्भूषणं चायुधं च ॥

"To arch the brows, to dart side glances from half-closed eyes, to speak flattering words, to laugh bashfully, to move with graceful slowness, then stand still—all this is woman's ornament and weapon of attack."

The verse stands now in Bhartṛihari.

Opinions will differ as to how far back these names, Bhāsa, Somila and Kaviputrau, serve to carry back the type of poetry of which all are representative. We stand on surer ground with a fourth name, that of Aṣvaghosha. This is the name of the twelfth Buddhist patriarch, who was a contemporary of Kanishka (A.D. 78). His "Life of Buddha" (Buddhacharita) was translated into Chinese in the year 420 A.D., and has now been translated from Chinese into English by Mr. Beal.[1] The Sanskrit original is extant, one copy being among the manuscripts got in Nepal for the University of Cambridge by Dr. Daniel Wright. The work calls itself a *Mahākāvyam*, and it is sufficiently evident from the English translation that Daṇḍin and Vāmana would not have refused that title to it. The startling resemblance between Aṣvaghosha's poetry and that of Kālidāsa cannot fail to attract the attention of the reader even of the English version of the Chinese translation. When Professor Cowell's promised edition is in our hands, we shall have, it is clear, ample material for deciding which of the two writers it is that is using the other. Meanwhile the anthologies preserve some verses by Aṣvaghosha, three of which are given below as verses which probably date from the first century of our era.

AṢVAGHOSHA.

I.

नैवाकृतिः फलति नैव कुलं न शीलं
विद्या सहस्रगुणिता न च वाग्विशुद्धिः ।

[1] Sacred Books of the East, vol. xix.

कर्माणि पूर्वशुभसंचयसंचितानि
काले फलन्ति पुरुषस्य यथैव वृक्षाः ॥

"Beauty profits a man nothing, nor birth, nor goodness: nor does learning, though it be multiplied a thousandfold, nor purity of speech: the good deeds that have been heaped up in a previous birth, these come to their fruits to a man in this world as trees do."

II.

व्यायस्यन्नपि कश्चिदर्थितफलप्राप्तेरभागी भवे-
त्सर्वारम्भनिरुद्यमोपि लभते कश्चिद्यथेष्टं फलम ।
हस्तात्कस्यचिदाशु नश्यति धनं तेनापरो युज्यते
बालोन्मत्तजडोपमस्य हि विधेर्नानाविधं चेष्टितम् ॥

"One tries hard but has to go without the thing he longed for, another lifts no hand yet gets his heart's desire; out of one man's hand the wealth that is in it quickly disappears, and another picks it up: thus Fortune, like a child, or a madman, or a fool, plays with our destinies."

Lastly I will, at some risk doubtless, be "very bold," and confess that the considerations I have here feebly set forth invest for me the verses in the anthologies which are written above the great name of Vikramāditya itself (Śrī Vikramādityasya) with a fresh and a great interest. If Aśvaghosha wrote as we have seen him write in 78 A.D., if he was preceded in the art long before the Christian era by Pāṇini, Patanjali and many others, whose names as well as their poems have perished, who can the Vikramāditya of the following verses be but the great sovereign—poet and friend of poets—in whose honour the Vikramāditya era was established in the year 56 B.C.?

VIKRAMĀDITYA.

I.

चेतोहरा युवतयः सुहृदोनुकूलाः
सद्बान्धवाः प्रणयगर्भगिरश्च भृत्याः ।
नानाविधोपकरणाः करिणस्तुरंगाः
संमीलिते हि नयने न तदस्ति किंचित् ॥

"Girls that delight the heart, friends eager to please, good kinsmen, servants with words full of kindness, horses and elephants with all their trappings—in the twinkling of an eye all these things will have passed away.

II.

रुजासु नाथः परमं हि भेषजं
तमःप्रदीपो विषमेषु संक्रमः ।
भयेषु रक्षा व्यसनेषु बान्धवो
भवत्यगाधे व्यसनाम्भसि ध्रुवः ॥

"In all my sicknesses God is my sovereign medicine; in darkness He is a light, and in rough places a path; in danger a protection, and in trouble a brother—He is the ship that shall bear me over sorrow's soundless sea."

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Temple of Kailâsanâtha.

22, *Seton Place, Edinburgh.*
11*th Feb.* 1891.

Sir,—Permit me to call your attention to a mistake on p. 166 of the *Journ. R. A. Soc.* for 1891, where *Epigraphia Indica* is apparently a mistake for *Corpus Inscript. Indicarum.*

Again, in the footnote to p. 170, the writer has fallen into a mistake in correcting Dr. Hultzsch's statement respecting the discovery of the date and inscriptions of the temple of Kailâsanâthaswâmin. It is true that Mr. Sewell first called attention to the other old temples at Kâñchîpuram; but he had not even seen that of Kailâsanâtha, which stands a little way out of Kâñchî, before I visited it in 1883, and brought to light the important inscriptions found in it. Dr. Hultzsch's statement therefore is strictly accurate, as it relates to this temple only.—Yours faithfully,

J. Burgess.

The Editor Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.

2. Fa Hien's 'Fire Limit.'

In Chapter xvii. of Fa Hien's Travels he says that 45 yojanas (= about 350 miles) to the north (as Rémusat and Beal translate) or north-west (as Professor Legge translates) of the well-known place Saṃkassa (27° 3′ N. by 79° 50′ E.) there is a temple called *Ho King* (?). Beal, following Rémusat (Foe Koue Ki, p. 126, and note, p. 163), renders this 'Fire Limit.' Professor Legge states in his note that his Korean copy of the Fo Kua Ki has a different character in the name of this place, which gives a great improvement in the reading. And he accordingly renders it 'Great Heap.'

The legend attached to the place is that the Buddha there converted an evil spirit. There are several stories in the Pitakas of such conversions of *nāgas* or *yakkhas*. But the most famous perhaps is the legend of the Āḷavaka Yakkha, who dwelt in the Aggāḷava Cetiya.[1]

There is, so far as I know, no indication in any one of the eleven Pali passages as to the geographical position of this place. But it has occurred to me that the word Aggāḷava would so well explain the doubtful Chinese name that it would be worth while to suggest to Chinese scholars whether this could not be the origin of both forms of it. For the Chinese might have supposed either that Aggālava was derived from *aggi*, 'fire,' or from *agga*, in the sense of 'great, chief.' The English translators of the Chinese do not, unfortunately, give the exact transliteration of the Chinese reproduction of the Indian name, though Rémusat in his note gives the Chinese characters of his reading of the Chinese translation of it, and Professor Legge gives the Chinese characters of his.

If the identification be correct, then Pali scholars also will have a point in old Buddhist geography, hitherto undecided, appoximately settled for them. For it would fix Aggāḷava about 32° N. by 78° E., that is in Sugana, somewhere near Khālsi.

I may add that there are similar legends of the conversion of a 'demon' in Chaps. xxxiv. and liii. of Fa'Hien, but there are no names given there.

The conversion of the Āḷavaka Yakkha is the subject of the poem Āḷavaka Sutta, translated by Professor Fausböll in the 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. x. p. 29 foll. (compare p. 57).

T. W. Rhys Davids.

P.S.—The 'Bows-and-weapons-laid-down-Tope' must be the same as that referred to in the Divyāvadana (p. 201) as Dhurā Nikshepana. But Fa Hien says (chapter xxv.) it was the same as the place where Māra possessed Ānanda,

[1] See the passages quoted in the 'Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1888,' p. 1, and Jātaka 2, 282.

and that place, according to the Pāli, was the Capāla Cetiya, mentioned in the same passage in the Divyāvadāna. For *Dhurā* the Chinese must have heard *Dhanu*.

3. The Buddha's 'Residences.'

The following is the substance of a paragraph in Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Duka Nipāta of the Anguttara, giving the places at which the Buddha passed his 'residences,' that is, his retreat during the three months of Was:

1st year (after the Buddhahood). At Isipatana in Benares.

2nd, 3rd, 4th years. At the Veḷuvana, near Rājagaha (on the special invitation of King Bimbisāra).

5th year. At the Mahāvana, near Vesāli, on the invitation of the Licchavis.

6th year. At the Maṃkula Hill.

7th year. In the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven, on the invitation of Sakka, King of the gods (!).

8th year. At the Suṃsumāra Hill, in the Bhagga country.

9th year. At the Ghositārāma at Kosambī.

10th year. At the foot of a tree in the Pārileyya forest.

11th year. At the Brahmin village of Nāḷaka.

12th year. At Verañjā, on the invitation of the Brahmins there.

13th year. On the Māliya hill.

14th year. In the Jetavana at Sāvatthi.

15th year. In the Nigrodha Ārāma at Kapilavatthu, on the invitation of his father, Suddhodana.

16th year. At the Aggāḷava Cetiya.

17th year. At Rājagaha.

18th year. On the Cāliya Mount.

19th, 20th years. At Rājagaha.

The remaining twenty-five periods of Was were spent, nineteen of them, on Anāthapiṇḍika's invitation, in the Jetavana at Sāvatthi, and the other six, on the invitation of the lay sister Visākhā, in the Pubba Ārāma at Sāketa.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

4. Transliteration.

Sir,—Mr. Lyon in p. 636 of the Journal, 1890, writes:

"I hope I shall be favoured with suggestions from those who are interested" . . . in the problem of Transliteration from Arabic or Arabized types.

This invitation of Mr. Lyon has induced me to write. And first, to explain my own experience and general position.

In the year 1830 I fell in with the problem by grammar and dictionary, but on January 1st, 1831, entered Aleppo with friends, was shut up there by the Ottoman preparation for war against David Pasha of Bagdad for fifteen months. But first plague, next inundation, disarmed David; so in the summer of 1832 our party reached Bagdad. The provincial dialects of Syria and Bagdad were my primary study, from the people themselves; afterwards in many after years I had endless specimens of popular Arabic in Egypt and Algiers; moreover, from 1836 began my studies in Libyan texts in Arabized types. In fifty years my mind had more than one change in detail, largely agreeing with Mr. Lyon in principle.

But I may first mention Maps, as that in which we mainly look down upon the Ancients and the modern Orientals. Eastern scholars must now learn our Geography; but when they try to make a Map for Arabs, they will (perhaps against their will) wish for Roman transliteration. The dots of Arabic as essential parts of letters are an unendurable vexation in any full map. I infer that *accents* or dots as essential parts of letters, such as ḥ, ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, ought to be used *as little as possible* in transliteration, if we cannot always avoid them.

Next, from Oberleitmen's Grammar of Ancient Arabic I learned (though, without his warning, from the careless utterance of natives I should hardly have trusted my own ear) that the vowels indicated by vowel points (*always* in poetical or sacred Arabic, but in prose only to save a native from ambiguity) have *two* received utterances, *fine* with

fine consonants, generally *less clear* or certainly different with thick consonants. Any European, as soon as he knows the fact, wishes to write them by *different vowels or diphthongs*. In trying to learn Arabic words from unpointed prose, I became ere long aware of my liability to very grievous error, which is easier to indicate than to illustrate. In trying to say something in Arabic I elicited a general shudder and sort of hiss. And when in surprise I asked, What did I say wrong? no one dared to tell me. Evidently all were shocked. On one occasion I asked a Turkish literary man to help me to read a piece of unpointed Arabic, but he replied, "I dare not;" and on my surprize, he explained: "Not knowing all the vowels, I might unawares say something obscene." The dictionaries of Golius or Freytag easily show the danger.

As a very simple example how in our view a vowel written the same in Arabic may change, I give the words تين *dates* and طين *mud*. I write them with different vowels, *tien*, dates; *ṭuin*, mud, if for a moment ṭ stands for ط. On experiments with natives, I found they really changed both the initial consonant and the vowel: but my final opinion was, that if I uttered both with the *same* vowel (ie), I always seemed wrong, however carefully I thickened my ṭ for ط; but if I got my *ui* with the native sound, they easily forgave, perhaps did not observe, any inaccuracy in my preceding consonant. What will Mr. Lyon think of my sanguine idea, that if once a learned Arab cares to learn our transliteration, and finds all his vowels written as letters in full, he will care less about the coarse pronunciation of certain consonants, and look upon any excess as rustic vulgarity.

That Fatah in the sacred name الله is pronounced as English *u* in Fun, Dust (in majorum Dei gloriam), and not as in our *Man* or *Men*, displays the uncertainty. *Moslem* is written by the French, where my ear would dictate *Moslim*; but the French have not our short *i*, and with them our ship becomes sheep. I dare not enter details, until it is agreed that textual vowels and diphthongs ought to enter

our transliteration. In my little Arabic Dictionary I have done my best as to vowels, while aware how vague my appreciation of French eu, eû, oeu. A native scholar to assist in transliteration ought to know both English and French vowel sounds accurately, and write for us his best attempts for all the possible Arabic vowels in Roman type.

Proceeding to consonants, I regard d, t (English or French) as equivalent to Arabic د ت although *our* letters are not *dental*, but only "gingival," the tooth touching the gum. Mr. Lyon appears to make *h* the strong wheezing H, I have not understood why. Our h, s, z, k, g (hard), j, b, p, v, f, l, m, n, r seem identical with Arabic or Persian sounds. For g (hard) is wanted in Libyan and Persian; but we want figures for ح خ ژ ش چ ص ط ض ظ ث ذ ع غ.

(1) To economize dots or accents with least blame or dispute, we may use existing Alphabets. Modern Greek gives Γ (*gh*amma), Δ (d*h*elta), Θ (theta) for غ ذ ث. Only, to avoid, in the small of Γ, a form too like to y, strip the cross from F f of Latin; then, to avoid confusion with long *ſ*, merely lower ſ in the line. Then ɾ means Ghimel.

A Hindu gentleman some thirty years ago, calling on me, said: "You in Europe surpass us in the mechanism of writing, whether by skill, or accident, or by fate. You have capitals and common letters, Roman or Italic, varied punctuation and quotation marks." In desiring to retain all these I go beyond Mr. Lyon. Thus for غ I covet both Γ and ɾ. I once used English g for غ as Mr. Lyon proposes; but in Persian and Libyan I want it for our hard g.

(2) From Hebrew I take as ح its frequent equivalent ח as capital, with small letter ɦ which suits print admirably. For the cursive form in MS. we need not provide: each will take his own course. I have tried both ḥ and a crossed h, as ħ. Our x and c are disposable, and x both in Spanish now and perhaps in Oscan once, sounded as our sh; therefore x for ش cannot be blamed. The c being in Italian hard or soft, may stand for English ch, Persian چ; but French j,

in the cases which need it, may be a two-horned j, while English j is of course ج of Arabic. The thick Arabic ص is probably Hebrew צ which I nearly imitate in quasi-Roman types; also Δ for ض. For ط I print T with curved top Ƭ, ᴛ as small letter to avoid likeness to r. Else I use ṭ or ƭ, *i.e.* t with double cross. Also ʒ with tail for ظ.

Finally I imitate ع from Arabic in ʕ; and خ remains. At first having used c for ك (which at Bagdad is sounded soft as our *ch* in *ch*in), the k was at my disposal, and I used it as vibratory for خ. Now I prefer the usual k for ك, only adding a cedilla for Bagdad. Something must be invented, and the only real difficulty is fix one way out of several. Hitherto it has been written kh; so we must treat it as k *made vibratory*: rough ch of German Swiss. I finally printed ʕ: Messrs. Stephen Austin & Sons have the type: but again and again I have preferred as simpler to put lower the main stalk of k into ꝁ, so as neither to complicate the figure nor increase its width.

I know too well the difficulty of *uttering* certain consonants. For ص and ظ we are told to say س and ز *with your tongue between your teeth*; which seems the way to bite your tongue. A learned Maronite from the Lebanon was a candidate for the Arabic Professorship at University College, London, when I was a Professor there. He called on me, and politely tried me in all the Arabic sounds; and at last said: "You are right in every thing." But if I had tried to talk fast, instead of uttering single words, slowly and carefully, I knew that I should have gone wrong often. Concerning ظ (my tailed ʒ) I have found ظ in special cases to take two sounds; as ظالم ʒâlim, oppressive; yet ظلم (ḍalam) be dark; ظاهر ʒâhir, external; yet ظهر (ḍahr) back; but ḍöhr, noon. I also propose to print a Hamza in certain words, ʿehhib, ʿêdi, ʿehliey.

F. W. NEWMAN.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

5. THE GARUḌA AND OTHER FABULOUS GIANT-BIRDS.

The following correspondence appears in the *Academy* of March 27th and April 11th last:—

Dedham, Essex,
March 23, 1891.

SIR,—Dr. K. Kohler, in the *Academy* for March 21 (p. 284), in reference to the Chaldæan story of "The Eagle and the Serpent," sees some connexion between it and the old Persian legends relating to Sîmurgh. The Sîn-bird or Sîmurgh is the Avesta *Saena-meregha* (Skt. çyena-mṛiga), usually rendered by "eagle." Dr. West, in his Pahlavi texts ("Sacred Books of the East," vol. v. pt. i.), translates the Sîn-bird by "griffon." In Bundahis xxiv. 11 we read that "first of all birds the *griffon* of three natures was created, not for this world."

The Sîmurgh seems to have some connexion with the Hindu Garuḍa or Garuḷa, the great enemy of serpents and snakes. In the Chaldæan legend the eagle is clearly described as at deadly enmity with the serpent.

According to Hindu tradition, the Garuḍa, the bird of Vishnu, was the king of the Suparṇas, whose abode was said to be in the Simbalî forest. In Chinese Buddhist legends we find a reference to the Garuḍa as the devourer of the serpent-dragon, etc. The Great Rain asking Sûtra says:

"To the North of the great Ocean there is a large tree called Kûtasâlmali; it is seven yojanas round at its root, and is embedded twenty yojanas in the ground. It grows one hundred yojanas high, and its branches spread fifty yojanas round.

". . . The king of these Garuḍas, when he wishes to seize the dragons, flies up into the tree and looks down on the Ocean; then he flaps his wings and divides the waters to the distance of 1600 yojanas, on which he flies down and picks up the dragons just as he pleases and eats them" (Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 50).

The Sîn-bird's resting-place was also said to be on a sacred tree (see note to Bn. xxiv. 11, in "Sacred Books of the East," vol. v. p. 89).

Gubernatis looks upon the mythological eagle of the Hindus as the winged solar horse; and he thinks that the first trace of the legendary and proverbial enmity between birds of prey and the serpent is to be found in the contest between Indra, as a çyena or hawk, and Ahi (*Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183).

In the *Academy* for October 18, 1890 (pp. 344–5), I have suggested that the fabulous Garuḍa or Suparṇa was borrowed by the Hindus from a non-Aryan mythology, most probably from the Dravidians through the Babylonians. The Chaldæan story renders this supposition highly probable.

R. MORRIS.

St. Bede's College, Manchester,
April 5th, 1891.

SIR,—Having just treated the above subject with a certain amount of detail in a paper read before the philological section of the Congrès international des Savants Catholiques, now sitting in Paris, and entitled "Çyêna-Sîmurgh-Roc: un chapitre d'évolution philologique et mythologique," I may perhaps be allowed to supplement Dr. R. Morris's letter in your last issue by a few remarks on several points touched upon by him.

Çyêna, as a name probably of the eagle, and the greatest and swiftest of all birds, is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas. Çyêne-mṛga, however, does not, I believe, occur; indeed, mṛga, as meaning "bird," except with some epithet like "patarus," is not, I suppose, Sanskrit. Neither does Çaêna-meregha occur in Avestic; but once, indeed, we have meregho çaênô with the identical meaning (Bahram Yesht, 41). Çaêna as a mystic bird is a well-known character in the Avesta; and while in the Vedas Çyêna is chiefly the natural, zoological creature, with but slight mythical characteristics (except in connexion with the Sôma plant), the Avestic Çaêna is almost purely mythical. Strictly speaking, there seem to have been more than one of these giant birds and Yesht xiii. 109, is generally inter-

preted as giving the names of two Çaênas, Amru and Camru. The latter has become in post-Avestic literature the bird Camrôsh, who has many features of grotesque exaggeration recalling the Hindu Garuḍa, but who is always distinctly put as second to Çaêna (Amru). This latter is the well-known Çînô mûrû, or Çîn bird, also called the "Çin of three natures," of the Pehlevi sacred books. This curious epithet is, I think, doubtless a Volks-etymologie, as if "*çi-mûrû*="three-bird," *çi* being Pehlevi for "three." One of the characteristics of these Eranian gigantic birds is their wisdom. In my Paris paper I have ventured (I fear rather rashly) to compare the "wise eagle" of R.V. 322, 7, "Çyêna amûra," with the wise Çaêna Amru of the Avesta; and it is at least curious that, in the Mainyo-i-Khard, the Pehlevi form of the name is Çinamru.

There is, of course, no doubt that the Persian Sîmurgh, *e.g.* of Firdusi, Sadi, etc., is a modernized form of this Pehlevi Çîno mûrû or Çin amru. My own idea, too, is that the Perso-Arabian rukh (roc) is formed from the latter part of the name Sîmurgh, to which supposition the Uigur name for the eagle, simrukha, seems to add some likelihood.

The monstrous Hindu Garuḍa is brought into connexion with the Vedic Çyêna in this way. The Vedas are acquainted with a heavenly bird Garutmân, whose name certainly cannot be separated etymologically from the later Sanskrit Garuḍa, the bird of Vishnu. Now in the Râmâyana (vii. 6) this Garuḍa is made to be a grandchild of one Çyênî, which is nothing else than a feminine form of Çyêna. In Râmâyana iii. 162, Garuḍa carries off the amṛta (ambrosia) from heaven just as the Vedic Çyêna does the sacred Sôma plant.

The Chinese Buddhist legend quoted by Dr. Morris after Dr. Beal is singularly like the description of Camrôsh (not Çino mûrû) in the Bundehesh xix. 15, where that giant bird goes about picking up, "as a bird does corn," not dragons, but entire hostile non-Eranian districts! (*Zak-i . . an-Airân matâân cînît cigûn mûrûo dânak.*) Garuḍa's exploits are nowhere to this surely!

L. C. Casartelli.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1891.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

26th January, 1891.—Mr. E. L. Brandreth, Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The election of Mr. C. L. Tupper, B.C.S., and of Mr. Robert Chalmers, of the Treasury, as resident members of the Society, was announced in accordance with Rule 7.

Professor Peterson, of Bombay, read the paper on 'Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian,' which is printed in full in this issue of the Journal, and a discussion followed.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Journal Asiatique.

VIII. Série, Tome xvi. pt. 3 (Sept.–Oct. 1890, received 12 March, 1891).

1. René Basset. Les dictions satiriques attribuées à Sidi Ahmed ben Yusaf.
2. Halévy. Correspondance d'Amenophis III. et d'Amenophis IV.

VIII. Série, Tome xvi. livr. 3 (Nov.–Dec. 1890, received 14 Feb. 1891).

1. G. Guieysse. Notes d'epigraphie Indienne.
2. J. Halévy. (Continuation of above.)
3. E. Chavannes. Le Calendrier des Yn.
4. J. Oppert. Annuaire astronomique babylonien.
5. Fr. Scheil. Pronoms assyriens.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band xliv. Heft 4 (Oct. 1890, received 13 March, 1891).

1. Paul Horn. On Sāh Ṭamūsp I of Persia.
2. „ „ On Sassanian gems in the British Museum.
3. J. Barth. Formation of Nouns in Arabic.
4. Th. Nöldeke. Gihon, the river of Paradise, was it in Arabia?
5. G. Bühler. Asoka's Rock Inscription.

3. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Band v. Heft 1 (received 16 March, 1891).

1. D. H. Müller. On the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (II.).
2. J. Kirste. On the Oldest Zend Alphabets.
3. K. H. Dhruva. On the Age of Viśākhadatta.
4. K. Müller. Gazar Parpetsi and Khoriun.

III. Obituary Notice.

Mr. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx.—It is with regret that we record the death of one of our members, Mr. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, who died at his house in Cavendish Square on the 15th ultimo; he was a man of some literary mark, and well known for his social geniality and noble presence, though in late years he has been rarely seen in the rooms of our Society. He was born in 1805 in Guernsey, and took his degree at St. Katherine's Hall, Cambridge: he was elected a member of this Society in 1852: he contributed to our Journal a Memoir on the Travels of Apollonius of Tyana (Vol. XVII. N.S.), and another on the Indian Embassies to Rome (Vols. XVIII. and XX. N.S.). These appear to have been republished by Quaritch, 1873, and are a most interesting contribution to our knowledge of that period.

Feb. 1891. R. N. C.

IV. Notes and News.

Ransom by Weight.—There is a very interesting article in the last issue of the Cymmrodor (the organ of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion) on the *Tulā-purusha*, or custom of a person giving his own weight in money or goods as a religious ransom. Prof. Gaidoz, the author, compares a number of instances of this curious custom, recorded chiefly in Keltic records either of Wales or Brittany, with other instances collected from Indian records by Mr. Barth. M. Gaidoz draws the conclusion that the custom must have been inherited from the common ancestors of Kelts and Indians. That seems to us exceedingly doubtful. Those common ancestors separated three thousand years or more before the Christian era. Yet the oldest mention of the custom is in India in the 8th century A.D., and in Wales in the 14th century A.D. There is here a great gap to be filled up. Had the custom already obtained among the primitive Aryans, one would expect to find notices of it, or references to it, in the ancient literatures of Vedic India and Persia, of Greece and Rome. We know how much of odd Oriental lore found its way into Europe by that route, of which the history of the transmission of the Buddhist Jātaka tales is the most striking evidence. But it is quite possible on present data that the custom originated independently among Kelts and Indians, as the idea is one which could well have occurred to peoples in distant lands without any borrowing at all. Other instances, not mentioned by Prof. Gaidoz, will be found at pp. 166, 361, of our Journal for the year 1875.

Anurādharpura.—The Ceylon Government have commenced a series of regular excavations at this site of ancient ruins, and the 'First Report of the Archæological Survey' has been issued by the Government printer at Colombo, with three plans. The writer is Mr. H. C. P. Bell, of the Ceylon Civil Service, who has succeeded in laying bare the sites of an old palace, and of a previously unknown monastery. In the latter was found a large statue of Buddha, which is stated to be the most satisfactory, from an

artistic point of view, of any yet found. Seven inscriptions have also been discovered dated from about 950 to 1200 A.D., and of these four belong to the earlier half of that period. These are valuable results for the small expenditure of time and money at Mr. Bell's disposal; and we trust that this fresh zeal on the part of the Government of Ceylon will not be as spasmodic as such efforts too often are.

Madras Archæology.—Mr. Rea is now engaged on a survey of the great temple at Tanjūr, which dates from the eleventh century, and is the most ancient of the important large temples of Southern India. He also reports that certain of the Amarāvatī bas-reliefs have been removed for safe custody to the Madras Museum.

The Persians in South Africa.—Considerable attention has been excited by the discovery in Mashonaland of ruins of buildings much too massive to be the work of the existing inhabitants. Photographs of these ruins have been shown to experts, who are of opinion that they are probably the work of Persian colonists of about the sixth century of our era. It would be very interesting if inscriptions or bas-reliefs should show this opinion to be correct.

The Sāra Saṅgaha.—Dr. Karl Eugen Neumann has published as the thesis for his doctor's degree at Leipzig the text and translation of the first chapter of this summary of Buddhism, with an interesting introduction and notes, showing a wide reading in Pali texts. The work itself was composed in South India, in the Dakkhiṇa Ārāma in the Chola country, about 1250 A.D. by Siddhattha, a pupil of the famous Buddhapiya the author of the Rūpasiddhi. We hope to hear more of Dr. Neumann, whose edition, from two MSS., is very carefully prepared, and who shows interest not only in the philology of Pali, but also in the ethics and poetry of Buddhism.

The new discoveries in Egypt.—A discovery has been made of a vast tomb of the high priests of Ammon, monarch of the gods, and local divinity of Thebes, on the exact spot in the limestone cliffs of the Libyan Mountain, west of Thebes, near Dehr El Bahri, where Brugsch Bey made his famous

find of Royal mummies in 1881. According to the Cairo correspondent of the *Times*, the tomb is 25 mètres below the surface, and it has two stories, the upper one not yet opened. In the lower 240 sarcophagi have been already discovered, the oldest dating back to the Eleventh Dynasty, 2500 B.C. There was also in the tomb 100 papyri and some large statues of the Theban Triad, Osiris, Isis, Nepthis, with vast quantities of statuettes and votive offerings. Everything was uninjured. The upper storey is to be opened immediately, under the personal superintendence of M. Grébaut, Director of the Egyptian Antiquities Department. The *Academy* adds:—"Further details about the recent discovery of antiquities at Luxor state that three galleries have been opened, situated at the bottom of a shaft forty-eight feet deep. One gallery was found to be empty; the others contained 152 mummies intact, of which 149 are of the twentieth and two of the nineteenth Dynasty. There have also been found 110 cases containing statuettes and votive offerings, 77 papyri, and statues of Isis, Nepthis, and Osiris, and also large quantities of other valuable treasures. The entire find has been loaded without injury into barges for transport to Cairo, after being catalogued by M. Grébaut."

Religionists Quarrel in Ceylon.—The District Court of Kalutara, in Ceylon, had recently to investigate a case in which the three local Mahomedan sects had fallen out about the use of a mosque. These were the Kadiri sect, which observes strict silence in all their devotion; the Sadiri, akin to the Howling Dervishes, which consider shouting and violent antics as the necessary accompaniments of their worship; and the Idurns, which recommend decency and order in a reasonable service of prayer. The plaintiff was a priest of the temple, and alleged that he had been riotously dispossessed by the defendants, who belonged to a rival sect. The point, which it was hoped to settle by the case, was whether the defendants had the right to appoint and dismiss priests; but under the Roman Dutch law which prevails in Ceylon, if a man in possession for a year and a day is violently ejected, he has the right to

restoration until a decree of the court is obtained against him, as this is the only means after such quiet possession by which he can be dispossessed.

Tea-Planters and the Native Language.—To no class in India is a knowledge of native languges of more value than to tea-planters, remarks the *Englishman*. The fact has long been recognized, but no attempt has hitherto been made to give due weight to the qualification. The oversight is now being remedied by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and before long planters and others will have the opportunity of going through an examination in the regular manner prescribed for the Services. Of course, the examination will be entirely optional; but in course of time, it is to expected, both planters and agents will appreciate the advantage of a proper authentication of proficiency. As a class the planters are conspicuous for their knowledge of the vernaculars, and it is desirable that they should have full credit allowed to them for so important a qualification. At the same time, it would prevent mistakes if candidates for employment were able to attest their fitness by producing duly authenticated certificates.

Photographs of Orientalists.—The Royal Asiatic Society has an album of photographs of its members and of Orientalists generally. Members are requested to be so good as to assist in making this collection as complete as possible by forwarding to the Secretary photographs of themselves or of other Orientalists. Photographs of deceased Orientalists will be especially welcome.

Archæology in Burma.—The following notice of the report of the archæological work on which the late Dr. Forchhammer was engaged at the time of his death, appears in the Administration Report of Burma for 1889–90, just to hand:

(1) A report on the antiquities of Arakan, accompanied by plans, sketches, maps, photographs, and translations of inscriptions.

(2) A report on the ruins of Pagan, with maps, plans and translations of inscriptions.

(3) Reports on the antiquities of Prome, Thayetmyo, Thōngwa, and Bassein.

(4) A catalogue of the Nyaungyan Prince's library, with an account of the books which it contains and of their authors.

(5) Ground plan and photographs of the Kuso pagoda at Mandalay, with an index of the 450 inscriptions on the platform.

(6) A list of inscriptions found in Upper and Lower Burma.

By the end of the year most of these works were on the eve of completion. The report on the antiquities of Arakan was finished. The little that had still to be done would have been finished before the end of the year had it not been for the fact that Dr. Forchhammer had been failing in health for several months previous to that date. In April, 1890, shortly after the termination of the year of report, Dr. Forchhammer, though still far from well, determined to visit Pagan for the purpose of continuing his archæological researches there. A sudden access of heart disease, however, prevented him from carrying out his intention, and on the afternoon of the 26th of April he died on his way down the river to Myingyan. With his death all archæological work in the province ceased, and up to the date of the preparation of this has not been resumed. By Dr. Forchhammer's death the Government have lost the services of a scholar of wide and varied learning and untiring industry, whose devotion to his work contributed to his premature decease.

Child Marriage in India.—Mrs. Pechey Phipson, M.D., has published at the "Bombay Gazette" office the address she delivered on this subject in October of last year. This is neither the place nor the time appropriate for discussing either the generous sympathies by which it is inspired, or the eloquence of the weighty words in which they are expressed. What is important from the historical point of view of this Society is the clearness of Mrs. Dr. Phipson's statement, drawn from the special knowledge acquired in

the course of her profession, as to the age at which puberty and nubility—two very different things—is actually reached by women in India. It appears that, contrary to what has been often stated, the age is usually later in India than it is in Europe.

V. Magazines.

Century, Jan. 1891.—Rockhill (W. Woodville), "Among the Mongols of the Azure Lake." Illust. In a Mongol Tent.

Harper's Monthly for February contains an article by the Rev. John F. Hurst on "English Writers in India," with portraits of J. Z. Holwell and Sir P. Francis, and illustration of residence of Macaulay in Calcutta. This article contains large extracts from Mr. H. E. Busteed's "Old Calcutta," a work abounding in topographical and antiquarian lore, with biographical matter relating to Sir P. Franci sand Talleyrand.

In the *Contemporary Review* for Feb. 1890 Sir W. Wilson Hunter has a paper on "Popular Movements in India," viz. Acceptation of Offers of Troops made by the Feudatory Princes; the Expansion of Legislative Councils; and the Protection of Child Brides.——Prince Malcolm Khan, in "Persian Civilization," the address delivered in English at Queen's House, Chelsea, essays to prove that Europeans would do more good in hastening civilization in the East if they left (religion) Christian Dogma behind them and simply civilized without overturning the native religion.

Nineteenth Century, Feb.—Daigoro Goh contributes an article, "A Japanese View of New Japan," advocates a revision of treaties between Japan and other powers, so that all questions of rights of property or person be submitted to Japanese jurisdiction.——Mrs. Georgina Kingscote discourses on "The Decline of Indian Taste," due to the introduction of cheap English goods, or, as the writer says, to the prevailing of the hand over the head.

In the *Westminster Review* for February C. N. Barham makes an urgent appeal for the abolition of child marriage in India, "for the general elevation of Indian women to the

rank of European mothers and sisters." Praise is given to the Zenana Missions, but the writer expresses the opinion that they have "barely touched the fringe of the evil," wanting the power of the Government behind them.

Macmillan, Feb.—A very vivid description of Sir H. Edwardes' *régime* at Peshawur and his two treaties with Afghanistan, by F. Dixon.

In the *New Review* for January Prof. Max Müller writes on Christianity and Buddhism.

VI. Additions to the Library, Jan. 15—Apr. 15, 1891.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.

Assam. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Shillong*, 1890.

Bangalore. Civil and Military Station of, Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Bangalore*, 1890.

Bengal. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Calcutta*, 1890.

Bombay. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Bombay*, 1890.

Burma. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Rangoon*, 1890.

Coorg. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Bangalore*, 1890.

Hyderabad Assigned Districts. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Nagpur*, 1890.

Madras. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Madras*, 1890.

Punjab and its Dependencies. Administration Report for 1889–90. fol. *Lahore*.

Bombay. Selections from the Records of the Government of. New Series. Nos. 239, 242, 243, 245, 246

Punjaub. Monograph on the Gold and Silver Works of, 1888–89. fol. *Lahore*, 1890.

Bombay Army List.

India. Records of the Geological Survey of, vol. xxiii. part 4.

Lists of Books published in North-Western Provinces and Oudh during Second Quarter of 1890; Lower Burma during Third Quarter of 1890; Bengal, Assam, and Punjab during Second, Third, and Fourth Quarters of 1890.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh for the year 1888. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1890.

Calcutta Review. No. 183. Jan. 1891.

Epigraphica Indica. Part 6.

Indian Antiquary. Vol. 20, Nos. 243 and 244.

Hooker (Sir J. D.). Flora of British India. Part 17.

Zarral (H. Z.). The Eri Silk of Assam. 8vo. *Shillong*, 1890.

From the Madras Government.

Madras. Catalogue of Books printed in, during July—Sept. 1890.

Catalogue of Fixed Stars. 4to. *Madras*, 1890.

From the Perak Government.

Perak Government Gazette. To date.

From le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique de France.

Armstrong (St. G. d'). Principes généraux du Droit International, etc. Vol. 1. 8vo. *Paris*, 1890.

From le Directeur de l'Imprimérie Nationale, through the Foreign Office.

Tezkereh i Evliā. Le Memorial des Saints. Texte et Trad. par A. Pavet de Courteille. 2 vols. fol. *Paris*, 1889.

From le Musée Guimet.

Revue de l'histoire des Religions. Vol. 22. Nos. 1—3.

From the Director-General of Chinese Customs.

China. Imperial Maritime Customs. Publications to date.

From the Asiatic Societies.

Bengal Asiatic Society. Proceedings, Nos. 9, 10. Nov., Dec. 1890.

Ceylon Branch R.A.S. Journal. Vol. 10, No. 37.
Germany. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band 44, 4th Heft.
Japan Asiatic Society. Transactions. Vol. 16, pt. 1. Vol. 17, 2 pts. Vol. 18, 2 pts.
Paris. Journal Asiatique. 8th Série, Tome xvi. 3 pts. 1890.
Vienna. Zeitschrift für de Kunde des Morgenlandes. Bd. v. Heft 1.

From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Inscriptions. Himyaritic Characters.
——— Hieratic and Demotic.
Select Papyri. Second Series. Plates i.–xix.
Facsimile of Hieratic Papyrus of Rameses III.
Nebseni Photographs.
Catalogue of Indian Coins. Muhammadan States.
——— of Aethiopic MSS.
——— of Japanese and Chinese Paintings.
Guide to Nimroud Saloon.
——— Chinese and Japanese Illustrated Books.
——— Paintings.

From the Authors.

Anderson (John). English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century. 8vo. T.O.S. *London*, 1890.
Babylonian and Oriental Record. Vol. 5
Bloomfield (M.). On the Interpretation of the Veda. (*Rep. from American Journal of Philology.*)
Borsari (F.). Etnologica Italica. *Pamphlet.* 8vo. *Naples*, 1891.
Carter (Charles). English-Singhalese Dictionary. Part 4. 8vo. *Colombo*, 1890.
Cust (R. N.). Linguistic and Oriental Essays. *3rd Series.* 8vo. T.O.S. *London*, 1891.
[Cust (R. N.).] The Oriental Congress at Stockholm. *Pamphlet.* 1890.

Culin (Stewart). Chinese Secret Societies.

Matthes (Dr. B. F.). Bijbelsche Geschiedverhalen, in het Boegineesch vertaald. 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1890.

Morris (Henry). Simplified Grammar of Telugu. 8vo. T.S.G. *London*, 1890.

Sree Raja Mrutyunjaya Nissantea Bahadur Guru. Nītī Ṣāsha Saṃgraha. *Pamphlet.*

Niemann (G. K.). Bijdrage tot de kennis der Verhouding van het Tjam tot de Talen van Indonesie. (*Overged. uit de Bijdr. tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde. 5th series. vol.* 6.)

Rigveda Samhita, with the commentary of Sāyanākārya. Ed. by F. Max Müller. Vols. i.–ii. 4to. *London*, 1890.

Sārasaṇgaho, Des, eines Kompendium Buddhistischer Auschauungen. Text, Uebers., u. Anmerk., herausg. v. Dr. K. E. Neumann. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1891.

Wollaston (A. N.). A complete English-Persian Dictionary. 4to. *London*, 1889.

Wright (William). The Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1890.

Smithsonian Institute. Report for 1888. 1 vol.

———————— Report on the U.S. National Museum for 1888. 1 Vol.

From the Societies.

Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. *Notulen.* Deel 27, Afl. 1 and 4, and 28, Afl. 1 and 2. *Tidschrift,* xxxiii. Afl. 1, 5, 6. xxxiv. Afl. i. ii.

Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek, door J. van der Chijs. Deel vii. 8vo. *Batavia*, 1890.

Berlin. Gesellschaft für Erdkunde Verhandlungen, Band. xviii. No. 2. 8vo. *Berlin*, 1891.

New York. American Geographical Society, Bulletin, vol. 22, pts. 3, 4, and 23, No. 1. 8vo. *New York*, 1891.

Paris. Société de Geographie de, Compte Rendu. 1891. Nos. 3 to 8. 8vo. *Paris*, 1891.

——————————— Bulletin. Vol. ii. Pts. 3, 4.

Paris. Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de France. 2me Série, Tome iii. 8vo. *Paris*, 1890.

Society of Antiquaries. Archaeologia. Vol. lii. pt. 1. 4to. *London*, 1891.

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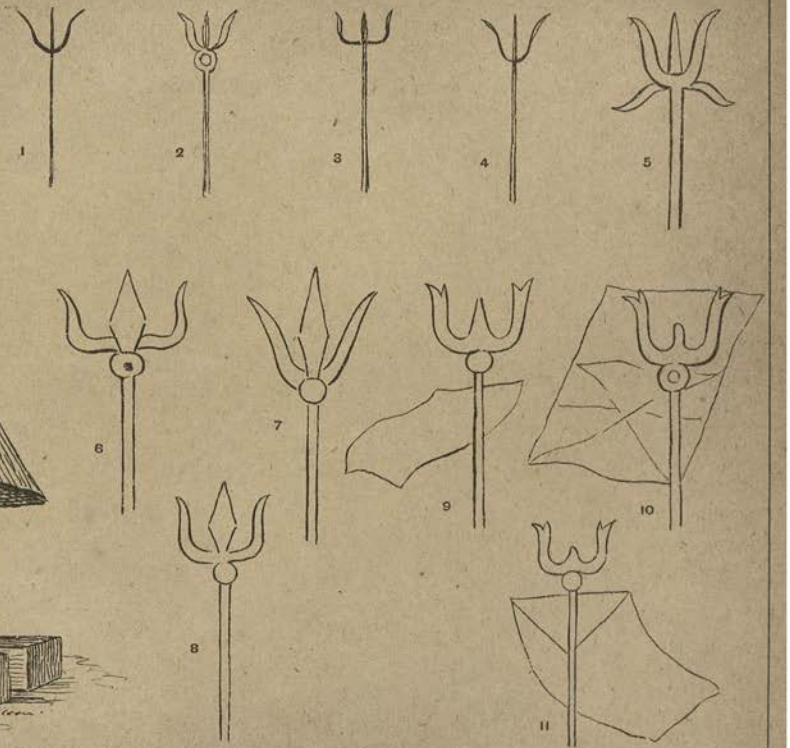
TEMPLE OF BASDÊO (VÂSUKI) AT LOHANGA, CHATUR-DHAR PASS.



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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VII.—*Serpent-Worship in India.* By Surgeon-Major C. F. OLDHAM.

FROM the Rājataraṅginī we learn that, when Kāsyapa raised Kāshmir above the waters, Nīla, whose royal canopy was the hood of the serpent, reigned there over the Nāgas.[1]

There has been much speculation as to who or what these Nāgas were. They hold a very prominent position in Indian folk-lore, where they generally appear in human shape; and ancient writings abound with allusions to them, as a people. But, in the allegorical descriptions of later writers, they become supernatural beings, or actual serpents; and are consigned to subterranean regions.

In the mountainous country bordering upon Kashmir, however, and especially in the tract lying between the Chenab and Ravi rivers, a remnant of the Nāgas still survives, in human form.

These people have remained under more or less independent chiefs, of their own race, until comparatively recent times. They have escaped conversion to Islām. And they have saved their temples, and their idols, from the destructive zeal of Mahomedan iconoclasts; as well as from the almost equally destructive bigotry of the orthodox Brahman.

[1] Rājatarangini, Calc. ed. i. 4.

Here, the serpent-gods Sesha; Vāsuki, Bāsdev, or Bāsak Nāg; Takshaka, or Takht Nāg; and other Nāgas less known to fame; are still worshipped with their ancient rites. And, here, the Takshaka-jattra, or festival of Takshaka, is still held; as it was in the time of Nāra Rāja, who reigned some two or three centuries before the Christian era.[1]

The forms of worship, and the architecture of the temples, have probably undergone but little change since those days. And the serpent-gods were doubtless worshipped then, as they are now, not as dangerous reptiles, nor as symbols; but as the deified rulers of a powerful people, whose tribal emblem was the Nāga.

The Nāga, or hooded serpent, the Cobra-di-Capello of the present day, was held sacred; and tradition says that the killing one of these, even by accident, involved the heaviest penalties. I have heard old men regret that snakes are now killed in the country of Bāsdev.

The temples, however, are not dedicated to the serpent; but to the Nāga rajas, the ancient rulers of the race.

Sēsh Nāg, Takht Nāg, Bāsak Nāg, and many others, are all worshipped in human form. But each has the hoods, of five, seven, or nine, serpents, forming a canopy over his head; as shown in the illustrations to Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship."[2]

In some cases, other Nāgas of less note are represented as men, attended by snakes, but without the serpent-canopy. There are also shrines dedicated to Nāginis, or female Nāgas; who are said to have been the wives of Nāga chiefs; and who, in many cases, are becoming identified with Devi or Dūrga.

In these primitive temples, there are none of the monstrosities, which are so common in other parts of India; such as Nāgas with seven heads, or men and women with serpents' tails.

Almost everywhere else, in India, the Nāga is now worshipped in the form of a serpent; and holds a sub-

[1] Rājatarangini, Calc. ed. p. 15 and note.
[2] Tree and Serpent Worship, Plates xxiv. xliv. lxx. lxxx.

ordinate position compared with other Hindu divinities. Here, however, the serpent gods are the chief deities of the people. No others hold an equal position, not even Siva himself.

Outside some of the temples, are to be seen the linga and bull of Mahādeo; but they are treated with little reverence. In one case, I saw them used, as seats, by the headman of the village and his friends; and even by the low-caste village chokidar. I was told, too, that one of their chiefs had tried his sword upon one of the lingas, which had a piece chipped off it. This was not done, however, to show any disrespect for Siva; but from dislike to the images themselves, which had been set up by one of the Kashmir rajas, and were looked upon as a sort of badge of conquest.

In only one place did I find the linga allowed inside the temple of a Nāga raja; and it was said to have been put there, only a few years before, by the previous headman of the village.

In these temples I could discover no trace of any connexion between the Nāga and the phallus.

The form of worship differs little from that at the shrines of other deotas in the Himālaya. Goats and sheep are sacrificed; votive offerings are made; lights and incense are burned; and the deity is consulted, through his inspired prophet.

The different serpent-gods, represented by their insignia, priests, and office-bearers, visit each other's festivals. These are held at all the principal temples; in front of each of which is an open grassy space surrounded by seats arranged somewhat in the form of an amphitheatre. Each caste and family has its allotted position, to which it is strictly kept, according to ancient custom.

Musicians are attached to the temples. These are, as usual in the hills, of aboriginal descent, and therefore of low caste. They are not allowed to approach within a certain distance of the shrine.

Most of the temples appear to be very ancient. They are built of massive logs of timber, and are ornamented by carved

representations of the sun, serpent, and other objects. They are sheltered in groves of fine old deodar trees, many of which are now, sad to say, being cut up into railway sleepers.

Within each temple is the image of the Nāga raja; and usually a number of iron trisūlas, placed there by worshippers, as votive offerings.

The representation of the sun occupies a prominent position at all these shrines. It is generally carved upon the roof, and is repeated in other parts of the building.

In the hill country bordering upon the Ravi are many temples or sthānas dedicated to Indra Nāg.

The legend connected with these is that a Nāga chief, whose name appears to have been lost, became Indra; and that, after reigning over the gods for a long period, he returned to earth and again became a Nāga.

There can be little doubt that this must have been Nahush, whose story is told in the Mahābhārata;[1] and who is mentioned in the lists of the sons of Kāsyapa and Kadru in that epic,[2] as well as in the Vayu Purana[3] and Harivansa.[4]

Indra Nāg is represented in human form, with a crown upon his head. He is armed with a bow, and attended by snakes.

Several Asura chiefs appear to have assumed divine honours. Amongst others who did so was Raji brother of Nahush, who, although he must have been a Nāga, was recognized as Indra by the Devas.[5]

Vāsuki, or Bāsdev, as he is commonly called, is said to have been engaged in wars with Garuda.

According to the local legend, the serpent chief was on one occasion surprised by his enemy; and only escaped by taking refuge in the Kailās Kūnd. This is a mountain

[1] Mahābhārata, Udyoga, Sainyodyoga Parva, x. 26; Adi, Sambhava Parva, lxxv. 230.

[2] *Ib.* Adi Parva, Astika Parva, xxxv. 113. (All references to the Mahābhārata are to P. C. Roy's Calcutta ed.)

[3] Vishnu Purana, Ed. Hall, I. xxi. 74, note.

[4] Harivansa, Langlois, I. xxii.

[5] Vishnu Purana, Wilson, 411.

lake, between the Chenab and Ravi rivers, at a height of some 13,000 feet above the sea.

On the occasion referred to, Vāsuki was saved by the devotion of his wazir, who is said to have given his own flesh to Garuda. By this is probably meant that the wazir lost his life in an attempt to rescue the raja. In the meantime, however, an army was raised, by which Garuda was defeated and killed. At least, so says the legend.

Upon this, Bāsdev ordered that the wazir, Jibbutbāhan (Jimūtavāhana), should thenceforth be worshipped in the same temple with himself. And, to this day, the figures of the raja and his wazir are placed side by side.

All this would seem to point to warfare between rival tribes, rather than to any supernatural or symbolic conflict. Be this as it may, however, the flight of Bāsdev to the Kailās Kūnd is still commemorated by a great festival, which is held at the Kūnd in the month of September; and which is attended by all the Hindu population of the surrounding country. The event, therefore, has probably a foundation in fact.

The lake itself is considered so sacred, that only the two highest castes are allowed to approach it. The others look on, from a respectful distance.

It seems possible that this legend may have suggested the story of Jimūtavāhana, in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara;[1] as well as the plot of the Nāga-nanda, which is in fact the same story dramatized.

In the Nāga-nanda the scene is laid near Gokārna, on the Malabar coast; but the hero comes from the Himālaya. In each case the events occur in the reign of Vāsuki; in each case the hero's name is Jimūtavāhana; and in each case he gives himself up to Garūda, to save the life of another. Here, however, the resemblance ceases. In the drama, and the story, Vāsuki is represented as having been obliged to provide one of his subjects daily to be eaten by Garūda. The place of one of these victims is taken by Jimūtavāhana,

[1] Kathā Sarit Sāgara, I. 175; Nāgananda, Boyd's trans.

who is partially devoured; Garūda then, finding out his mistake, releases him; promises to give up the destruction of living beings; and restores to life the Nāgas he had previously consumed.

These serpent-worshipping people no longer call themselves Nāgas. Probably they never did so. The name may have been applied to them by others. As, however, the religion of the country still retains its ancient form, we may suppose that the population can have changed but little. It consists of Tākhas or Takhas, who form the principal land-holding class; some Brahmans, most of whom are cultivators; Mēghs, Chināls, and other tribes, included under the general term of Kolis; and a few Musselman immigrants from the valley of Kashmir.

The Tākhas say that they are of the race of Takht Nāg and Bāsdeo. They hold the place of honour at the festivals held at the Nāga temples, to which they in many cases act as priests; and, with the exception of Brahmans, they are the only people allowed to approach the sacred Kailās Kūnd. In fact there can be no doubt that they are a remnant of the Nāgas, and of the once-powerful Tākha tribe, which held nearly the whole Panjāb, including this mountain tract, still sacred to the serpent gods.

These descendants of Takshaka are fine-looking men. Many of them serve in our native regiments; and the Kashmir army has always been largely recruited from them.

Both in speech and physiognomy they resemble the neighbouring tribes of Rajputs. They claim Solar descent, and are included by the bard Chand amongst the thirty-six royal races.[1]

In Chumba and Kangra, however, most of the Takhas, having taken to agriculture, are now classed as rāthis, or rājputs who cultivate the land, and who consequently rank below those who do only military service.

In these peaceful times there is but little employment for fighting men, so that rājputs have to follow the plough in constantly increasing numbers.

[1] Annals of Rajasthan, i. 75.

The ancient Tākari character, which is still used throughout the hill country of the Panjāb, derives its name from this people.

Having thus far described the present representatives of the Nāgas, I will now bring forward such details, bearing upon their ancient history, as I have been able to gather from different sources. Of some of these I shall venture to suggest explanations, which have not I think been hitherto put forward.

From the vast extent of country over which the Nāga people have left their mark, some idea may be formed of their numbers and power in ancient India.

From Kashmir to the Narbada, and even further south, the names of Bāsak Nag (Vāsuki) and Takshaka are household words.

Nāga rajas ruled throughout the Himālaya as well as over a great part of Northern and Central India, the valley of the Indus, and the country near the mouth of that river. Besides this, from Pātala and other ports, colonies were established on the coasts of India, in Ceylon, and probably even in more distant lands.

The allegorical stories of the Puranas and epic poems confirm this wide-spread influence of the Nāga people; as also do the early Buddhist writings.

The legend of the churning of the ocean by means of the serpent Vāsuki no doubt refers to the commerce carried on by this chief, or his subjects, with distant lands.[1]

The reposing of Vishṇu upon the serpent points to an early connexion between that deity and the Nāga race.

The fabled subterranean Pātala of the Purāṇas was evidently the valley of the Indus; and, as we shall presently see, its different regions were but the territories of different chiefs.

Here, amongst other cities of the Asuras, was Pātala, one of the early settlements of the Solar race; the capital of the Nāga rajas; and the port in which Nearchus fitted

[1] Mahābhārata, Astika Parva, xviii. 79.

out his fleet. Here also was Hiranyapura,[1]—the city of the great Asura Hiranyakāsipu, and the scene of the Man-lion avatar,—which was, according to local tradition, the present Multan.

This tradition is not merely local; for, at Mhow or Māo in Bhawalpur, I heard the people recite a couplet, to the effect that Māo, Matēla, and Multān, were built by this Asura chief.

The naval power of the serpent race is confirmed by frequent allusions to its chiefs, as ruling countries in, or beneath, the sea. Thus, Yadu, the ancestor of Krishna, was taken prisoner by, and married the five daughters of, the Nāga raja Dhūmavarna.

The realm of this chieftain was beneath the sea, and was called Rutnadwīpa (Ceylon?). In the centre of his capital was a banner, upon which "shone a swastika equalling the moon in beauty."[2]

Harita, one of the sons of Yadu, succeeded his grandfather in this kingdom; the inhabitants of which were Nishādas, who fished for pearls, and had ships and trade.[3]

The Nāga raja's subjects being Nishādas, shows this to have been a colony, or a conquest.

The rishi Nārada, in describing the audience hall of Varuṇa, mentions, as amongst the company present, "the Ādityas, and Vāsuki, Takshaka, and the Nāga Airāvana; and Krishṇa and Lohita, Padma and Chitra; and the Nāgas called Kambala and Aṣwatara; and Dhritarāshṭra and Valahāka; and Matimat and the mighty Kandaka; and Prahlāda, Mushikada, and Janamejaya; all having auspicious marks, and maṇḍalas, and extended hoods."[4]

Pātala appears to have included the whole Indus valley, and possibly also much of the adjacent country. Moreover, it was occupied by Daityas and Dānavas, as well as by Nāgas.

[1] Mahābhārata, Udyoga, Bhagavatyana Parva, xcix. 306.
[2] Harivansa, Langlois, I. 399.
[3] *Ib.* I. 401.
[4] Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, Lokapala-Sabhākhyana Parva, ix. 29.

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa the seven regions of Pātala are said to be embellished with magnificent palaces, in which dwell numerous Dānavas, Daityas, Yakshas, and great serpent-gods.[1]

The Vāya Purāṇa mentions the names of some of the Daityas and Nāgas in Pātala, as Naimichi, Kāliya, Hayagriva, Takshaka, Prahlāda, Hemaka, Kālanemi, Vainatya (Garuḍa), Hiranyaksha, Kirmira, Pulomat, Vāsuki, and Bali.[2]

In this list, besides the great Nāga chiefs, the principal Asura leaders are included; and even Garuḍa, the enemy of the Nāgas.

Here it may be asked, who was Garuḍa? And why should he have been the deadly enemy of the serpent race.

No mere symbolism would seem to explain this enmity; nor even the story, told in the Mahābhārata, of the wager on the colour of the horse's tail.

The solution of both questions is, that the eagle and the serpent were totems of different tribes. These tribes, too, were neighbours, and unrelenting enemies. Both were dwellers in Pātala.[3]

According to the Mahābhārata[4] both Garuḍa and the Nāgas were sons of Kāṣyapa, by daughters of Daksha. They were therefore of Solar descent, and very closely related. Indeed Sesha says: "Vinatā's son, capable of ranging through the skies, is another brother of ours."[5]

Both Garuḍa and the Nāgas, or rather the tribes represented by them, were, on their arrival in India, engaged in hostilities with the aboriginal races. Garuḍa is described as tearing the bodies of the Yakshas, and devouring the Nishādas.[6]

At first, Garuḍa appears to have been in some degree dependent upon the Nāgas; but afterwards he threw off

[1] Vishṇu Purāṇa, Hall's ed. II. vol. v. p. 208.
[2] Vishṇu Purāṇa, ed. Hall, II. vol. v. p. 210.
[3] Mahābhārata, Udyoga, Bhagavatyana Parva, c. 308.
[4] Mahābhārata, Adi, Astika Parva, xxxi. 106.
[5] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Astika Parva, xxxvi. 114.
[6] *Ib.* Adi, Astika Parva xxxii. 108; xxix. 98.

their yoke, and obtained from Indra the promise that they should be his food.[1] He was engaged, too, in warfare with other tribes of Solar race; for we are told that he devoured the elephant and the tortoise.[2] He also made an attack upon Indra, and carried off the amrita.[3]

Krishna, when he assumed the rôle of Vishnu, appears to have adopted Garuḍa as his ensign, and Sēsha as his couch. Or, rather, probably, the Garuḍa tribe, and some of the Nāgas, became supporters of Krishna, in his struggles with rival chiefs, and with the more orthodox deities.

In the Mahābhārata, the Garuḍas are mentioned as a people or tribe. Thus Nārada says to Mātali: "This race, O Charioteer, hath multiplied from the six sons of Gadura." "I will now enumerate the chiefs by their names, listen to me, O Mātali! This race is much regarded in consequence of the favour shown to it by Vishnu."[4] The rishi then gives a list of forty-eight names; and adds: "These sons of Gadura, that I name, dwell in only a single province of this region (Pātala). I have mentioned those only that have won distinction by might, fame, and achievements."[5]

Garuḍa therefore, like the Nāga, was the emblem or totem of one of the tribes of the Solar race.

Pātala, as we have seen, is said to have been occupied by Daityas and Dānavas, as well as by Nāgas and Garuḍas.

It is evident that the tribes inhabiting the Indus valley, and the neighbouring country, were sometimes called Asuras, Daityas, or Dānavas; and sometimes distinguished by their tribal names. Thus the Asura Maya reminds the Madra King of Sākala that he and the other Madras are Dānavas.[6]

The Asuras, therefore, were all of the same race; they all, as we shall presently see, spoke the same language; and they all worshipped the sun. They were divided, however, into

[1] Mahābhārata, Adi, Astika Parva xxxiv. 111.
[2] *Ib.* xxx. 102.
[3] *Ib.* xxxiii. 109.
[4] Mahābhārata, Udyoga, Bhagavatyana Parva, c. 308.
[5] *Ib.* c. 309.
[6] Kathā Sarit Sāgara, i. 416.

various tribes. These were known by different names; and were distinguished by different emblems, as Nāga, Garuḍa, Aṣwa, etc. They were also sometimes called by the names of these totems.

Thus the Nāgas were one of the tribes of Asuras.

Not only, however, were the Daityas and Dānavas sons of Kāṣyapa; but the Suras or Devas, who are generally supposed to represent the Brahmanical tribes, were also descended from the same ancestor. They too were sons of Kāṣyapa by a daughter of Daksha.

Indeed it seems certain that the Suras or Devas, and the Asuras or Daityas and Dānavas, were of the same race.

Vaisampāyana says: "The son of Mārichi is Kāṣyapa; and Kāṣyapa's offspring are the Devas and Asuras."[1]

In another place, Mātali says to the rishi Nārada: "The Devas and Dānavas, though brothers, are ever hostile to each other."[2]

Again, we learn from the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa that the Devas and Asuras, both sons of Prajāpati, obtained their father's inheritance.[3]

Thus we see that all these tribes, whether called Suras, Devas, Asuras, Daityās, Dānavas, or Nāgas, traced their descent from a common ancestor. They were, however, frequently engaged in wars with each other, and these wars were sometimes owing to religious disputes. The same tribes do not, however, appear to have been always engaged on the same side; as the Asuras sometimes fought for, and sometimes against, Indra and the Devas.

Thus in the battle between Bali and Indra, Hayagriva, one of the chief Asura warriors, on the side of Bali, had upon his banner the device of a Nāga with seven heads.[4] Yet in this same battle other Nāgas fought on the side of Indra. This shows that the strife was inter-tribal, and not a war of races.

[1] Mahābhārata, Adi Parvi, Sambhava Parvi, lxvi. 190.
[2] *Ib.* Udyoga Parvi, Bhagavatyana Parvi, xcix. 308.
[3] Muir. S. Texts, iv. 59.
[4] Harivansa, ii. 410.

It appears, further, that all the descendants of Kāṣyapa spoke the same language. At all events, the first language of which we have any trace in the Indus Valley and Panjāb is Sanskrit.

The names of the Asura chiefs, of their cities and provinces, and even the name Sindhu itself, are of Sanskrit origin. The Pali was derived from Sanskrit, and so are the dialects now spoken in the Indus valley, Rajputāna, and the Panjāb, including that used by the remnant of the Takhas. Moreover, we have the authority of Pāṇini that Sanskrit was used amongst the Vāhikas, or Bāhikas,[1] who, as we shall presently see, were Nāgas.

All these people, too, worshipped the Sun, as became the descendants of Kāṣyapa. Their chief cities long remained the great centres of Sun-worship, and were the capitals of the great chieftains of the Solar race.

In addition to all this we find that the Asuras had Brahman priests.

From the Mahābhārata we learn that Sakra, the son of a rishi, was the chief priest of the Asuras. And that he had four sons, Tāshtadhāra, Atri, Raudra, and Kūrmi, who were also priests of the Asūras. They were like the sun himself in energy, and devoted to Brahma and the welfare of the world.[2]

We are also told that "the learned Sakra, of great intelligence and wisdom, of rigid vows, and leading the life of a Bramachāri, divided himself in twain by the power of asceticism; and became the spiritual guide both of the Daityas and of the Devas."[3]

Even when the Devas and Asūras quarrelled, we find Brahmans on both sides. Sakra, son of Brighu, and other Brahmans, lighted fires, said mantras, and recited the Atharva Veda and Vedic hymns, for the success of Prahláda against Indra.[4]

[1] Muir. S. Texts, ii. 354.
[2] Mahābhārata Adi Parva, Sambhava Parva, lxv. 137.
[3] *Ibid.* lxvi. 19.
[4] Harivansa, Langlois, ii. 452.

Then, the wandering ascetics passed backwards and forwards between the Suras and the Asuras; and were equally well received by both.

The rishi Nārada is said to have known all the residents of Pātala.[1] And on his return from a visit to the country of the Asūras, he exclaimed: "What can be compared to Pātala, where the Nāgas are decorated with brilliant and pleasure-bestowing jewels? Who will not delight in Pātala, where the lovely daughters of the Daityas and Dānavas wander about, fascinating even the most austere?"[2]

Here, the Nāgas, Daityas, and Dānavas, are evidently the same people.

Besides all this, however, we find Nāgas in Swarga, with the Adityas, Vāsus, and Rajarshis.[3] And Takshaka himself was with Indra, in Swarga, at the time of Janamejaya's sacrifice.[4]

Thus we see that these tribes, whether called Asuras, Daityas, Dānavas, Suras, Devas, or Aryans, were all descended from a common ancestor; all spoke the same language; all worshipped the Sun; all had Brahman priests; and all went, when they died, to the heaven of Indra. They must therefore have been of the same race.

It seems, in fact, that the difference between Devas and Asuras was one of orthodoxy only. This appears to be admitted in the Chandogya Upanishad, where it is said: "Therefore they call, even now, a man who does not give alms here, who has no faith, and offers no sacrifices, an Asura, for this is the doctrine of the Asuras."[5]

And it is even more strongly stated in the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa, where we find that the Devas and Asuras were both sons of Prajāpati, and "speaking alike they were alike;" but that the Devas, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras, abandoning truth, adopted falsehood.[6]

[1] Mahābhārata Udyoga Parva, Bhagavatyana Parva, xcvii. 303.
[2] Vishnu Purana, Hall, ed. II. v. 210.
[3] Harivansa, ii. 16.
[4] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Astika Parva, liii. 150.
[5] Sacred Books of East, vol. i. p. 137.
[6] Origl. Sanṣk. Texts, vol. iv. pp. 59, 60.

There can be little doubt that this distinction between Devas and Asuras was brought about mainly by the development of orthodox institutions, after the advance of the Aryan tribes into the plains of India.

Several eminent authorities seem to consider that the development of these institutions commenced in the country to the eastward of the Saraswati, which thus became the holy land of the Brahmanical writers.[1]

The Devas and Asuras being but different tribes of the same race, they were, on their first arrival in India, opposed only by the Dāsyus, or aborigines. They were thus able to overrun the country, and reduce the barbarous inhabitants to slavery, with comparative ease. But, when they began to quarrel amongst themselves, their difficulties increased.

This appears to have occurred at an early period, as, in the Rig Veda, Indra and Varuṇa are besought to slay both the Dāsa enemies and the Ārya.[2] And, again, Indra is asked to "remove far away the weapon of our enemy, be he Dāsa or Ārya."[3]

These tribes are first met with in the north and west of India. But Kāṣyapa, their common ancestor, is said to have lived in Sakadwipa;[4] or, in the Western region.[5] The limits of either of these have not been very exactly defined. But the cradle of the Aryan race seems generally considered to have been in the country bordering upon the Kaspian Sea. And it was probably from thence, that the Nāgas and the rest of the family of Kāṣyapa, set out for the invasion of India and other countries.

The possibility even of a connexion between the names Kāṣyapa and Kaspian seems scarcely too bold a suggestion.

There appears, moreover, little reason to doubt, that the various birds, beasts, reptiles, and other objects, assigned as progeny to this ancestor of the Solar race, were really the

[1] Origl. Sansk. Texts, vol. ii. pp. 336, 338, 340.
[2] Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 361.
[3] *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 362.
[4] Harivansa, Langlois, ii. 28.
[5] Mahābhārata, Udyoga, Bhagavatyana Parva, cix. 329.

totems of the different tribes, into which his descendants became divided.

It is not improbable that the serpent-canopy, distinctive of the Nāga rajas, may have given rise to the legends of serpents with many heads, which are to be found in the ancient records of so many Asiatic peoples. And it seems possible that, amongst others, the three-headed Azi Dahāka of the Zend Avesta may have been a Nāga raja.

This serpent-chief, although he destroyed Yima and seized his kingdom, seems to have been of Aryan race. He sacrificed to Vāyu, an Aryan deity,[1] who was one of the Vedic gods, and was, in the Rigveda, associated with Indra.[2]

Possibly the legend may have had its origin in some remembrance of former intertribal warfare.

I have already said that the serpent-gods Sesha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, and others, were deified chiefs of the people whose tribal emblem was the Nāg.

Of these Sesha appears to have been earlier than the others. According to the Mahābhārata, they were all sons of Kāṣyapa and Kadru; but we are told that Sesha was born first, and then Vāsuki.[3]

Sesha appears to have been on friendly terms with Garuḍa.[4] This may account for the connexion between Krishna and the serpent chief, and for the position of the latter in the Brahmanical Pantheon.

This eldest of the serpent gods is represented as having been eminently religious and devoted to asceticism. And he is said to have gone under the earth, in order to support it, by desire of Brahma.[5] He had evidently left this world before the troublous times referred to in the Mahābhārata; and the legend of his going under the earth may have arisen from his having been buried as an ascetic.

We are told that Gārga, the sage, having propitiated Sesha, acquired from him a knowledge of the principles of

[1] Zendavesta, S. B. E. ii. 253.
[2] Muir, Sansk. Texts, v. 144.
[3] Mahābhārata, Adi, Astika Parva, xxxv. 113.
[4] *Ib.* xxxvi. 114.
[5] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Astika Parva, xxxvi. 115.

astronomical science, of the planets, and of the good and evil denoted by the aspects of the heavens.[1] And it may be observed that the use of magic and a control over the elements are frequently ascribed to the Nāgas and other Asuras.

Hiouen Thsang relates how, in his time, the people of Takhasila, when rain was wanted, visited the shrine of Elapatra Nāga.[2] And to this day, as is well known in the Panjāb, the Nāg is propitiated before any other deity when rain or fine weather is desired.

After Sesha came Vāsuki, or Bāsak Nāg, as he is often called in the vernacular; and he appears to have been succeeded by Takshaka.

These are the three great Nāga demigods, but there are many others of less note.

There can be little doubt that the names both of Vāsuki and Takshaka were used to represent their descendants long after they themselves had ceased to exist. This will account for the supernatural length of life assigned to them. It may be observed that the name of Vāsuki is more frequently mentioned in connection with Pātala, or Dhātmandala as it is sometimes called; while that of Takshaka is often associated with the northern capital of Takhasila. The festival at the Kailās Kūnd, however, is certainly in honour of Vāsuki; although the district in which it is held must have been dependent upon Takhasilā. It is probable, therefore, that these two chiefs were not contemporaries, but successive rulers of the Nāga tribe.

Indeed, this seems to be confirmed by a passage in the Mahābhārata, in which it is said that the gods, having come to the banks of the Saraswati, there installed the excellent Nāga Vāsuki as king of all the snakes.[3]

This convocation of the deities is not unlikely to have been a real gathering, such as those already described; at which, on important occasions, the people assemble

[1] Vishṇu Purāṇa, Hall's ed. II. v. 213.
[2] Hiouen Thsang (Memoires), i. 152.
[3] Mahābhārata, Salya, Gudāyuddhya Parva, xxvii. 149.

at some temple to meet and consult the gods, who are represented by their priests and insignia.

According to the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas, the brothers Takshaka and Pushkara, sons of Bharata of the Solar race, became rulers of Gandhāra; and their capitals were Takhasilā and Pushkaravatī.[1] This confirms the statement in the Buddhist records that Takhasilā was one of the Solar capitals; as well as what has been said of the Solar origin of the Nāga chiefs.

At the time of the war of the Mahābhārata, the dominions of Takshaka appear to have included nearly the whole of the country between the Indus and the Jumna.

The Brahman Utanka, who is said to have afterwards instigated Janamejaya's serpent-sacrifice, thus addresses the Nāga raja: "O Takshaka, who formerly dwelt in Kurukshetra, and the forest of Khāndava."[2] So that the territory of this chieftain must have included the holy land of the Brahmans, as well as the site of Indraprastha or Delhi. This city indeed appears to have been originally called Khāndava.[3]

The Khāndava forest was burned by Krishṇa and Arjuna, in defiance of Indra, who was the friend of Takshaka.[4]

We learn also from the Mahābhārata, as well as from local tradition, that the Pāṇḍu Raja Parikshīt, grandson of Arjuna, was killed by Takshaka. According to legends still current in the Panjāb, this was in revenge for the abduction of a daughter of Bāsak Nāg, although the lady did all she could to save her husband.[5]

The same tradition says that Janamejaya, son of Parikshīt, on growing up, resolved to revenge his father's death; and so carried on an exterminating war with the Nāgas.

The story, as told in the Mahābhārata, is much more sensational; and has perhaps been embellished, in order to show the supernatural power of the Brahmans. According

[1] Vishṇu Purāṇa, Hall's ed. IV. iv. 319.
[2] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Pausya Parva, iii. 56.
[3] *Ib.* Sabha, Rajasuyika Parva, xxxiii. 96.
[4] *Ib.* Adi, Khāndava-daha Parva, ccxxx. 632.
[5] Panjāb Legends, 459.

to this version, Parikshīt, when hunting in the forest, met a Brahman devotee, who was under a vow of silence; and spoke to him, but received no reply. Irritated at this, the Raja took up a dead snake and threw it round the neck of the ascetic. The son of the latter, then coming up, cursed the Raja; and said that within seven days he would be killed by Takshaka. This prediction was fulfilled.[1]

The story goes on to say that, on Janamejaya growing up, he called the Brahmans together, and requested them to perform a sacrifice for the extermination of the serpents. This was done; and, as the priests reciting mantras poured butter into the fire, the snakes came in crowds, and fell into the flames.[2]

Some great massacre of prisoners may have given rise to the story of the sacrifice.

The popular legends agree with the Mahābhārata, that the Nāgas were defeated by Janamejaya, and that neither Vāsuki nor Takshaka were present. Tradition, however, adds that the victory was obtained by treachery.

Takshaka is said to have taken refuge with Indra,[3] which no doubt refers to his having died before these events. His son "the mighty Aswasena" is not again heard of.

Of the end of Vāsuki nothing is known. There are traditions, in which his name is mentioned, at a much later period; but these no doubt refer to his descendants.

The Panjāb abounds with legends of the Nāga rajas. According to one of these Sālivāhana, the conqueror of Vikramāditya, was a son of Bāsak Nāg.[4] Sālivāhana lived long after the time of Vāsuki, but may have been one of his descendants. Indeed Colonel Tod says that he was of the race of Takshak.[5]

I have said that the Takhas no longer call themselves Nāgas, and that it is very doubtful whether they ever did so.

[1] Mahābhārata, Adi, Aṣtika Parva, xli. 124.
[2] *Ib.* lii. 148.
[3] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Astika Parva, liii. 150.
[4] Panjāb Gazetteer (Sealkot), p. 14.
[5] Annals of Rājasthan, i. 82.

We find also that this name is not applied to any of the tribes engaged in the great war of the Mahābhārata. The Bāhlikas or Bāhikas, however, with the Madras and other associated tribes, are frequently mentioned, and held a very prominent position amongst the allies of the Kauravas.[1]

These people were, according to Hemachandra, also called Takhas,[2] and they held the country watered by the Indus and the five rivers of the Panjāb.[3] This is the tract assigned to the great Nāga chiefs Vāsuki and Takshak, and it was occupied by the Takhas down to comparatively recent times.

The Madras and the Bāhlikas, or Bāhikas, were evidently the same people. In fact the Madras, Arattas, and Jarttikas, all appear to have been included under the name Bāhikas.[4] Thus Sākala is described as a city of the Madras,[5] and also as a city of the Bāhikas.[6] Salya too, chief of the Madras, was also Raja of the Bāhikas.[7] But the Madras were Dānavas,[8] and we have just seen that they and the Bāhikas were Takhas. All these therefore were Nāga tribes, and descendants of the Asuras.

At the time of the Mahābhārata Takhasilā was a city of the Takhas, and, as just shown, Sākala was another.

Janamejaya had just returned victorious from Takhasilā, when he ordered the serpent sacrifice.[9] And the victims were probably the prisoners he had taken.

This city, one of the ancient capitals of the Solar race, and founded, as already mentioned, by Takshaka, son of Bharata,[10] was the Taxila of the Greeks.

Sākala, on the Apaga or Aik River, was the Sangala of the Kāthias, which was taken by Alexander.[11]

[1] Mahābhārata, Karna Parva, xliv. 153.
[2] Lassen, Pentap. Ind. 21.
[3] Mahābhārata, Karna Parva, xliv. 154.
[4] Mahābhārata, Karna Parva, xliv. 155.
[5] *Ib.* Sabha, Digvijaya Parva, xxxii. 94.
[6] *Ib.* Karna Parva, xliv. 153.
[7] *Ib.* Karna Parva, xliv. 154; Adi, Sambhava Parva, cxiii. 333.
[8] Kathā Sarit Sāgara, i. 416.
[9] Mahābhārata, Adi, Pausya Parva, iii. 59.
[10] Vishṇu Purāṇa, Halhed, iv. iv. 319.
[11] Ancient Geog. Ind. i. 180.

The Kāthias, who retain the fine physique by which the Greeks were so much impressed, still inhabit the neighbouring country. They are now Mahomedans; but they claim to be Rajputs of Solar race, and despise those who follow the plough.[1] Their relatives in Kāthiawar, who have escaped conversion to Islām, also claim to be of Solar descent, and to have been allies of the Kauravas in the great war.[2] The religion of this branch of the Kāthias is Brahmanism, tempered with reverence for the Sun and the Serpent. Shrines to Vāsuki and other Nāga demigods abound amongst them, and Col. Todd says they are of the race of Takshak.[3]

The Bāhlikas or Tākhas, as they fought against the Pāṇḍavas, are represented in the Mahābhārata as examples of every kind of wickedness. And Karna in his altercation with Salya, who was one of their chiefs, abuses the female relations of his opponent in a truly Oriental manner.[4] In spite of all this, however, these tribes are admitted to be Kshatriyas. Salya was brother-in-law to Pāṇḍu; and "many foremost Kshatriyas were leaders of his troops."[5]

One of the greatest crimes of these people was that they had Kshatriyas for their priests.[6] That is, the royal caste maintained their right to perform religious ceremonies, without the intervention of the Brahmans.

This right, the assertion of which was perhaps one of chief distinctions between Devas and Asuras, was one of the privileges conceded by Krishna to the Asura Bali.[7] And it is maintained by the Takhas to this day; for in many of their temples, the priestly offices are performed by Kshatriyas.

The Takhas were evidently a powerful people at the time of Alexander's invasion. After the departure of the Greeks,

[1] Panjāb Gazetteer (Montgomery Dist.), 64.
[2] Ind. Antiquary, iv. 321.
[3] Annals of Rājasthan, i. 702.
[4] Mahābhārata, Karna Parva, xliv. 153.
[5] *Ibid.* Udyoga Parva, Sainyodyoga Parva, vii. 14.
[6] *Ibid.* Karna Parva, xliv. 158.
[7] Harivansa (Langlois), ii. 490.

however, the whole of Upper India seems to have come under the dominion of the Maurya Rajas of Magadha. Asoka was sent by his father Bindusara to take possession of Takhasilā; and he appears to have remained there for some time, as ruler of the neighbouring country, including Kashmir.[1]

When Asoka succeeded to the throne, he sent his son Kunāla to govern Takhasilā, which was still a very wealthy and important city.[2]

After this the Panjāb was overrun by the Bactrian Greeks, who were followed by different Scythian invaders; and the Takha power was completely broken, both on the five rivers and on the Indus.

Appollonius of Tyana visited Takhasilā in the first century A.D.; and he mentions the temple of the Sun there.[3]

About 400 A.D., the city was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fah Hian.[4] It was then a celebrated place amongst the Buddhists; and seems to have been subject to Kashmir, as it was in 630 A.D. when Hiouen Thsang passed that way.[5]

This pilgrim also visited Sākala, which was partly in ruins; having been supplanted by a new capital.[6] He passed, too, through Multan, which was then a part of the Takha kingdom; and he describes the temple of the Sun there, as of great magnificence.[7]

After this came the Musselman invasions; and the wholesale conversion to Islām of the population of the Indus Valley and Panjāb.

El Masūdi, writing about 915 A.D., describes the King of El Tāki as being on friendly terms with the Moslems; but as having no great military strength. He also says that the women of the country were the most beautiful in India.[8]

[1] Divya Avadana, Burnouf, Introd. Hist. Bud. Ind. 362.
[2] *Ib.* 405.
[3] Cunningham, Ancient Geog. Ind. i. 108.
[4] Fah Hian, xi. 32.
[5] Hiouen Thsang (Vie et Voyages), 89.
[6] Hiouen Thsang (Vie et Voyages), 97.
[7] Hiouen Thsang (Memoires), ii. 173.
[8] El Masūdi, Sprenger, 390.

El Masūdi's information was perhaps not very recent, as about the end of the ninth century Shankaravarmā of Kashmir had defeated Alakhana, King of Gurjāra, and compelled him to cede Takha, which was then subject to him. And the Takha Raja, it is said, took service with the King of Kashmir.[1]

After this we hear no more of Takha as an independent state.

It seems probable that the Takhari Rajas of Nepāl were an offshoot from the great Takha tribe.

It is mentioned, too, by Colonel Tod, that the ancient inscriptions of the Puar or Pramara Rajputs describe them as of the race of Takshaka.[2]

This tribe, of which the Kāthias of the Panjāb claim to be an offshoot,[3] held in very early times the lands of Dhātmandala, on the banks of the Indus, a great part of the desert of Māru, and the sacred Arbuda mountain, with the country around it.[4]

These territories were ruled by Vāsuki, Takshaka, and other Nāga rajas, the traces of whose dominion still remain. We find that the ancient name of the town of Tank was Takhtpur;[5] and Bāsakgurh Takho was, in later times, one of the strongholds of the lord of the desert, Lakha Phulani.[6]

Both of these places must have been founded by Nāga chiefs.

There can indeed be little doubt that the Bāhlikas or Takhas, the Kāthias, and the Pramāras were all of the same stock, and that they were descendants of the Asura tribes.

Colonel Tod mentions a tribe of Bālika Rajputs of Solar race and related to the Kathis, who were once lords of Arore, the great city upon the Indus; and he says that their chiefs were addressed by the bards as "Tattha Multan ka Rai."[7]

[1] Rājatarangini (Calc. ed.), 390.
[2] Annals of Rajasthan, i. 84.
[3] Panjāb Gazetteer (Montgomery), 64.
[4] Annals of Rājasthan, i. 83.
[5] *Ib.* i. 84.
[6] Annals of Rājasthan, i. 632.
[7] *Ib.* i. 102.

The inscription engraved upon the iron pillar at Delhi states that this ancient monument was erected to celebrate a victory over the Vāhlikas, or Bāhlikas, of Sindhu, and a well-known legend asserts that when driven into the ground, it pierced the head of Sesh Nāg.

Besides Pātala, Takhasilā, and Sākala, and the countries dependent upon them, Magadha and Mathura were very early Nāga settlements.

When Krishna went to Magadha with Bhima and Arjuna, to kill Jarāsandha, he pointed out the place where dwelt of old the Nāgas Arbuda and Shakravāpin, Swastika and Mani.[1]

The tirtha of Mani Nāga is one of the holy places mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[2] Krishna's conflict with Kāliya shows that the neighbourhood of Mathura was occupied by the Nāgas at a very early period.

This chief is said to have been driven by Garuḍa from the land of Ramanaka;[3] and Krishna is said to have compelled him to return to the sea-coast. We learn, however, that Nāga rajas still ruled at Mathura, as contemporaries of the Guptas of Magadha, in the seventh century.[4] And Sir A. Cunningham considers that their kingdom included nearly the whole country between the Jumna and the Upper Narbada.[5]

The island of Ceylon was very early occupied by Nāga colonies, which are said to have been visited by Buddha himself, when he acted as mediator between two rival chiefs. These were about to fight a battle, but Buddha stood between them and caused a "terrifying darkness." The Nāgas, then, were reconciled to each other; and "bowed down at the feet of the divine teacher."[6] Another Nāga chief, the king of Kalyānī, was converted at the same time.

Majerika, the country on the banks of the Kistna River, in which was built the celebrated Amarāvati stupa, was a Nāga

[1] Mahābhārata, Sabha Parva, Jarāsandha-badha Parva, xxi. 63.
[2] *Ib.* Vana Parva, Tirthayatra Parva, xxxiv. 272.
[3] Vishnu Purana (Hall) V. vii. 287.
[4] Vishṇu Purāṇa (Hall), IV. xxiv. 215.
[5] J.A.S.B. xxxiv. 117, 118.
[6] Mahāwanso (Turnour), i. 5.

state, and the raja was a staunch Buddhist with a great reverence for relics.[1]

In Burma and the neighbouring countries, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, traces of serpent-worship abound. And it is probable that Nāga colonies were established there, before the arrival of the Buddhist missionaries sent by Asoka. It is possible, also, that it was to these colonies the missionaries were sent, rather than to the barbarous aboriginal tribes.

Very ancient legends exist in these countries of the rule of Nāga rajas; also traditions relating to an early connexion with Takhasilā, Gandhāra, and other places in Northern and Western India.[2] The name, too, of the country of Kamboja, and of several ancient cities in Burma and Siam, are of Indian derivation; and Nākhonvat looks very like a corruption of Nāgavati.

It is not likely that any large proportion of the population of these colonies, or mandalas, was of Nāga race. Possibly the colonists were limited to the chief, and sufficient followers to keep the aboriginal people in subjection. So that the population shows little trace of Aryan admixture

In Friederich's account of the island of Bali, we find the principal streams named after Indian rivers, and amongst them is the Sindhu in the district of Bāsuki.[3]

In this island, too, at the funeral ceremonies of a man of the Kshatriya caste, a representation of a serpent is carried in the procession, and is burned with the corpse.[4]

In these countries, as in India, it was the Nāga or hooded serpent that was held sacred, and this under its Indian name, thus showing whence it was derived.

The Nāga rajas were great supporters of the Buddhist and Jaina religions.

According to Colonel Tod, who derived his information from Jaina sources, that faith was established on the Arbuda mountain by Sesha himself.[5] Proof of this is wanting, but

[1] Mahawanso (Turnour), 185; J.A.S.B. XVII. ii. 87.
[2] Tree and Serpent Worship, 52.
[3] J.R.A.S. Vol. IX. p. 69.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 95.
[5] Annals of Rājasthan, i. 44.

we know that this Nāga chief ended his days as a religious ascetic;[1] and it is not improbable that he may have retired to this sacred mountain.

The country around Mount Abu was, and still is, the great centre of the Jaina religion. It was also a stronghold of the Nāgas; and it was very near to Pātala.

We are told in the Sānkhāyana Sutras, that the people of Arbuda were the Serpas.[2]

We know, too, that there was a very intimate connexion between the Jainas and the serpent. Fergusson tells us that he found Nāgas represented in all the Jaina temples at Abu.[3]

We learn also that Yati, son of Nahush, the great Nāga chief who supplanted Indra, declined the kingdom and became a Muni like unto Brahma.[4] It may not be certain that Yati became a Jaina, but it seems probable; as, according to the Matsya Puraṇa, the sons of his uncle Raji adopted the Jina dharma.[5] The title of Yati is still borne by the Jaina monks.

All the Tirthakaras of the Jainas were Kshatriyas; and most of them were of Solar race. Of these, Parswa is represented with the serpent-canopy of a Nāga raja over his head; and Mahavira, his successor, was the son of one of the serpent-worshipping Lichavi rajas of Vaisāli.

The colossal Jaina statues at Yannur in Southern India have Nāgas in attendance.[6] And in the Chumba state is an old sthāna sacred to Digambar Nāg.

We learn moreover from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, that there was once warfare between the Devas and the Daityas under Hrada (son of Hiranyakasipu). And that the discomfited deities fled to the northern shore of the sea of milk. There, "engaged in religious penances, they prayed to Vishṇu, who sent a great delusion, in the form of a naked mendicant,

[1] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Astika Parva, xxxvi. 115.
[2] Hist. Anct. Sansk. Lit. 38.
[3] Tree and Serpent Worship, 78.
[4] Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, Sambhava Parva, lxxv. 230.
[5] Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson), 412, note.
[6] Fergusson, Hist. Ind. and E. Architecture, 269.

to lead the Daityas from the path of the Vedas." And we are told that "the Asuras, being seduced from the religion of the Vedas, were called Arhatas."[1]

It is amongst the Asuras, therefore, that we must look for the naked mendicants, who were called Arhatas. And it was amongst them, and especially amongst the Nāga tribes, that the Jainas found their strongest supporters.

Buddha, if not himself of Nāga descent, was very intimately connected with the serpent race, and found amongst that people his most devoted followers.

According to Buddhist records, the Sākyas were descendants of Ikshvāku, the Solar raja of Pātala.[2] One of them married the daughter of the Nāga raja of Udayana; and succeeded to his father-in-law's kingdom.[3]

In the list of Buddha's ancestors, given in the Dīpavansa, occur the names of Nāgadeva of Mithilanagara, and Nāgasena of Kapila. And in the Mahābhārata we find, amongst the holy places, the tirtha of Kapila, king of the Nāgas, at Kapilavata,[4] which was the city of the Sakyas.

In the sculptures of the Amarāvati stupa, Buddha is more than once represented with the serpent-canopy over his head, which was the distinctive mark of a Nāga raja.[5]

In other sculptures from the same stupa, the serpent is shown as the principal object of adoration, and as worshipped even by sramānas.[6]

In Nepāl the Buddha Amogha Siddha is always shown as sheltered by the hoods of a seven-headed Nāga.[7]

The Buddhist writings contain many allusions to the good offices of the Nāgas, and a stupa was built to mark the spot where Buddha was sheltered by the Nāga raja[8] Muchalinda.

Long after the death of Sākya the Nāgas of Rāmagrāma

[1] Vishnu Purāna (Hall), III. xviii. 215.
[2] Rockhill, Life of Buddha, 12; Turnour, Mahawanso, Introd. xxxv; Lalita Vistara, ii. 149.
[3] Hiouen Thsang, ii. 141.
[4] Mahābhārata, Vana Parva Tirthayatra Parva, lxxxiv. 267.
[5] Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xcviii.; Ind. and E. Architect. pl. 17.
[6] Tree and Serpent Worship, pl. lxx.
[7] Oldfield, ii. 169.
[8] Mahāvagga, i. 3. 2, S.B.E. xiii.; Fah Hian, 125.

were so devoted to his relics that, when Asoka wished to remove them to a new stupa, these devout Buddhists refused to allow it, and the raja, powerful as he was, had to give way.[1]

Asoka himself is represented as worshipping the serpent, even after his conversion to Buddhism.

We learn from the Mahāwanso that he sent for Mahākālo, the Nāga raja, and "placed him under the white canopy of dominion, seated on the royal throne." Then, "making to him many flower offerings," Asoka requested the Nāga to show him the appearance of Buddha, which he did.[2]

A similar ceremony to this is mentioned by Fergusson as still occurring at Manipur, where a snake, representing the raja's ancestor, is placed upon a cushion and worshipped with the ceremonies just described.[3]

The narratives of the Chinese pilgrims contain many incidents showing that a close relationship existed between the Nāgas and Buddhism at a later period.

Fah Hian mentions that at Sankisa, in his time, was a Nāga temple, the worship of which was conducted by Buddhist priests.[4] And we learn from Hiouen Thsang that, when the people of Takhasilā went to pray for rain at the shrine of Elāpatra Nāga, sramānas officiated.[5]

According to Wassilief, Nāgārjuna, who founded a new school of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era, gave out that he had received the sacred writings from the Nāgas, by whom they had been preserved.[6] Whether this was the case or not, it shows that the Nāgas were looked upon as the great supporters of Buddhism. So late as the seventh century the physician of Raja Lalitaditya of Kashmir, "having gained wealth by the favour of Takshaka, built a vihara."[7]

[1] Divyāvadāna in Burnouf, Introd. 332.
[2] Mahawanso (Turnour), v. 27.
[3] T. and S. Worship, 64.
[4] Fah Hian, 67.
[5] Hiouen Thsang (Memoires), i. 152.
[6] Ind. Antiquary, May, 1875.
[7] Rajatarangini, Calc. ed. 73.

Takhasila and Sākala, the Takha capitals, were very important centres of the Buddhist religion. The people of Takhasilā applied for such a quantity of the relics of Buddha, that Asoka was unable to supply them.[1] And it was to Sākala that Pushpamitra marched with an army to destroy the religion of Sākya. It was there, too, that he offered a reward of one hundred dinaras for every head of any srāmana that was brought to him.[2]

In this act of barbarity, Pushpamitra seems to have followed the example of Asoka, who, as a zealous Buddhist, had offered a reward of one dinara for every head of a Tirthaka, with the result that the head of his own brother was brought to him.[3]

Buddha's devoted followers, the Licchavis, were serpent-worshippers. The tutelary deity of their chief city, Vaiṣāli, was a Nāga.[4]

These Licchavis, who also ruled in Nepāl, Lahoul, and Thibet,[5] were Kshatriyas of Solar race;[6] and abundant traces of Nāga-worship remain in the countries over which they held dominion. They seem to have held the hill country up to the eastern borders of the Takha kingdom; so that all the Himālaya, from Kashmir to Nepāl, must have been under Nāga rule.

In Kamāon and Garhwāl there are still over eighty temples in which the Nāga is worshipped.[7] In the Panjāb Himālaya, the number is unknown, but it is very great.

Amongst the emblems adopted by the Buddhists, and always represented in their sculptures, two, besides the serpent, are prominent objects at the Nāga temples. These are the Sun, or Chakra, and the Trisūla. The Swastika and other symbols also occur, but much less frequently.

That the Chakra, or discus, known to the later Buddhists

[1] Divyā Avadāna, Burnouf, 373.
[2] *Ib.* 431.
[3] Divyā Avadāna, Burnouf, 424.
[4] Mahawanso Tīkā (Turnour), Introd. xxxvii.
[5] Ancient Geog. Ind. i. 451.
[6] Corp. Insc. Ind. iii. 185.
[7] Kumāon Gazetteer, p. 835.

as the "Wheel of the Law," originally represented the Sun, cannot I think be doubted. It is shown in the Buddhist sculptures for the same reason that it is carved upon the Nāga temples. That is, because Buddha and his chief supporters were, like the Nāgas, of Solar race.

The trisūla, whatever mystic signification may have been applied to it, appears to have been originally a warlike weapon. As such, it is presented, by way of votive offering, to the Nāga demigods. It is frequently mentioned as a favourite weapon of the Asura warriors. Thus we find that Hiranyakasipu was armed with a trident, when he attacked Nara Sinha.[1] Bana too used the same weapon.[2]

The Nivāta Kavachas, in their fight with Arjuna, used clubs, darts, swords, tomaras, and tridents.[3] And, in the army of the Pāṇḍavas, one of the fighting men attached to each elephant, was armed with this weapon.[4]

Again Devī, or Durgā, is represented as using a trisūla to slay the Mahesh Asur; and the same weapon is always assigned to Siva.

The trisūla is now set up in connexion with the worship of several deities; but it appears to be connected, more especially, with Sun-worship, or with the Solar race.

We are told that when Sejuk Gohil set out to seek his fortune in foreign lands, the image of his god (Krishna) and the trident of his family were carried before him.[5]

On a hill near Būd, in the Bussowlie district of Kashmir, stands a huge trisūl sacred to Chāond Devi, who is said to have been a Nāgini.

At the fire temple of Jawāla Mūkhi, near Kangra, is a trisūla some thirty feet high, the shaft of which is of wood sheathed with iron plates.

At the temple of Kailang Nāg, in the Kukti pass, and in many other places, are large iron trisūlas. These, in some

[1] Mahābhārata, Vana, Draupadi-harana Parva, cclxxi. 802.
[2] Harivansa, Langlois, ii. 253.
[3] Mahābhārata, Vana, Nivāta Kavacha Yuddha Parva, clxx. 506.
[4] Mahābhārata, Udyoga, Saṁyaniryāna Parva, xlv. 452.
[5] Ras Māla, 238.

instances, are set up at the entrance to the temple, which may be a survival of the ancient custom of planting the warrior's spear at the door of his tent.

It is noticeable that the trisūla is usually made entirely of iron. At Jawāla Mūkhi, however, no doubt on account of its great size, the shaft is of wood cased with that metal. In the Mahābhārata, weapons made wholly of iron are frequently mentioned.

The trisūla, as seen at the Nāga temples, is generally a formidable three-pronged pike, from three to six feet long. As a votive offering, however, it is frequently represented by a small model, a few inches in length.

Upon the ancient monumental stones of the Chohān rajas of Mundi, the trisūla is represented in nearly the same form as that now seen in the Nāga temples.

When one Nāga demigod on festal occasions visits the temple of another, the deity is represented by a trisūla, which is carried by one of the priests.

In the same way Devi or Durga is sometimes represented by a sword. Wooden swords, with a snake carved upon them, are sometimes also presented as votive offerings to the Nāga demigods.

In the Buddhist sculptures the trisūla loses its warlike form; and even when shown as the staff of a royal banner, no longer resembles a lethal weapon. It remains, however, an object of veneration, and Fergusson gives an illustration from the Amaravati stupa of Nāga rajas worshipping it.[1]

When we see the sun converted into a wheel, it is scarcely a matter of surprise that the trisūla should also assume a modified form.

Serpent-worship no doubt prevails, in many parts of India, amongst the descendants of the aboriginal tribes. I believe, however, that this has everywhere been derived from the Nāga invaders.

So far as Northern India is concerned, the Nāg seems to be the only description of snake held sacred.

[1] Ind. and E. Architect. p. 46.

The sculptured serpents, at the smaller temples, are often so rudely executed that it is not easy to recognize them as intended for representations of the cobra. They are however invariably called "Nāg."

The only instance, that I am aware of, in which any other serpent is held sacred is at Rālla near the foot of the Rotang Pass. Here, under an overhanging rock, some small harmless snakes are worshipped. They are, however, considered as representatives of the Nāga; and are called "Nāg Khire" (Nāga snake). They are not held sacred elsewhere; and I have seen a snake of the same species killed by the villagers, within a few hundred yards of the sacred spot. Upon my expressing surprise that they should kill a deota, they explained that the deota lived only at the Nāga rock.

As regards Southern India, I have not the same personal knowledge; but the ancient sculptures show clearly that there, too, the sacred serpent was the Nāga. The same observation applies to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and to the neighbouring islands.

The conclusions which I would submit to the judgment of scholars are:

1. That the Nāgas were a Sun-worshipping, Sanskrit-speaking people; whose totem was the Nāg, or hooded serpent.

2. That they became known as Nāgas from the emblem of their tribe, with which, in process of time, they became confounded.

3. That they can be traced back to the earliest period of Indian history, and formed a portion of the great Solar race.

4. That they, with other divisions of this race, at first occupied the north and west of India, but afterwards spread towards the east and south.

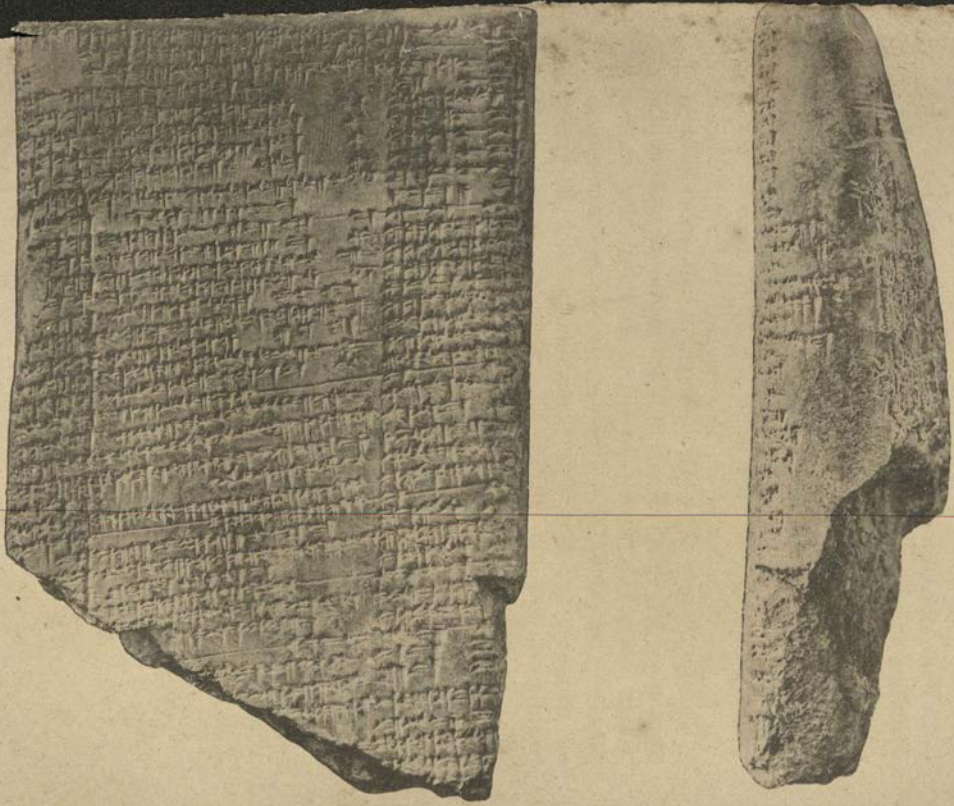
5. That some of these tribes, and amongst them the Nāgas, retaining their ancient customs, and not readily admitting the ascendency of the Brahmans, were stigmatized by the more orthodox as Asuras.

6. That amongst a portion of the descendants of this people, Nāga-worship in its primitive form still survives. And that it consists in the adoration, as Devas or demigods, of ancient chieftains of the tribe.

7. That the connexion between the serpent and the Buddhist and Jaina religions can be thus explained.

8. That in all Asiatic countries, at all events, in which so-called serpent-worship prevailed, it was the Nāga or hooded serpent only which was held sacred.

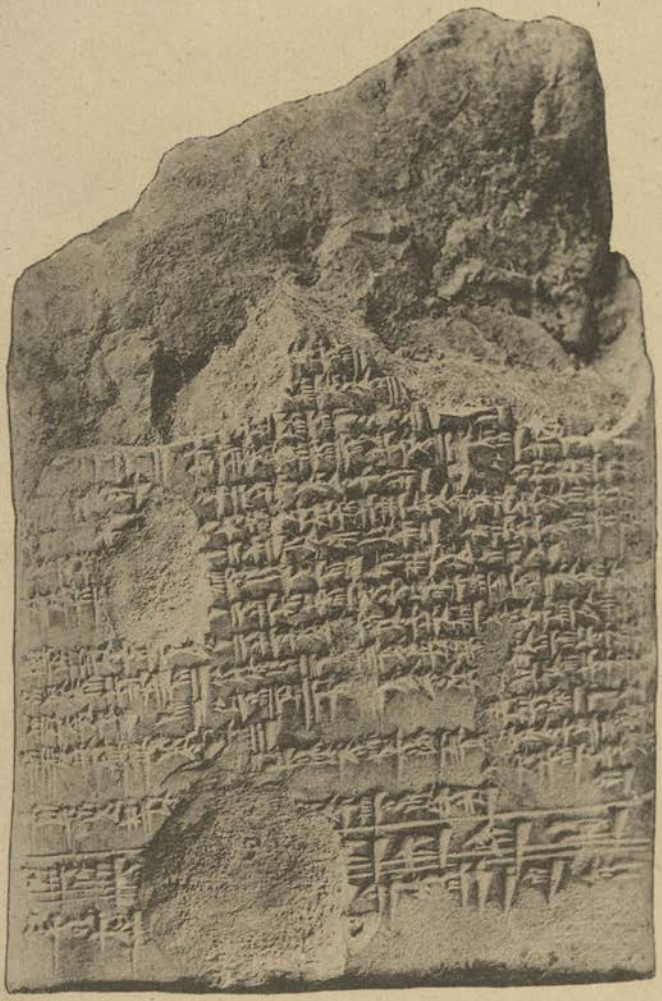
In the *Pioneer Mail* of 7th May last is a letter from a correspondent, dated Manipur, 29th April, describing the recent sad events there. In this it is stated that at the entrance to the Raja's palace were two huge dragons built of masonry, and behind these a Nāga temple. It is also mentioned, that the British officers were dragged before these dragons, and there decapitated.



BAKED CLAY TABLET GIVING A NEW VERSION OF THE CREATION-STORY.

OBVERSE.

RIGHT-HAND EDGE.



BAKED CLAY TABLET GIVING A NEW VERSION OF THE CREATION-STORY.

REVERSE.

Art. VIII.—*A New Version of the Creation-story.* By T. G. Pinches, M.R.A.S.

We all know—for the Bible tells us of it—one of the chief characteristics of the Babylonians and Assyrians, namely, their superstition, as shown by their use of charms and magical formulæ. Nahum calls Nineveh "the mistress of witchcraft," who "selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts." Micah, too, speaks of the witchcrafts and soothsayers of one or both of these countries, and Isaiah mentions the multitude of Babylon's sorceries, and the great abundance of her enchantments, calling upon the multitude of the sorcerers and star-gazers to save her, if they could, from the things which were to come upon her. The great use of charms and magic is, indeed, one of the things which strikes the student who examines the literature of these two remarkable countries; for the number of documents referring to the various branches of this art—the "black art," in fact—far exceeds that of any other branch of Babylonian or Assyrian literature.[1] Omens, medical formulæ in mystic ideographs, and invocations in Akkadian, in Assyrian, and in the two languages together, abound. Many of these last are very elaborate, and have very interesting introductions, and almost all contain a great deal of information about the mythology and superstitions of the two nations by whom they were used.

It is to this last class that the tablet which forms the subject of this paper belongs. The tablet itself, though not very large, and though the bottom part (looking on the obverse) is broken away, has in all about fifty-eight lines of writing, forty of which are on the obverse. The amount of

[1] I do not, in the present instance, include in this expression the numerous contract-tablets and legal documents.

matter which has been got on to a small space is considerable, especially when we bear in mind that the text is in two languages, and is therefore given twice over. This new creation-legend covers the whole of the obverse (forty lines), and is unfortunately rendered incomplete by the lower part being broken away. Though, as a statement or account of a supposed historical event, it is rather crude and uncouth, it is nevertheless of great importance and interest, not only because of its nature, but also on account of its being a bilingual text, and one of more than usual value. The number of the tablet is 82-5-22, 1048.

Translation.

1. Incantation: The glorious house, the house of the gods, in a glorious place had not been made,
2. A plant had not been brought forth, a tree had not been created,
3. A brick had not been laid, a beam had not been shaped,
4. A house had not been built, a city had not been constructed,
5. A city had not been made, the foundation had not been made glorious,
6. Niffer had not been built, Ê-kura had not been constructed,
7. Erech had not been built, Ê-ana had not been constructed,
8. The Abyss had not been made, Eridu had not been constructed,
9. (As for) the glorious house, the house of the gods, its seat had not been made,
10. The whole of the lands, the sea also.
11. When within the sea there was a stream,
12. In that day Eridu was made, Ê-sagila was constructed
13. Ê-[sag]ila which the god Lugal-du-azaga had founded within the abyss,
14. Babylon was built, Ê-sagila was completed.
15. He made the gods (and) the Anunnaki together,
16. The glorious city, the seat of the joy of their hearts, supremely he had proclaimed,
17. Merodach bound together a foundation before the waters,
18. He made dust, and poured (it) out with the flood.
19. The gods were to be caused to sit in a seat of joy of heart.

20. He make mankind
21. (Aruru had made the seed of mankind with him).
22. He made the beasts of the field and the living creatures of the desert,
23. He made the Tigris and Euphrates, and set (them) in (their) place.
24. Well proclaimed he their name.
25. Grass, the marsh-plant, the reed, and the forest he made,
26. He made the verdure of the plain,
27. The lands, the marsh, the thicket also,
28. Oxen, the young of the steer, the humped cow and her calf, the sheep of the fold,
29. Meadows and forests also,
30. The goat and the gazelle brought forth to him (?).
31. Lord Merodach on the sea-shore raised a bank
32. . . . . at first he made not
33. . . . . he caused to be.
34. [He caused the plant to be brought forth], he made the tree
35. . . . . he made in (its) place
36. [He laid the brick], he made the beams,
37. [He constructed the house], he built the city,
38. [He built the city], he made the foundation glorious.
39. [He built the city Niffer], he built Ê-kura the temple,
40. [He built the city Erech, and built Ê-a]na the temple.
41. . . . . .

Such is the text of the obverse of this important tablet. The text of the reverse is less interesting; but it will serve to show, or at least to give an indication of the connection of the whole, so I give it here:

Translation of the Reverse.

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . .
3. Thy supreme messenger, Pap-Sukal, the wise one, councillor of the gods,
4. Nin-aḫa-kudu, daughter of Ea,
5. May she make thee glorious with a glorious remedy,
6. May she make thee pure with pure fire,

7. With the glorious pure fountain of the abyss purify thou the place of thy path,
8. By the incantation of Merodach, king of the host of heaven and earth,
9. May the abundance of the world descend into thy midst,
10. May thy command be accomplished in time to come.
11. O Ê-zida, glorious seat, the beloved of Anu and Ištar art thou,
12. Mayest thou shine like heaven; mayest thou be glorious like the earth, mayest thou shine like the midst of heaven,
13. May [the evil spirit] dwell outside of thee.

14. Incantation of . . . . . .

15. Incantation: The star . . . . . the long chariot of heaven

It will easily be seen that the text of this incantation is an invocation for the purification of the temple or tower called Ê-zida at Borsippa, now known as the Birs-Nimroud. The portion referring to the creation was simply an introduction to the incantation proper, but its precise bearing upon it is not at the present moment very clear. As far as the legend is preserved, this particular temple-tower is not mentioned; but it may be supposed that it was introduced on the lost portion of the tablet.

An examination of the obverse shows that this part may be divided in four rough sections of about ten lines each, but whether this division be intentional or accidental is not clear. The first ten lines tell of the things that, at the beginning of the world (as we may suppose), had not been made—the "glorious house" of the gods, plants, trees, cities, houses, foundations even; the cities of Niffer and Erech, with their well-known temples. The abyss, the abode of the departed, and Êridu, the "good city," a type of paradise, were also at that time non-existent,—"the whole of the lands, the sea also." The second section, which consists, really, of eleven lines, begins by saying that, "When within the sea there was a stream"—the word is *râṭu*, generally translated "torrent"—then Êridu—paradise—was made,

and Ê-sagila, "the lofty-headed temple," was constructed, —apparently the Ê-sagila which the god Lugal-du-azaga, "the lord of the glorious mound," had founded "within the Abyss." Then Babylon, with the well-known temple bearing the same name (Ê-sagila) was built. The gods, and the Anunnaki or spirits of the earth, are then said to have been made by some one who is unnamed, but who was probably the god Merodach, who seems to have proclaimed also "the glorious city" as the seat of the joy of their hearts. Afterwards Merodach seems to have made the land of dust and water on a foundation which he had constructed, and the gods were caused to be seated "in a seat of joy of heart." After that comes the line, "he made mankind," and this would be the last of the section, were it not for the parenthetical addition in the twenty-first line that "Aruru[1] had made the seed of mankind with him." The next section, nine lines, refers to the creation of the animals, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, plants and green things, and contains many words of interest to philologists, among which may be noted the collective *kiš-u* for *kiš-tu* "forest;" *mê-ru*, apparently "steer," and *laḫ-ru*, "humped cow"—a word which shows that *par-ru* and *ud-ru*, as the word has hitherto been transcribed, are misreadings. The last section of the obverse preserved has again ten lines, and after stating that Merodach "raised a bank" (lit. "filled a filling") on the sea-shore, repeats the substance of the first ten lines in the positive instead of the negative voice—the production of plants (canes) and trees, the laying of bricks, the shaping of beams, the building of houses and cities, among them being Niffer and its temple Ê-kura and Erech and its temple Ê-ana. One now feels how doubly unfortunate the break is, for were the tablet perfect, we should not only get this account of the creation in a complete state, but we should also probably get some information as to the foundation of that remarkable ruin

[1] Aruru was a goddess. She was called "the lady of the gods of Sippar and Aruru."

now known as the Birs-Nimroud, the ancient Ê-zida, the end of the incantation for the purification of which is given on the reverse.

This account, as will be seen, greatly differs from the "Chaldean Account of the Creation" first published by George Smith. There is no poetical reference to the time "When on high the heavens proclaimed not, and beneath the earth recorded not a name," nor is there any reference to Mummu-tiamtu as the creatress[1] of living things. A god, at first unnamed, but apparently Merodach, is the creator of everything, and seems only to be assisted in one thing, the creation of mankind, by the goddess Aruru. The colophon, which gives the first line of the next tablet, would lead one to suppose, that the introductory portion of that referred to the creation of the stars, but this is not by any means certain.

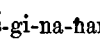
As is known, the account published by the late George Smith contains special chapters (so to say) upon the creation of the animals and the heavenly bodies. There is also a poetically-worded tablet which was regarded by George Smith as referring to the fall of man (but upon this there are various opinions), and a long account of the conflict between Merodach and Kirbiš-tiamtu, or Bel and the Dragon. Whether, in the other tablets of the series to which our present text belongs, there was anything of a similar nature, is uncertain. In the fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia there is a description of a war between certain evil spirits and the moon. This is an introduction to a text of a similar nature to that which I now give, and if it be one of the tablets continuing the series, would offer, to a certain extent, a parallel to the fight between Bel and the Dragon of the Semitic version of the story of the creation published in part by Mr. George Smith.[2]

[1] Mummu-tiamtu (Μιουμίς ταυθὲ) may be regarded, though, as equivalent to the goddess Aruru.

[2] An excellent analysis of this text will be found in Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, vol. i. pp. 1-14.

Transcription of the Obverse.

AKKADIAN VERSION.

1.	En : Ê azag-ga ê dingir-e-ne	ki mina nu-mu-un-du
2.	Gi nu - ê	giš nu - dim
3.	Šeg nu - šub	giš-u-ru nu-dim
4.	Ê nu-du	uru nu-dim
5.	Uru nu-dim	a-dam nu-mu-un-ia
6.	En-lil (ki) nu-du	Ê-kur-ra nu-dim
7.	Unuga (ki) nu-du	Ê-an-na nu-dim
8.	Abzu nu-du	Guruduga (ki) nu-dim
9.	[Ê]azaga dingir-ri-e-ne	ki-dura-bi nu-dim
10.	[Ki-šar?] kur-ra-gi	a-ab-ba-a-ma
11.	[Û ša] a-ab-ba-gi	rada-na-nam
12.	. . [Guruduga] (ki) ba-du	Ê-sag-ila ba-dim
13.	[Ê-sag-i]la ša abzu	ê e-ne D.P. Lugal-du-azag-ga-mu-ni-in-ri-a
14.	[Ê ?] (ki) ba-du	Ê-sag-il-la šu-du
15.	[Dingira A-]nun-na-gi-e-ne	diš-bi ba-an-du
16.	[Uru] azag-ga ki-dur ša-dug-ga	kal-e-ne mu-mag-a-mi-ni-in-sa-a
17.	[D.P.] Gi-ši-ma gi-dir	i-de-na a nam mi-ni-in-kešda
18.	Sagar-ra ni-mu-a ki	a-dag nam-mi-in-dubu
19.	Dingir-ri-e-ne ki-dur	ša dug-ga ne-in-dur-ru-ne-eš-a-ma
20.	Nam-lu-gišgal-lu	ba - tug
21.	D.P. A-ru-ru numuna ,,	an-da ne-in-mu
22.	Ibila(?) anšu nig-zi-gal	edin-na ba-du
23.	Id Idigna id Puranunu	me-dim ki gar-ra-dim
24.	Mu-ne-ne-a	nam-duga mi-ni-in-sa-a
25.	Gi-uš gi-genbur suga	giš-gi giš-tir-sir-ga ba-dim
26.	U-rig e-din-na	ba - du
27.	Kur - ra	suga giš-gi-na-nam
28.	. . [gud?] lida-ba	ê barun  lu amaš-a
29.	[Giš -]tir	giš-tir-bi-na-nam
30.	. . . . .	mi-ni-in-da-gir (?)
31.	. . . . .	zag a-ab-ba kala-ka . . .
32.	. . . . .	giš-gi maškim ne . . . .
33.	. . . . .	mu - un - tug

34. . . . . giš ba - dim
35. . . . . ki-a ba - dim
36. . . . . giš-u-ru ba-an-du
37. . . . . uru mu-un-dim
38. . . . . a-dam (ki) mu-un-[ia]
39. . . . . ê-kur-ra-gi ba-dim
40. . . . . [ê-an-]na-gi [ba-dim]

Semitic Version.

1. Bêtu el-lim bêt îlāni ina aš-ri el-lim ul e-pu-uš
2. Ḳa-nu-u ul a-ṣi i-ṣi ul ba - ni
3. Li-bit-ti ul na-da-at na-al-ban-ti ul ba-na-at
4. Bêtu ul e-pu-uš, alu ul ba-ni
5. Alu ul e-pu-uš, nam-maš-šu-u ul ša - aš-šu
6. Ni-ip-pu-ru ul e-pu-uš, Ê-kura ul ba - ni
7. U-ruk ul e-pu-uš, Ê-mina[1] ul ba . ni
8. Ap-su-u ul e-pu-[uš[2]], Eri-di ul ba - ni
9. Bêtu el-lum, bêt îlāni, šu-bat-su ul ep-še-et
10. Nap-ḫar ma-ta-a-tam tam-tum-ma.
11. I-nu-ša ki-rib tam-tim ra-ṭu - um - ma
12. Ina u-mi-šu Eri-di e-pu-uš[3] Ê-mina[4] ba - ni
13. Ê-mina[4] ša ina ki-rib ap-si-i D.P. Lugal-du-azag-ga ir-mu-u
14. Ka-dingir-ra (ki) e-pu-[uš[5]], Ê-sag-ila šuk - lul
15. Ilāni D.P. A-nun-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš i - pu - uš
16. Alu el-lum šu-bat ṭu-ub lib-bi-šu-nu ṣi-riš im-bu-u
17. D.P. Marduk a-ma-am ina pa-an me-e ir-ku-us
18. E-pi-ri ib-ni-ma it-ti a-mi iš - pu - uk
19. Ilāni ina šu-bat ṭu-ub lib-bi ana šu-šu-bi
20. A-me-lu-ti ib-ta-ni
21. D.P. mina[6] zi-ir a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šu ib-ta-nu
22. Bu-ul ṣêri ši-kin na-pi-iš-ti ina ṣi-e-ri ib-ta-ni
23. Mina û mina[7] ib-ni-ma ina aš-ri iš-ku-un
24. Šum-ši-na ṭa-biš im-bi
25. Uš-ša di-it-ta ap-pa-ri ḳa-na-a û ki-ša ib-ta-ni
26. Ur-ki-it ṣe-rim ib-ta-ni
27. Ma-ta-a-tum ap-pa-ri a-bu-um-ma
28. Lit-tu bu-ur ša me-ru la-aḫ-ru pu-ḫat-sa im-mir su-bu-ri

[1] *Ê-kura.*
[2] Omitted on the original.
[3] Here, on the original, the character *uš* is incorrectly repeated.
[4] *Ê-sagila.*
[5] Omitted on the original.
[6] *Aruru.*
[7] *Idiglat û Puratta.*

29. Ki-ra-tu u ki-ša-tu-ma
30. A-tu-du šap-pa-ri iz-za-az-ru-šu
31. Be-lum D.P. Marduk ina pa-at tam-tim ud-la-a u-mal-li
32. . . . . a pa-na-ma la iš-ku-un
33. . . . . uš-tab-ši
34. . . . . -ni i-ṣa ib-ta-ni
35. . . . . i-na aš-ri ib-ta-ni
36. . . . . [na-al-] ban-tam ib-ta-ni
37. . . . . .
38. . . . . -kan (?)
39. . . . . .
40. . . . . .

Transcription of the Reverse.

AKKADIAN VERSION.

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . .
3. . . . . [gal]-an-zu ki-gal dingir-ri-[e-ni-gi]
4. D.P. Nin-a-ĝa-kud-du du En-ki-ga-gi
5. Nig-na-ga (?)-ga (?) ĝu-mu-ra-ab-el-la
6. Gi-bil-la el-[la] ĝu-mu-ra-ab-lag-lag-ga
7. Lut a-gub-ba[el-la abzu] ki ner-du-na-zu u-mu-un-na-azaga
8. Mu-dug-ga D.P. Silig-lu-sar lugala ana-kia-šar-ra-gi
9. Ĝen-gala kur-ra-gi šaga-zu ĝa-ba-ra-an-tu-tu
10. Me-zu û-ul-du-a-šu šu-ĝa-ra-an-du-du
11. Ê-zi-da ki-dur-maĝa An-na Innanna ša-ki-aga-me-en
12. Ana-dim ĝi-en-azag-ga [Ki-a-dim ĝi]-en-el-la Sa ana-dim ĝi
13. . . . . ga bara-šu gi-im-ta - gub

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14. Enim-enim-ma . . . . . ga-ga-ne-gi

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15. En : Mulu . . . . . mar-gid-da ša-ma-mi

SEMITIC VERSION.

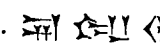
1. . . . . nat (?) par-ṣi . . . . . .
2. . . . . ki-lim-mu-u (?) . . . . . .
3. Sak-kul-la-ka ṣi-i-ru D.P. Pap-sukal ir-ši ma-lik ilâni
4. D.P. mina (= Nin-a-ḫa-kud-du) mar-ti D.P. E-a
5. Ina nik-na-ki el-lu ul-lil-ka

6. Ina mina (=gi-bil-li) eb-bi ub-bi-ib-ka
7. Ina mina (=lut-a-gub-bi)-e el-la ap-si-i a-šar tal-lak-ti-ka ul-lu.
8. Ina mina (=mu-dug-gi)-e Marduk šar kiš-šat šam-e u irṣi-ti^{m}
9. Nu-ḫuš ma-a-ti ina lib-bi-ka li-ru-ub.
10. Par-ṣi-ka ana u-mu ṣa-ti liš-tak-li-[lu]
11. Ê-mina (=zi-da), šub-tu^{m} ṣîr-tu^{m} na-ram lib-bi D.P. A-nu u D.P. Iš-tar at-ta.

(The two lines remaining before the colophon are in Akkadian only.)

Notes on the words.

Obverse.

L. 1.  , *bêtu el-lim.* We should rather expect here *bêtu êllu^{m}*. The pronunciation of the vowel in these case-endings was probably, however, rather obscure. The second *elli^{m}* is simply represented in the Akkadian version by , *mina*, "ditto." (This seems to be better than , as I read at first.) repeats the Akk. , *azagga*.

L. 3. *Libitti* is for *libinti*, from *labānu*, and comes therefore from the same root as *nalbanti*, which latter word, like *niditti* (generally written *nidintu*), was probably, at least in later times, pronounced *nalbatti*.

L. 5. *Nammaššū* is a very common word for animals, though it seems to mean all earthly things—not only man and living creatures in general, but also the works wrought by the hand of man. The Akkadian equivalent is , *a-dam* according to the Akkadian method of transcription (cf. W. A. I. ii. pl. 24, l. 50 *ed*). The word occurs also in the story of the creation to which the late G. Smith drew attention, on a fragment found by him at Kouyunjik when excavating for the *Daily Telegraph* (see Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*, p. 94 *c*). Having here a word which seems to mean

"earthly things in general,"[1] the question naturally arises whether the Heb. אֲדָמָה is not borrowed from this Akkadian word. For the various renderings, compare Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 103: *tenišētu*, "mankind," *amēlutu*, "human beings," (in general); *duruššu* (Zimmern, *durūšu*), "floor," "foundation;" *âlu*, "city." The fem. form *nammaštu* also occurs. Another Akk. equivalent is *azalulu*. Of as great interest, probably, is the word *šaššu*, which, notwithstanding the peculiar way in which it is written (for , the second and third characters being too close together[2]), must be regarded as fairly certain. However this word is to be explained, it will no doubt be recognized as the probable root or origin of the adverb *šaššaniš* found in the texts of Nebuchadnezzar. The etymology lately proposed for the latter is, that it is for *šamšu*, "the sun." If this be the case, we have here an example of a denominative verb, namely, *šamāšu* or *šawāšu*, "to be bright," the double *š* being due to assimilation.

L. 6. The name *Nippuru* (in Akk. ideographically written *En-lil ki* or *El-lil ki*), the modern Niffer, seems to have been borrowed from the Akk. *Nipur*. The ideographic form of the name means "the place" *or* "city of Bel," who was called *Enlila* or *Ellila* in Akkadian. Êkur was the great temple of the city.

L. 7. *Uruk* is, in Akkadian, *Unug* or *Unuga*. It is the Biblical Erech and the modern *Warka*. One of the gentilic forms of the name was *Arkâa*. Arabic probably has the fullest form of the name, having retained the initial *w* as well as the vowel of the by-form **Aruk*, which we may suppose to have existed. *Ê-ana*, "the house of heaven," was the great temple of the city.

[1] In l. 38 the Akkadian equivalent is followed by , *ki*, "earth," "land," "place," most likely a determinative suffix.

[2] *Sada* would have been written .

L. 8. The name Êridu comes from the Akk. *Eridug* or *Gurudug* (the full form), meaning "the good city." In Assyrian this would be *âlu ṭâbu*, transcribed by Sir H. C. Rawlinson as *Thib*, "the blessed city or Paradise." This fact (J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. N.S. p. 80 note), I was unaware of when I read this paper, and its being independently thought out adds greatly to the probability of the assumption being correct. In connexion with this identification of *Eridu* as Paradise, see lines 9, 12.

L. 10. [cuneiform], *tâmtumma*, "the sea also." For this peculiar form see also lines 11, 27, and 29, where we have *râṭumma*, *abumma*, and *kîšatuma*, "there was a stream also," "it was vegetation also," and "forest also." As I have elsewhere remarked, there seems to be the verb "to be" hidden somehow in this form *-umma* or *-uma* with which these expressions end. The Akk. equivalent of *tâmtumma* is *a-abbāma* (or *a-abbā-ba*?), but in each of the other cases *-nanam* or *-binanam* replaces the *ama* of the first-named, making *radananam*, *giš-ginanam*, and *giš-tir-binanam* respectively. Further examples of this form ending in *-binanam* will be found in my "Observations on the Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia," in J.R.A.S. for 1884, Part II. p. 311.

L. 13. The god Lugal-du-azaga, "the king of the glorious mound," is mentioned also in the so-called "legend of the Tower of Babel." *Du-azaga*, or "the glorious mound," is explained as "the mountain, the place of the fates" (*ki namtartarrēne* = (*šadî*) *ašar šimātu*^{m}), and Nebo of Dilmun is called "the god of the glorious mound." The month Tisri is "the month of the glorious mound." The true correlation of all these things has yet to be found out. It is noteworthy that W.A.I. iv 62 [69], ll. 30 and 31 explain *du* as *sukku* (compare the Heb. סֹךְ) in the expression *du-azaga-abzu*, "the glorious mound of the abyss," an expression which seems to have a direct bearing on the passage we are now considering.

L. 16. The Akkadian portion of this line is rather peculiar as to its construction. Generally such an expression as "the seat of the joy of their heart" would be expressed by *ša-duggaene* or *ša-duggabi*, "(of) heart-joy their," the pronoun (*ene* or *bi*) being attached to the compound noun. This, however, is not the case; the pronoun *ene* being quite separated from the noun *ša-dugga*, and attached to another root expressed by the character , the reading of which is doubtful here, but may possibly be *kala* (*kalaene*). Perhaps we are to translate "their highness." Another peculiarity is that *ṣîriš*, "supremely," is not translated by *maǵa-bi*, as would be expected, but by *mu-maǵa*, lit. "name-supreme" ("name-supreme he proclaimed").

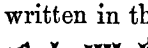
L. 17. Another difficult line, principally on account of the second half of the Akkadian part containing some very unusual words, the Assyrian *ina pan mê*, "before the water," being represented by the Akk. *ide na-a-nam*, the only thing clear being the first word, *ide*, which is well known as a Sumerian form. The first part of the line also contains new expressions.

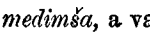
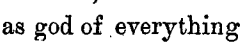
L. 18. The Akk. equivalent of the Assyrian *itti ami* is apparently *a-ki*, "water + with." *Išpuk* therefore corresponds with the long phrase *a-dag-nam-mi-in-dub*.

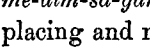
L. 19. The last word-cluster, *nendurrunešama* (root *durru* or *duru*) contains the same suffix as line 10, namely, *-ama* (*aba*).

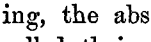
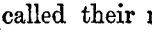
L. 21. The goddess Aruru is also mentioned in the Gilgameš-legends (see Haupt, "Nimrodepos," pl. 8). In this text there is an address to her, asking her to perform what seems to be an act of creation.

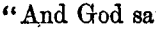
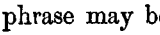
L. 22. Instead of , *ši-kin*, the more usual form is , *ši-ik-na-at*. *Ibila* (?)= .

L. 23. The name of the river Euphrates is apparently incorrectly written in the Akkadian part—it should be  , with only one . I conjecture that the group is to be read

medimša, a variant of  , the god Sala as god of everything (*Šala ša kullati*). If this be the case, the Akkadian words  , *me-dim-ša-gar-ra-dim*, probably mean "everything placing and making."

L. 24. Here, again, we have an unusual Akk. adverbial form corresponding with the Semitic *ṭâbiš* "well," namely,  *nam-duga*, which is, properly speaking, the abstract noun "good." The phrase, "he called their name good," may therefore be regarded to a certain extent as a parallel to the well-known "And God saw that it was good" of the first chapter of Genesis, especially if the word טוֹב in the Biblical phrase may be regarded, like the Akk. *nam-duga*, as a noun. טוֹב often occurs in Hebrew as a noun.

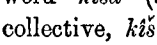
L. 25. The identification of the plant-names in this line is somewhat difficult. It is to be noted that the word *kîša* (accusative of *kîšu*) is apparently a collective, *kîštu* (plural *kîšāti*) being the usual word for "forest," translating the Akk.  . The seeming collective *kîša* translates the Akkadian  .

L. 28. The important word in this line, *laḫru*, translating the Akkadian  , has already been noticed (see p. 397.) The expression "sheep of the fold" is also important, as it enables us to fix the meaning of the word *suburu* and its Akk. equivalent  .

L. 29. For *kîšatu* see the note to l. 25.

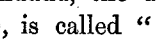
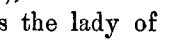
L. 30. *Izzazru-šu* and its Akk. equivalent *minindagir* are doubtful.

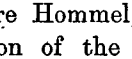
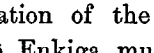
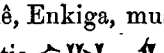
L. 32. The mutilation of this line makes the remains of the Akkadian portion very difficult to analyse. The Semitic part is clear.

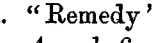
LL. 34–40. These lines are parallel to ll. 2–7, which may be compared. It is to be noted that *a-dam* in l. 38 is followed by  *ki*, implying that the word means something like foundation (see the note to l. 5).

Reverse.

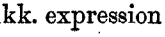
L. 4. Nin-a-ḫa-kuddu, the daughter of the god Êa or Aê (Oannes), is called "The lady of the bright water." She was the lady of incantations, who purified the body of the sick (W.A.I. iv. pl. 28, No. 3, l. 58 [=28*, No. 3, rev., l. 16–17 in the new edition], pl. 63, obv. col. ii. l. 14). See the next three lines, and compare Hommel, *Die Semiten*, p. 383. The pronunciation of the Akk. form of the name of Êa or Aê, Enkiga, must be regarded as doubtful.

L. 5. The Semitic  *nig-na-ki* is borrowed from the Akk.  *nig-na-ga-ga(?)*. As the word is mutilated, however, its precise meaning is uncertain. "Remedy" seems to be the most probable.

L. 7. As in lines 4 and 6, the two upright wedges ( ) mean "ditto," but in this case there is the phonetic complement added.  therefore stands for  D.P. *a-gub-bi-e*, the oblique case of *agubbū*, from the Akk.  *agubba*. Another Semitic form of the word was *êgubbū*. The Akk. etymology is *a* "water," + *guba* "bright." is the determinative prefix denoting a jug or pitcher.

L. 8. In this line we have again with the phonetic complement , showing that we must restore  *mu-du-gi-e*, oblique case of *mudugū*, borrowed from the Akk. *mu-dugga* "spoken incantation," from *mu* "incantation," and *duga* (*dugga*) "to speak." The Akkadian group at the end, *lugala ana-ki-šarra-gi* means literally "king heaven-earth-host-of," and is a good example of the agglutinative nature of the language.

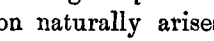
L. 9. *Ĝe-gala* is for *ĝen-gala*, borrowed by the Mesopotamian Semites under the forms *ḫegallu* and *ḫengallu* (generally the former). It is here translated by the native *nuḫuš*, construct case of *nuḫšu*.

L. 10. The Akk. expression  *u-ul-dua*, judging from the recurrence of the root at the end of the line, in the verb šu *ǧaran*DUDU "may it be perfected," probably means "day of perfection-making," that is, "at the completion of time," "at a future day." If this be the case, we probably ought to read *û-du-dua* instead of *û-ul-dua*.

L. 11. The Akk. equivalent of the Semitic *narâm libbi Anu u Ištar atta*, "the beloved of the heart of Anu and Ištar art thou," is "Anu Ištar-heart-beloved-thou" (*Anna-Innanna-ša-kiagga-men*), the preposition "of" seeming not to be expressed.

L. 12–13 show common endings to documents of this class, often given without any Semitic translation, probably because they occur so often. The *ǧi* at the end is an abbreviation for *ǧi-en-azag-ga*.

L. 15. This poetical plural of *šamû*, "heaven," namely, *šamami*, is well known, and is regarded as a parallel to the analogous plural of *mû* "water," *mami*. The question naturally arises, however, whether we are not to regard *šamami* as being really *šamawi*, an old and full form of the plural for nouns from roots ו"ל. The ordinary plurals *šamê* and *mê* would in this case be natural developments from these old forms.

The above text was found by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam during his excavations in 1882. When I first discovered its nature, I was under the impression that it came from Kouyunjik. Dr. Bezold, however, doubts this, and I am inclined to think that he is right, especially as the goddess Aruru (patron-deity of a city of the same name close to Sippara) is mentioned in line 21. See W. A. I. ii. pl. 50, l. 64, where  , *Sippar-Aruru* occurs, and is explained as *Dûr-Šar-gi-na*, "the fortress of Sargon," "Sargonsburgh." This text was therefore found, like the other tablets of this collection from Babylonia, at Sippara, now Abu-habbah.

Art. IX.—*The Sects of the Buddhists.* By T. W. Rhys Davids.

We find in the Dīpavaṃsa (Chapter V. 39-48) a list of the eighteen sects (or schools rather) into which the Buddhists in India had, in the course of the second century of the Buddhist era, been divided. In the Mahāvamsa (Chapter V.) there is a similar list, evidently drawn from the same sources, but omitting (in Turnour's texts) numbers 1-7 of the older list. It is curious that precisely where these names ought to come in (at line 5), the text given by Turnour is evidently corrupt, a half-sloka at least being missing, and probably more.[1]

So far as is yet known these eighteen sects are not elsewhere mentioned in Pāli literature, excepting only in the commentary on the Kathā Vatthu, edited by the late Professor Minayeff, for the Pāli Text Society, in 1889. The book itself, composed by Moggali-putta Tissa, about 240 B.C., deals with a number of ethical points which were then matters of controversy; and it is the greatest pity that, owing to want of funds, the Pāli Text Society has not yet been able to publish it. But the commentary, short as it is (only 200 pages in the journal of the Pāli Text Society), gives the name of the particular sect against which certain of the arguments are directed.

These data are very important. Following the list of the eighteen sects in the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa above referred to is another list of six later sects, the names of which, with one exception, are derived from places, presumably the places where the sects in question took their origin. Now we

[1] Since the above was written I find that the missing passage has actually been found by Baṭuwan Tuḍāwa. It contains exactly what we find in the Dīpāvamsa.

find that in a large majority (about ninety as against about forty-five) of the cases in which the commentary gives the name of the sect referred to, the names are those of these six later sects. And of the forty-five directed against the eighteen older schools, sixteen are directed against one, nineteen against another, and seven against a third (only four others of the eighteen being mentioned at all, and three of these four being referred to only once.)

There is every reason to believe that the commentator's statements as to the sects against whom his author's arguments were directed are, so far as they go, correct. When we have the text before us we may be able to specify others. But we may fairly draw the conclusion that *already in the time of Asoka only seven of the eighteen sects had retained any practical importance at all, and that of these seven only three, or perhaps four, were still vigorous and flourishing.*

This will be made plainer by the following table, in which I have first arranged the list given in both the Ceylon chronicles (and derived by both from the history handed down in the Mahā Vihāra at Anurādhapura) in such a way as to show the relationship of these eighteen Hīnayāna sects one to another. To each sect I have then added the pages of the commentary on the Kathā Vatthu, in which it is specifically referred to by name.[1]

[1] The Mahā-bodhīvaṃsa, being edited this year for the Pāli Text Society, also gives the eighteen schools of Buddhists in India. But its data are merely derived from the older Ceylon sources, and it adds nothing new.

All our Ceylon information is really derived from the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura.

Three of the eighteen sects have been found in inscriptions of the second and third century A.D.—The Bhadrāyanīyā in the "Archæological Survey of Western India," II. 85; IV. 109-111—the Cetikā, *ibid.* IV. 115, and "Arch. Survey of Southern India," I. 100—and the Mahāsaṃghikā in the "Arch. Survey of Western India," IV. 113.

TABLE I. SECTS OF THE HĪNAYĀNA.

(A. The eighteen sects.)

1. Thera-vādino.
   2. Vajjiputtakā.
      4. Dhammuttarikā.
      5. Bhaddayānikā, 58.
      6. Channagarikā (Dīp. Chanda°, *and* C^y *on* Kathā Vatthu Channā°) 3.
      7. Sammitiyā, 42, 58, 67, 68, 97, 106, 110, 111, 112, 114, 123, 127, 129, 150, 156, 160, 161, 162, 174 (total 19).
   3. Mahiṃsāsakā, 60, 90, 92, 111, 123, 160, 173, 181.
      8. Sabbatthivādā (Dīp. Sabbattha-), 43, 58, 132.
         10. Kassapikā, 50.
            11. Saṅkantikā.
            12. Suttavādā.
      9. Dhammaguttikā.
13. Mahāsangītikārakā=Mahāsaṃghikā, 123–129, 131, 135, 136, 147, 152, 154, 158, 176, 189, 190 (total 16).
   14. Gokulikā, 58.
      16. Bahussutakā=Bāhulikā.
      17. Paññatti-vādā.
      18. Cetiya-vādā.[1]
   15. Ekabyohārikā.

All these 18 arose in 100–200 A.B. (Dīp. 5. 53=Mah. 5. 8).

[1] This school was very probably the source of the schools of the Eastern and Western Caves at Dhanakaṭaka (the Pubba- and Apara-selikā of Table I. (B)) as its name occurs once on the Amarayatī Tope in the description of one of the donors, a member of the order resident in one or other of these mountain Vihāras.

TABLE I. HĪNAYĀNA (*continued*).

(B. Later sects in India.)

1. Hemavatikā.

2–5. Andhakā, 52, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 71, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 92, 93, 101, 102, 103, 105, 109, 110, 111, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 130, 133, 144, 149, 150, 151, 156, 161, 162, 163, 172, 173, 174, 177, 180, 184, 185, 189, 190, 193, 197, 198 (total 55).

2. Rājagirikā, 1, 94–99, 140, 154, 163, 164.
3. Siddhatthikā, 94–99, 163, 164.
4. Pubbaselikā, 54, 56, 90, 106, 108, 109, 112, 114.
5. Aparaselikā, 54, 55, 56, 143, 148, 159, 187.

} Andhakā.

6. Vādariyā (*so in* Mah. *The* Dīp. 5. 54, *has* Aparo Rājagiriko, *and the C^y on the* Kathā Vatthu, p. 5, *calls them* Vājariyā and Vājiriyā).

(C. Later sects in Ceylon.)

1. Dhammaruciyā (B.C. 90).
2. Sāgaliyā (A.D. 251).
3. Dāṭhāvedhakā (A.D. 601).

But the commentator mentions also five sects with names not occurring in Table I. I give these sects, therefore, in a separate table, again adding all the pages in which they are referred to.

TABLE II.

1. Uttarāpathakā, 73, 81, 82, 92, 105, 117, 118, 119, 132, 137, 139, 141, 144, 145, 148, 149, 151, 160, 170, 172, 177, 179, 180, 183, 188, 191, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198 (total 34).
2. Vibhajjavādino, 6 (=Thera-vādino).
3. Vetulyakā, 167, 171, 197.
4. Suññatavādā, 167.
5. Hetuvādā, 153, 154, 156, 158, 166, 181, 184, 198.

We can now, therefore, in a third table, give the names of the sects which are, so far, known to have been considered as of real practical importance in the time of Asoka, or rather when the Kathā Vatthu was composed.

TABLE III. SECTS IN ASOKA'S TIME.

1. Thera-vādino (=Vibhajja-vādino), the old school, to which Moggaliputta Tissa himself and the authors of the Ceylon commentaries, etc., belonged.
2. Sammitiyā (derived from the above, but existing only on the Continent).
3. Mahiṃsāsakā, with their subdivision, the
4. Sabbatthi-vādino.

5–8. The Andhra sects, with four subdivisons (see Table I. B.).

9. The Mahāsaṃghikā.
10. The Uttarāpathakā.

It will not be possible till we get the text of the Kathā Vatthu to show the exact nature of the differences by which these sects were distinguished. But it is already clear from the commentary, which shows the nature of the questions at issue, that they one and all looked upon Arahatship (not Bodisatship) as the ideal of a good Buddhist, and were really much alike in essentials, not differing more than the various sects of Protestants do to-day.

The above results are entirely confirmed by such other evidence of value as is accessible to us. We have two important Hīnayāna books in Sanskrit, the Divyāvadāna and the Mahāvastu, accessible to scholars in critical editions. The former mentions no sects, and though its ethical teaching, as is natural in a story-book, is put in the background, it contains very little that is contradictory to the older teaching. The latter purports to belong (see vol. i. p. 2, line 13) to the Lokottaravādins, a sect of the Mahāsaṃghikā (who are supposed to have been the furthest removed from the school of the Theras). But there is very little in its teaching which could not have been developed from the Thera-vāda; and it also differs from the Pāli texts in the lower general tone—in the prominence given to legendary matter, and in the consequent inattention to ethical points, and the details of Arahatship—rather than by the enunciation of new and divergent doctrines.

We find a similar confirmation of our Kathā Vatthu commentator if we look at the names of the sects referred to by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. These are shown in the following table.

TABLE IV. SECTS MENTIONED BY FA HIAN AND YUAN THSANG.

A. By Fa Hian.

In Lob and Karaschar	the	Hīnayāna, Ch. 2.
„ Khoten	„	Mahāyāna, Ch. 3.
„ the Dard Country .	„	Hīnayāna, Ch. 6.
„ Udyāna	„	Hīnayāna, Ch. 8.
„ Panjāb	„	both, Ch. 14, 15.
„ Kanauj	„	Hīnayāna, Ch. 18.
„ the Middle Country .	„	96 sects, Ch. 20 (apparently not Buddhists).
„ Kosambī	„	Hīnayāna, Ch. 34.
„ Patna	„	Mahāsaṃghikā, Ch. 36.
„ India	„	18 sects, Ch. 36.
„ Patna (and China) .	„	Sabbatthi-vādā, Ch. 36.
„ Ceylon	„	Mahiṃsāsakā, Ch. 40.

B. By Yuan Thsang.

In Gaz	the	Sabbatthivādā, 1. 49 (trans. Beal).
„ Bāmiyan	„	Lokottaravādino, 1. 50.
„ Kapisa	„	mostly Mahāyāna, 1. 55.
„ India	„	18 schools (apparently both Hīna- and Mahā-yāna !) 1. 80.
„ Gandhāra	„	Hīna-yāna, 1. 104.
„ Po-lu-sha	„	Hīna-yāna, 1. 112.
„ Udyāna	„	Mahā-yāna, 1. 120, and also Nos. 3, 8, 9, 10, 13, of Table I. (A), 1. 121.
„ Takshasilā	„	Mahāyāna, 1. 137.
„ Kashmīr	„	Mahāsaṃghikā, 1. 162.
„ Sāgala	„	Hīnayāna, 1. 172.
„ Kulūta	„	Mahāyāna, 1. 177.
„ ?	„	Hīnayāna, 1. 179.
„ Mathurā	„	both, 1. 180.
„ Sthāneśvara	„	Hīnayāna, 1. 184.
„ Srughna	„	Hīnayāna, 1. 187.

In Rohilkund	the Hīnayāna (Sabbatthivādino) 1. 190, 192, 196.
„ Goviṣāna	„ Hīnayāna, 1. 200.
„ Pi-lo-shan-na . . .	„ Mahāyāna, 1. 201.
„ Ahikshetra . . .	„ Sammitiyā, 1. 200.
„ Kapītha	„ Sammitiyā, 1. 102.
„ Kanauj	„ both H. and M., 1. 207.
„ Navadevakula. . .	„ Sabbatthivādino, 1. 224.
„ Audh	„ both, 1. 225.
„ Hayamukha . . .	„ Sammitiyā, 1. 230.
„ Prayāga	„ Hīnayāna, 1. 231.
„ Kosambī	„ Hīnayāna, 1. 235.
„ Visākhā	„ Sammitiyā, 1. 239–40.
„ Srāvasti	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 2.
„ Kapilavastu . . .	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 14.
„ Benares	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 44, 45.
„ Ghazipur	„ Hīnayāna, 2. 61.
„ Mahāsāla	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 65.
„ Śvetapura (?) . . .	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 75.
„ Vajjians	„ both, 2. 78.
„ Nepāl	„ both, 2. 81.
„ Magadha	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 82.
„ „	„ both, 2. 103, 104.
„ Gayā	„ Mahāyāna of the Sthavira School, 2. 133.
„ Pigeon Vihāra . .	„ Sabbatthivādā, 2. 182.
„ Mongir	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 186.
„ Campā	„ Hīnayāna, 2. 192.
„ Po-chi-po Vihāra .	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 195.
„ Puṇḍra	„ both, 2. 195.
„ Bengal	„ Sthavira, 2. 199.
„ Bhāgalpur	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 201.
„ Orissa	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 204.
„ Kalinga	„ Sthavira school, 2. 208.
„ Kosala	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 210.
„ Dhanakaṭaka . . .	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 221. (Here are the Pubbasela and Aparasela Viharas.)

In	Kāñcipura	the Sthavira, 2. 229.
„	Ceylon	„ Sthavira, 2. 247.
„	Konkana	„ both, 2. 254.
„	Mahrattas	„ both, 2. 257.
„	Baroach	„ Sthavira, 2. 260.
„	Malva	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 261.
„	Kachch	„ Hīnayāna & Mahāyāna, 2. 266.
„	Valabhī	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 266.
„	Surat	„ Sthavira, 2. 269.
„	Gurjara	„ Sabbatthivādā, 2. 270.
„	Ujjen	„ both, 2. 270.
„	N. Sindh	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 272.
„	Parvata (Po-fa-to) .	„ both, 2. 275.
„	Kurāchi (?) . . .	„ Samittiyā, 2. 276.
„	Lang-kia-lo . . .	„ both, 2. 277.
„	Persia	„ Sabbatthivādā, 2. 278.
„	Pi-to-shi-lo . . .	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 279.
„	O-fan-cha	„ Sammitiyā, 2. 280.
„	Fa-la-na	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 281.
„	Ghazni	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 284.
„	Hwoh	„ both, 2. 288.
„	Och	„ Sabbatthivādā, 2. 304.
„	Kashgar	„ Sabbatthivādā, 2. 307.
„	Cho-kiu-kia . . .	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 308.
„	Khoten	„ Mahāyāna, 2. 309.

On these lists it may be noted that Fa Hian knows of the list of eighteen Hīnayāna sects (see Ch. XXXVI.); but he mentions by name only three; and those three are precisely those three of the eighteen which, in our Table No. 1, are shown to have been, together with the Sammitiyā, the most important in Asoka's time. Further, Fah Hian only knows of one other sect, the Mahāyānists, and of them only in Khoten and the Panjab. Similarly the Kathā Vatthu mentions only one other sect as at all of equal importance with those just referred to; and that sect is that of the "Northerners," the Uttarāpathakā. The undesigned coincidence between the two authors is as complete as it is striking.

Yuan Thsang goes into much greater detail, but his statements are quite consistent with those of the earlier authors. He finds the Mahāsamghikā only in Kashmīr, and there only in small numbers (100), and a subdivision of that school, that is the Lokottara-vādins, only in Bāmiyan. Further down on the continent that school seems, in his time, to have passed over bodily to the Mahāyānists. But the Hīnayānists are still much the more widely distributed, and also more numerous; and of their subdivisions it is precisely those mentioned as important by the earlier writers who recur in Yuan Thsang. He also in most cases gives an estimate of the actual number of Bhikshus in each country. But before discussing these numbers it is necessary to notice the statement, astounding at first sight, that the 20,000 Bhikshus in Ceylon were then principally Mahāyānists.

Yuan Thsang admits that the Ceylonese were originally Hīnayānists, but he explains the change by a division of opinion which took place between the Bhikshus resident at the capital, in the Mahā Vihāra, and in the Abhayagiri Vihāra (the latter drifting towards the Mahāyāna). This division he dates about 200 years after Mahinda's time, that is to say, shortly before the Christian era. He is referring evidently to the same schism as that described in the commentary on the Mahāvamsa (Turnour, p. 53), which is there dated about 90 B.C., and is said to have arisen between the residents at these two great Vihāras. As the whole of the voluminous Pali literature of Ceylon in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and later centuries, is written entirely from the Theravāda standpoint, it is clear that Yuan Thsang, who did not himself visit Ceylon, either misunderstood or was misinformed as to the side on which the preponderance, in his time, lay. And when he adds that the particular school of the Mahāyānists to which the Ceylonese Buddhists belonged was the Sthavira or Thera school, it can scarcely be doubted that he (or his informant) had in view the Theravāda school to which we know the Ceylonese almost exclusively adhered. A Thera school of the Mahāyānists has not been found mentioned in any other author, and the

Sthavira school is elsewhere referred to as identical with the Thera-vāda, the most fundamentally Hīnayānist of all the sects.

Taking this to be so, it will be of value to arrange in another table, according to sects, the data given by Yuan Thsang, adding the numbers of the Bhikshus where he gives numbers.

TABLE V. NUMBERS GIVEN BY YUAN THSANG.

1. Sthavira sect (Thera-vādino).		
In Gayā	1000	(in a Vihāra founded by a Ceylon king).
„ East Bengal	2000	
„ Kalinga	500	
„ Kāñcipura	10,000	
„ Ceylon	20,000	
„ Bharukaccha	300	
„ Surattha	3000	
	36,800	
2. Sammitiyā (No. 7 of Table I.).		
In Ahikshetra	1000	
„ Sankassa	100	
„ Hayamukha	1000	
„ Visākhā	3000	
„ Sāvatthi	few	
„ Kapila-vatthu	30	(text has 3000)
„ Benares	3000	
„ Migadāya	1500	
„ Mungiri	4000	
„ Bhagalpur	2000	
„ Mālva	2000	
„ Valabhī	6000	
„ N. Sindh	10,000	
„ Kurāchi	5000	
„ Pi-to-shi-lo	3000	
„ Avanti (?)	2000	
	43,630	

3. Sabbatthivādino (No. 8 in Table I.).

In Balk	200
„ Ma-ti-pu-lo (Rohilkund)	800
„ Pigeon Vihāra	200
„ Kanauj	500
„ Gurjara	100
„ Persia	several hundred
„ Och	several hundred
„ Kashgar	10,000
More than	12,000

4. Lokottaravādino (probably=No. 14 of Table I. A.).

In Bāmiyan	1000

5. Hīnayāna, without mention of any one of the eighteen sects.

In Sāgala	100
„ Sthāneśvara	700
„ Srughna	1000
„ Govisāna	100
„ Kosambī	300
„ Ghazipur (near Benares)	1000
„ Campā	200
	3400

6. Mahāyāna.

In Kapisa (Hindukush)	6000
„ Uyyāna (so at I. 120. But the schools are given, p. 121, and they all belong to the Hīnayāna!)	
„ Kulūta (on the Upper Biyās)	1000
„ Pi-lo-shan-na	500
„ Ti-lo-shia-kia (20 m. W. of Nālanda)	1000
„ Po-chi-po Khāra	700
„ Orissa	10,000
„ South Kosala	10,000
„ Dhanakaṭaka	1000
„ Fa-la-na	300
„ Ghazni	1000
„ Cho-kiu-kia	500
„ Khoten	1000
	32,000

7. Bhikshus who study both Hīna- and Mahā-yāna.

In Mathurā (on the Jumna)	2000
„ Kanauj	10,000
„ Audh	3000
„ Vajjians	1000
„ Nepal	2000
„ Magadha	10,000
„ Puṇḍra	3000
„ Konkana	10,000
„ Mahrattas	5000
„ Ujjen	300
„ Po-fa-to	1000
„ Lang-kia-lo	6000
„ Hwoh	200
„ Och	1000
	54,500

Totals of above.

Hīnayāna		
Sthavira	36,800	
Sammitiyā	43,630	
Sabbatthivādino	12,000	96,430
Lokottaravādino	1000	
(No name)	3400	
Mahāyāna		32,000
Both Hīna- and Mahāyāna		54,500
(Total members of the Order)		182,930

These numbers are exclusive of those, not many cases, where it is said there were 'few' at any place. They show that Yuan Thsang estimated the Buddhist Bhikshus in India and the adjacent countries to the N.W. towards the close of the seventh century of our era at less than two hundred thousand. And further that, in his opinion, about three-fourths of them studied at that time what he called the 'Little Vehicle,' and about one-fourth of them what he called the 'Great Vehicle.'

Besides the above statements, we have others from Tibetan books of the tenth and following centuries, which will be of value, inasmuch as they attempt to give not only the genealogy of the sects (their relation to one another), but also a summary of their special doctrines. Mr. Rockhill, to whom we owe the best existing summary of these statements,[1] says of these as to doctrine that "the theories of the different schools are unfortunately given . . . so concisely that it is a difficult, if not an impossible task, to give a satisfactory translation of them." And the statements as to the origin of the sects are so confused, and even contradictory, that very little can be made out of them. Tāranātha (of the seventeenth century) gives another account of the origin of the sects drawn principally from the same Tibetan sources as Mr. Rockhill summarises at greater length (Tāranātha, pp. 270-273). It is plain that all these Tibetan data rest upon earlier Sanskrit summaries, and go back eventually to a tradition which, when it is fully known, will probably confirm, and even perhaps add to, the data derived from the other sources.[2]

I would add that in an essay in the Asiatic Researches (Vol. XVI. pp. 424 fol., written in 1828), Mr. Hodgson has given us a somewhat extended summary of four later schools in Nepaul, none of which are even mentioned in the foregoing works. These are:

TABLE VI. NEPAUL SECTS.

1. The Svābhāvikā.
2. The Aiṣvarikā.
3. The Karmikā.
4. The Yātnikā

They are all probably Mahāyānist, and if so are the only subdivisions of that school known to us by name. Mr.

[1] In his "Life of the Buddha," Chapter VI.

[2] Mr. Beal, in the "Indian Antiquary," ix. 300, gives us the same details as we find in Mr. Rockhill, but through a Chinese instead of a Tibetan translation.

Hodgson does not refer to any Sanskrit authority, and is apparently quoting the verbal statements of a Nepal pandit. And, notwithstanding the lapse of time, the sects thus named have not yet been found in any Buddhist author.

Finally we have the following list of Buddhist schools known to Sāyana-Mādhava in the fourteenth century A.D. in South India.[1]

1. The Vaibhāshikā.
2. The Yogācārā.
3. The Sautrāntikā.
4. The Mādhyamikā.

The conclusion I would venture to draw is that our best authorities are really at harmony; and that the history of the Buddhist sects is not the confused and hopeless muddle it has been often supposed to be, but only awaits the publication of the texts, and especially of the Kathā Vatthu, to be capable of reconstruction in an intelligible and fairly satisfactory way.

[1] Sarva Darşana Sangraha, Chapter III.

Art. X.—*The Parables of Barlaam and Joasaph.* By Robert Chalmers, B.A., M.R.A.S.

I.

Though declining to pronounce on the origin and history of the fables of "Barlaam and Joasaph" until the Buddhist Játakas have been translated from the Pali, M. Zotenberg has been at pains to collect these fables and to edit them with a revised Greek text as an appendix to his "Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph" (Paris, 1886). A translation of his text is here given; and for the convenience of students of comparative folk-lore,[1] I have added a translation, from Boissonade's text in "Anecdota Græca," of further passages bearing on the life of Joasaph. The passages in square brackets [ ] are those from Boissonade; the numbers at the head of the remaining sections corresponding to the numbers of the sections of M. Zotenberg's text.

As regards date and authorship of the book, the conclusions of M. Zotenberg are that it was not written by St. John of Jerusalem, but (as most of the ancient manuscripts state) "a été apporté dans la ville sainte (*i.e.* Jerusalem) par un moine du convent de St. Saba nommé Jean." As the monastery founded by St. Euthymus was only restored in A.D. 491 by St. Saba, and as no mention of Mahomedanism occurs in the category of faiths mentioned by the author of "Barlaam and Joasaph," the date of the book must be either the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. On doctrinal and other internal evidence the date is probably about A.D. 630.

[1] See the translation of an Arabic version in this Journal, January, 1890.

As regards the origin and history of the book, I venture to think that it is the *life of Joasaph* (or "Bodisat") which is the important matter, even more than the interpolated fables. In a further paper I propose to consider the life of Joasaph in the light of the several accounts of the life of the Buddha, and to trace the early history of the fables.

[Now when monasteries commenced to spring up in Egypt and monks to assemble in great numbers, and when the report of their virtue and angelic life began to spread to the ends of the earth and came to the Indians, it aroused these latter also to like zeal, so that many of them, leaving all, took to the wilderness, and, whilst still of mortal mould, showed forth the state of angels.

Whilst matters fared thus well, and numbers were winging their way to heaven on golden wings (as the saying is), there arose a king in that same land, Abennēr by name, who grew great in wealth and power and in victory over his adversaries, and won glory in war, and was proud of his great stature and beauty of features, revelling in the marvels that are of this world and will fade all too quickly. But great king as he was, he was oppressed in his soul by the direst poverty and vexed by many evils, being of the Greek (*i.e.* pagan) faction and abject in the error of idol-worship. Now though he lived in great luxury and enjoyment of the joys and pleasures of life, never being thwarted in any of his wishes and desires, there was one thing in which his gladness was marred and his soul filled with cares, namely, the misfortune of being childless. For being without offspring, he was most anxious to be free from such a limitation, and to be called a father of children —an end which most men compass very readily.]

1. Of Anger and Desire.

Hearing this, that man of God [1] made suave but steadfast reply, as follows: "If, sire, it be your wish to confer with me, first remove your enemies from your court, and then I will make answer concerning whatsoever you may seek to learn. For, whilst those enemies are by your side, I have naught to say to your majesty. Saying naught, let me be punished, put to death, and dealt with as you will, 'For unto me,' says my Master, 'the world has been crucified, and I unto the world.'" [2] Then when the King asked who these enemies were whom he was to remove, the man of God answered, "Anger and Desire. For as these were originally implanted by the Creator to abet the natural man, even such is their action now too, in the case of all that are governed not according to the Flesh but according to the Spirit. To all such of you as are wholly Flesh and share not in the Spirit, they have proved themselves adversaries, and labour in the cause of your enemies and foes. For Desire, as it excites pleasure when in activity, so it excites Anger when ungratified and inactive. Let these two, therefore, be put from you this day; and let Understanding and Justice preside at the tribunal, to hear and to judge this cause. For, if you will lay aside Anger and Desire, and will substitute for them Understanding and Justice, I will tell you everything as truth dictates."

[Now, when the ex-Satrap had departed to the wilderness again, the King being still more incensed, set about a fiercer persecution of monasticism, whilst he paid greater honour to the ministers and priests of the idols. And whilst the King was in this fearful error and delusion, a son was born to him, a child of great loveliness, whose infantine beauty foreshadowed the future man. For it was said that never in that country had one been seen so extremely handsome

[1] He had been the Chief Satrap, who, being converted to Christianity, had retired to be a monk in the wilderness, from which he was brought back by the king's command.

[2] Galatians vi. 14.

and beautiful. Filled with very great joy at the birth of his son, the King named him Joasaph, and went in person to the idols' temples to pay sacrifices, in his senseless folly, to gods even more senseless, and to offer up hymns of thanksgiving, knowing not Who is the Giver of all good things, unto Whom should be offered the sacrifice of the spirit.

Whilst the festivities over the child's birth were still in progress, they brought to the King some five-and-fifty chosen men, learned in the astrological knowledge of the Chaldeans. And the King, placing them very close to himself, proceeded to ask them to declare each of them what would be the destiny of the son born to him. After much consideration they answered that he would be great, both in riches and in power, and was destined to surpass all the kings before him. But one of the astrologers, the most distinguished of them all, said, "From what the courses of the stars tell me, Sire, the advancement of the child now born to you belongs not to this kingdom of yours, but to another kingdom infinitely superior. And I consider that he will embrace the religion of the Christians whom you are persecuting, nor do I for my part think that he will be foiled of his aim and hope." Thus spake the astrologer, as of old spake Baalam; not because astrology speaks true, but because God was showing the truth by its opposite, so as to rob the ungodly of every excuse.]

2. How Joasaph was Guarded.

When he heard this, the King was sore distressed at the news; and sorrow began to abate his wonted gladness. Nevertheless, in a quiet retired town, he built a palace of great beauty, with fair chambers richly decorated, wherein he set his son to dwell. Further, the King ordered that the prince was not to set foot outside the palace after his earliest childhood. The tutors and servants whom the King appointed were all young and very handsome, and their mandate from the King was not to allow the prince to see any of the loathly sights of life, such as old-age,

disease, poverty, and all other sad shows which might abate the prince's gladness. Instead, they were to present to his view all things pleasant and delightful, in order that his mind, taking pleasure and revelling therein, might have no force left to speculate on the future, and that not a syllable about Christ and His creed should reach the ears of the prince. For, beyond everything else, it was the King's peculiar anxiety to keep Christianity a secret from his son, because of his secret dread of the astrologer's prophecy.

If any of the attendants chanced to fall ill, the King used to order him to be removed from the precincts at once, and replaced him by one who was quite healthy and well,—all to prevent his son from seeing any strange and startling sight.

3. The Three Meetings.

Now the king's son, about whom our story set out originally to speak, grew up to adolescence within the palace prepared for him, without ever setting foot outside. He had gone through all the learning of the Æthiopians and Persians, and in soul no less than in body showed perfection and beauty, sense and understanding, and a brilliant array of all good endowments. So profound were the questions touching Nature which he propounded to his teachers that they were astounded at the boy's subtlety and wit, whilst the king, too, marvelled both at the loveliness of his face and the beautiful nature of his soul within. And the King continued to charge those about the prince not to let him come to have the slightest inkling of the loathly things of life or of the doom of all our delights to give place to death. But vain were the hopes on which he leaned—essaying to shoot at the heavens, as the proverb has it. For how could the idea of death have possibly eluded human nature? At any rate, it did not elude this young boy. For he, bringing all his intelligence to bear upon the question, set himself to consider privately the reasons why the King refused to let him ever set foot outside the palace, and did not admit

all who wished to have access to his son. For of himself the prince knew that all this was by the King's command. Yet he did not like to ask the King, holding that it was impossible that his father aimed at anything but his son's welfare, and arguing that, if this were his father's design, questioning him would fail to elicit the truth. Hence the prince resolved to get his knowledge not from his father, but from others. Now one of his tutors was nearer and dearer to him than all the rest, being treated with closer intimacy and honoured with more costly presents; and from this man the prince set about enquiring what was the King's object in mewing him up within those walls. "Explain this to me," said he, "and you shall be my favourite beyond all others, and I will make a league with you of everlasting friendship." Now the tutor, who was himself, too, a man of sense, and knew the intelligence and perfect understanding of the boy, and was assured that he would be exposed to no peril by his young charge, related the whole story to him from beginning to end, telling the prince of the persecution which the King had waged against the Christians, and particularly against the ascetics, and how they had been driven out and expelled from that country, and what prophecies had been uttered by the astrologers when the prince was born. "In order, therefore," said the tutor, "that you might not hear their teachings and come to prefer their religion to ours, the King was careful that your associates should not be many but definite in number, and he gave us commands not to let any of the loathly things of life come to your knowledge."

Having heard this, the youth forebore to speak further; but his heart was touched by the Word of Salvation, and the Grace of the Comforter set to work to open the eyes of his mind, leading him by the hand to the true God in order that the Word going before might reveal Him. Very frequently the King, his father, came to see his son, for he loved him with an exceeding affection; and one day his son said, "I wanted to ask you one thing, my lord and master, as to which grief unending and ceaseless care devours my

heart." Filled with inward grief at the mere words, the King said, "Tell me, my darling son, what the grief is that possesses you, and I will try to change it quickly into joy." The boy answered, "What confinement is this of mine here that you have imprisoned me within walls and gates, and suffer me not to go abroad or to be seen publicly?" Said the father, "I desire, my son, that you should see nothing likely to sadden your heart or abate your gladness. For it is my aim that you should live your whole life lapped in ceaseless delight and joy and pleasure." "Oh, but be well assured, sire," answered the boy, "that this present life of mine is not filled with joy and pleasure to me; nay, rather it is filled with sorrow and tribulation, so that my very meat and drink seem distasteful and bitter. For I yearn to see all that lies outside these gates. If, then, you wish me not to live in pain, give orders that I am to go forth at my pleasure and to gladden my heart with the sight of what has been invisible to me hitherto." Grief filled the King's heart when he heard this, and he began to ponder how, if he were to refuse his son's request, he would bring on the boy still greater harm and sorrow. So he made answer, "I will do what you desire, my son," and gave orders that a special chariot should be at once made ready and a king's escort to attend it. Then he directed that the prince should be at liberty to ride out whenever he wished, and charged the prince's companions not to confront him with anything repulsive, but to point out to the boy everything beautiful and delightful. Companies of minstrels were to dance and sing in harmonious unison along the highways, and plays of great beauty were to be performed, so that his mind might be absorbed therein and filled with pleasure. When he was in the frequent habit of going out thus at random along the roads, the King's son saw one day, through the carelessness of his attendants, two men, of whom the one was maimed and the other blind. Seeing them and being pained at heart by the sight, he said to those with him, "Who are these, and what means their unpleasant appearance?" And his attendants, being unable

to conceal what had come before his eyes, replied, "These are states of human suffering such as are wont to assail mortals as the result of corrupt substance and an ill-humoured body." Said the boy, "Do all men alike usually come to this?" "No; not all," was the answer; "only those who lose their health because of the malignancy of their humours." So the boy set about questioning them again, saying, "If not all, but only some men come to this, are the individuals known beforehand who will be attacked by these horrors? or is the attack undefined in scope and unforeseen?" Said they, "Who among men can know the secrets of the future and have sure knowledge thereof? For this is too great for man, and has fallen to the lot of the immortal gods alone." Then the prince ceased from his questioning, but pained was his heart at what he had seen; and a change came over his countenance because of the strangeness of the thing.

Not many days later as he was again passing along, he chanced upon an aged man, very full of years, wizen in face, tottering in the legs, and bent double; he was white with age, his teeth were gone, and his speech was broken and stammering. Amazement, therefore, seized the prince, and, bringing the old man near, he began to ask to know the marvel he saw. Then said those with him, "This man has now reached extreme age; and as his strength kept waning little by little, and as his limbs grew feeble, he passed unawares into the wretched plight you see." "And what," asked the boy, "is the end of this?" Said they, "The next and only change is death." "Pray tell me, does this fate await all men alike," asked the prince, "or only some?" They answered and said, "Unless death anticipate and bear off a man hence, it is impossible, as years roll on, not to come to have experience of this condition." Said the prince, "After how many years then does this come upon a man? And tell me if death is the doom always, and if there is no means of evading it and also of escaping this misery." They answered, "In eighty or a hundred years men glide into this senility, and then

die, no alternative being given. For death is a natural debt laid on mankind in the beginning, and inexorable is death's coming."

Now, when the clever and intelligent youth had seen and heard all this, he said, with groanings from the depths of his heart, "Bitter is this life and full of all pain and wretchedness, if this be so. And how shall a man be free from care for thinking of unknowable death, whose coming is not only inexorable but also unknowable, and not to be foretold, as you say?" And he went away turning all this over in his mind, and unceasingly pondering thereon, and reminding himself again and again of death, his life being wedded thenceforth to trouble and despondency, and possessed with ceaseless sorrow. For he said in himself, "Shall I one day fall a prey to death? And who will hold me in remembrance after death, seeing that time hands over all things to oblivion? And if I die, shall I be dissolved into nothingness? or is there any other life, and another and a different world?"

4. Parable of the Jewel.

For it chanced that at that time there was a certain wise monk, who glorified God both in his life and with his mouth, and had passed through all monastic training. Whence he came, and what his lineage was, I cannot say; but he had taken up his abode in a desert of the land of Senaar,[1] and had become perfect in the grace of the holy state. Barlaam was the name of this old man.

He then it was, who, learning about the king's son by a revelation from God, came out of the wilderness to where men dwelt. Changing his own monastic garb for a lay dress, and embarking on a vessel, he came to the kingdom of India. Then in the guise of a merchant he made his way to the city where the palace was of the king's son. After residing there for many days, he made precise enquiries concerning the prince and the people about him. Learning,

[1] Gen. x. 10; Dan. i. 2.

therefore, that beyond all others the aforesaid tutor was near and dear to the prince, he went to him and said privily, "I would have you to know, my lord, that I am a merchant from a far country, and that I have a precious stone the like of which has never been discovered before. Up till now I have shown it to no man, but I disclose it to you (whom I see to be a man of intelligence and sense), in order that you may bring me before the king's son and that I may present it to him. For, unquestionably, nothing can match it for beauty. It has power to give the light of wisdom to the blind in heart, to open the ears of the deaf, to give speech to the dumb, and strength to the sick. The foolish it makes wise, demons it drives out, and furnishes all things good and fair without stint to its possessor." Said the tutor to him, "I was taking you for a man of settled and solid mind. But your words prove you an unmeasured braggart. For, as to stones and pearls of great price and value, how could I recount all I have seen? Yet never did I either see or hear tell of one with such virtues as you say. Nevertheless, show it me, and if it tallies with your description, I will take it in at once to the prince, and you shall have the highest honours and presents at his hands. But before I have fortified myself by the sure witness of my own eyes, I cannot carry this preposterous report about an unseen thing to my prince and master." Barlaam made answer, "Truly did you say that you have never yet either seen or heard tell of such powers and virtues. For what I tell you relates not to an ordinary thing, but to a great marvel. And for that you sought to see this stone, hearken to my words. This precious stone possesses with the aforesaid powers and virtues this further quality, namely, that it cannot be seen, even when straight before him, by any man who has not both strong and healthy vision and a body chaste and wholly undefiled. For if a man who falls short in these two points, gaze unabashed upon this precious stone, of a sooth he shall further lose the vision he has and his senses. Now, I, who am not unversed in physicians' lore, see that your eyes are not

without blemish, and I fear to rob you even of the sight you have. But I have heard that the king's son is both chaste of life and endowed with perfect eyes of healthy vision. This is why I have not feared to show him this treasure. So go not astray in this matter, and rob not your master of such a treasure."

To him the tutor replied, "Well, if this be the case, do not show me the stone. For my life has been defiled by many sins, and my sight too, as you say, is not sound. But, being persuaded by your words, I will not shrink from making this known to my lord and master." With these words he went in and related everything point by point to the prince. And when the latter heard the tutor's story, he felt joy and spiritual gladness breathe in upon his heart, and, as though inspired by God, bade the man be brought in at once.

When, therefore, Barlaam came in and gave him due salutation of peace, the prince allowed him to be seated. Then when the tutor had retired, Joasaph said to the old man, "Show me the precious stone to which my tutor tells me you attribute such great and marvellous properties."

So Barlaam began his discourse in these words, "It is not right, sire, for me to utter an untrue or ill-considered word before your Highness' exceeding majesty. For all that has been communicated to you from me is true and beyond dispute. Yet, unless I first make proof of your understanding, I am forbidden to reveal the mystery."

5. Parable of the Trump of Death.
6. Parable of the Four Boxes.

For there was a great and glorious king, and it fell out that, as he was riding along in his gold-studded chariot with a royal escort, he met two men clad in filthy rags with pallid, pinched faces. Now the king recognized that they were wasted away by reason of their contemning the body and mortifying the flesh with asceticism. As soon therefore as he saw them, he leapt down straightway from his chariot

and fell upon the ground in all reverence. Rising from the ground he embraced them, and gave them a most loving welcome. This shocked his magnates and nobles, who thought the king's action derogatory to his royal majesty. Yet not daring to rebuke their sovereign to his face, they moved his brother-german to tell the king not to degrade his kingly dignity thus. When the brother urged this on the king and took him to task for his ill-advised self-abasement, the king gave him an answer which the brother did not understand. For the king had a custom whenever he was minded to sentence any one to death, to send a herald to the doomed man's gates with a trumpet kept purposely for this service. Its note told all that the man was under doom of death. Accordingly, when evening came on, the king sent the trumpet of death to sound at the gates of his brother's house. So when this latter heard the trumpet of death, he despaired of his life, and spent the whole night in putting his affairs in order. At day-break he came in black mourning garments with his wife and children to the gates of the royal palace, weeping and wailing. Taking him in and seeing him thus lamenting, the king said, 'Foolish and senseless man, if you were so terrified by the messenger of your own brother of like rank with yourself, towards whom you know yourself to be void of offence, how was it you upbraided me for greeting with humility the messengers of my God, who, more clearly than those trumpet's notes, signify to me death and the dread meeting with my Lord, against whom I know that I have sinned often and sinned deeply? Know that it was to expose your folly that I adopted this stratagem. And in like manner I will convict of folly forthwith those who egged you on to censure me.' With this treatment and marks of his favour the king sent his brother home.

The king ordered four boxes of wood to be made. Two he cased in gold all over, and, first filling them with the stinking bones of corpses, secured them with golden fastenings. The other two he daubed over with pitch and

bitumen, and filled them with precious stones and pearls of great price and all fragrances of myrrh and frankincense, tying them up with common cords. Then he summoned the magnates who censured him for his greeting to the two ascetics, and set before them the four boxes that they might estimate the respective value of each pair. And the magnates proceeded to give their opinion that the gold-plated boxes were of infinite value, 'For, maybe,' says one, 'they contain royal tiaras and girdles, whilst those daubed over with pitch and bitumen are of sorry, trifling worth.'

Said the king to them, 'I know as well as you that you are making these remarks. For you judge the object of sense by the organs of sense. But this is not the right way. Rather you should look with your inward eyes on the worth or worthlessness treasured up within.' Then he ordered the gold-plated boxes to be opened, and awful was the stench that issued from them, and horrible the sight their opening disclosed. Therefore the king said, 'This is a type of those that are clad in rich and glorious raiment, and are puffed up with much glory and dominion, but inwardly are festering corpses and evil doing.' Next, bidding the pitch and bitumen boxes to be disclosed, he gladdened the whole circle by the sheen and fragrance of their contents. And he said to them, 'Know you whom these are like? They are like unto those humble men in poor clothing, whose outward aspect prompted you to think scorn of my prostrating myself to the earth before them. But I, perceiving with the mind's eye the worth and beauty of their souls, was honoured by their touch, and held them to be of greater worth than all crowns and imperial purple.' Thus he put them to shame, and taught them not to be led astray by mere outward appearances, but to concentrate their attention on underlying realities.

7. Parable of the Fowler and the Bird.

The worshippers of idols are like the fowler who caught one of the small birds, called a nightingale. But as he took

his knife to kill and eat it, articulate speech was given to the nightingale, and it addressed the fowler as follows: 'What good will my death be to you, man? For I shall not enable you to fill your stomach. Now, if you will free me from this gin, I will impart to you three maxims, rules the observance of which will profit you all your life long.' Astounded at the bird finding speech, he promised, if the bird told him anything new, to set it free from durance. Then the nightingale turned to the man and said, 'Never attempt impossibilities; never fret over the past; never believe the incredible. Observe just these three maxims and it will be well with you.' Marvelling at the terse wisdom of the bird, the fowler loosed it from its bonds and let it fly away. Curious to know if the man grasped the force of its counsel and had profited thereby, the bird said to him as it winged its way through its native air, 'Alack for your folly, man! What a treasure you have lost to-day! Know that in my inwards there is a pearl bigger than an ostrich's egg.' Hearing this, the fowler was overcome with grief, repenting sore that the nightingale had escaped his hand. In an endeavour to catch it again, he said, 'Come into my house, and I will be very kind to you and send you away loaded with honour.' Said the nightingale, 'Now I know you to be a downright fool. Though you listened so intently and heard me so gladly, you derived no profit from what I told you. I told you never to fret over what was past and gone; and here are you overcome with grief, because I am escaped from your hands. This is fretting over the past. Next, I charged you not to attempt impossibilities, and you try to catch me though you cannot reach my airy pathways. Furthermore, I also enjoined you not to believe the incredible. And lo! you believed that in my inwards there was a pearl bigger than my body, and had not the wit to understand that the whole of me is not equal to the size of an ostrich's egg. How then was I able to contain within me so big a pearl?'

8. Parable of the Man and the Unicorn.

Therefore, those who are so enslaved to a cruel and wicked tyrant, alienating themselves to their souls' hurt from the good Master who loves men; those who clutch at temporal things and are wedded thereto, never taking thought of things to come; who unceasingly pant after bodily enjoyments and allow their souls to waste away with hunger and be afflicted with countless evils; these men I conceive to be like a man who, fleeing from the presence of a mad unicorn, and being unable to bear the noise of its roaring and its horrible bellowing, has fled headlong to escape falling a prey to the beast, and, as he runs along so hotly, has fallen head over heels into a great pit. But as he fell, he stretched out his arms, and clutching a tree held tightly on to it. Firmly planting his feet on a foothold, he seemed to be in peace and safety thenceforward. But looking down, he saw two mice, one white and one black, ceaselessly engaged in gnawing through the root of the tree to which he clung, and just on the point of cutting through it. Then casting his eyes down to the bottom of the pit, he saw a dragon of terrible aspect, breathing forth flames and glaring with inconceivable fierceness, yawning horribly with its mouth, and thirsting to swallow him up. And again, as he strained his glance upon the foothold which supported him, he saw four serpents' heads issuing from the wall to which he had clung! Then, looking upward, he saw a little honey trickling down from the branches of the tree. Thereupon, casting from him all thought of the dangers which encompassed him, heedless of how, without, the unicorn in its fell fury sought to devour him, whilst, beneath, the grim dragon had its jaws open to swallow him up; heedless of how the tree which he grasped was all but cut through, and of how his feet rested on a slippery and treacherous support; yes, fondly forgetting all these terrible horrors, his whole attention was bent upon the sweetness of that little honey.

This is the similitude of those who cleave to the deceits

of this life, and I will forthwith tell you its interpretation. The unicorn shall be a type of Death, which is ever pursuing and ever straining to catch the race of Adam. The pit is the world, full of all manner of evils and deadly snares. The tree to which the man clung, and which was unceasingly being gnawed through by the two mice, is the race-course whereon each man's life is run, which is spent and expended by the hours of Day and Night, and little by little draws near its final severance. The four serpents symbolize the constitution of the human body as based on four fleeting and unstable elements, the disorder and disorganization of which destroy the constitution of the body. Moreover, the fiery ravening dragon typifies the fearful maw of hell which is all agog to engulf those who prefer temporal pleasures to the blessings to come. And the drip of honey signifies the sweetness of the world's pleasures, that sweetness whereby the world deludes its lovers and debars them from taking forethought for their own salvation.

9. Parable of the Man and his Three Friends.

Said the old man, "Again, those who love this world's delights and are steeped in its sweets, those who prefer what is fleeting and frail to the secure and abiding bliss to come, are like a certain man who had three friends, two of whom he used exceedingly to honour and cherish as friends, championing them even with his life, and wooing peril for their sake. Whereas to the third he used to bear himself disdainfully, never deeming him worthy of honour or of the love that was his due, but showing him little or no friendship. Now one day he was seized by terrible and lawless soldiers, who proceeded to haul him in all haste before the king to answer for a debt of a thousand talents! In his need he set himself to seek a helper to stand by him in his dreaded reckoning before the king. Running therefore to his first and most intimate friend of all, he said, 'You know, friend, how I have ever exposed my life for you.

Now, yes this very day, I require help in my pressing need. To what extent do you promise to stand by me now? And what may I hope at your hands, my dearest friend?' Then the other answered and said, 'I am no friend of yours my man. I do not know who you are. I have other friends with whom I must make merry to-day and secure their future friendship. See, I let you have two old coats to take with you on your way, though they will be no earthly good to you. But don't imagine you have any further hopes from me whatsoever. Hearing this and realizing that he had failed to get the help he was hoping for, away he went to the second friend and said, 'You remember, comrade, the honour and goodwill I always paid you. Well, to-day being fallen into distress and very great calamity, I need a supporter. How far can you back me? Let me know at once.' And the other replied, 'I have no time to-day to stand by you; for, like you, I am in trouble and difficulties myself, and hard put to it. None the less I will go a little way with you, even though I shall not do you any good. I must soon turn back home again and busy myself with my own personal cares, which absorb the whole of my attention and time.' So returning empty-handed from his second as from his first friend, and knowing not what on earth to do, the man began to bewail the vanity of his expectations from those ungrateful friends, and lamented the unprofitable sacrifices he had undergone for their love. Last of all, he went to the third friend, whom he had never courted or bidden to share his jollity. To him he said with shamefaced and downcast look, 'I cannot open my lips to address you, knowing as I do so well that you have no memory of kindnesses or affection shown you by me. Still, inasmuch as I am beset by the direst calamity, and as I found no hope of saving myself anywhere among the rest of my friends, I am come to you in my importunity, to see if you have power to give me a little assistance. Do not refuse me in indignation at my former lack of kindly feeling towards you.' The other replied, with a cheery and gracious countenance, 'Nay, indeed, I call you my

most genuine friend, and remembering that small service of yours, will repay it this day with interest. Have no fear or alarm, for I will go on ahead of you and importune the king in your behalf; rest assured that I will never deliver you into the hands of your enemies. Be of good courage, my dearest friend, and give over sorrowing.' Thereon the poor man was pricked to the heart and said with tears, 'Alack! where shall I make beginning of my weeping and of my regrets? Shall I repent me of my infatuation for those ungrateful, thankless, and false friends? Or shall I cry out upon the degraded indifference which I displayed to this true and genuine friend?'" Now Joasaph, who had listened to this story too with wonderment, proceeded to ask its interpretation. And Barlaam said, "The first friend may be taken to be superfluity of riches and love of money-making, for which man plunges into countless dangers and faces manifold hardships. But when the last summons of Death comes, he receives nothing from all these save the worthless rags needed for his burial. The second friend is a name for wife and children and all other relations and intimates, to whom we cling so fondly that we can scarce be torn from them, showing ourselves careless of our very soul and body because of our love for them. Yet no profit did any man ever have of them in the hour of death—save that they barely accompany him to the tomb and then straightway turn back and absorb themselves in their own trouble and difficulties, burying the memory of their whilom dear one as deeply in oblivion as they buried his body in the grave. But the third friend, on the contrary, who was overlooked and held cheap, who was not visited, but avoided and shunned as it were, he is the fellowship of good works, such as faith, hope, love, mercy, loving-kindness, and the rest of the band of the virtues, which can go before us as we are quitting the body and importune the Lord in our behalf, ransoming us from our enemies and from the dread exactors who ply us in the air with the dread summons to pay, and cruelly seek to get mastery over us. This is that amiable and good

friend who bears faithfully in mind even our modicum of well-doing, and is minded to repay it all to us with interest."

10. Parable of the King who Assured Himself a Happy Future.

Hearken to a similitude of this matter also. I have heard of a great city whose citizens had observed from olden times a custom of taking some unknown stranger, perfectly ignorant of the laws and usages of their city, and of setting him up as king over them, with full enjoyment of entire authority and with unfettered power to carry out his own will until the completion of a year's time. Then, all of a sudden, while the man was quite at his ease and unsuspectingly revelling and luxuriating, fancying he would remain king all his life long, it was the practice of the citizens to rise against him, and, stripping him of his royal apparel, to parade him stark naked through the city, ending up with banishing him as an outlaw to a large island afar off. In this island, for lack of supplies of food and raiment, the whilom king suffered anguish from hunger and nakedness, the luxury and delights which had unexpectedly been given him being transformed again to sorrow, contrary to all his hopes and expectations.

According, therefore, to the native custom of these citizens, a certain man was set up to be king whose judgment was adorned with perfect understanding. He was not carried away by the sudden advancement which had attended him, nor did he vie with the lack of forethought of his royal predecessors now miserably banished; on the contrary, he was always alert and on the watch to see how he could ensure his welfare. Now, by the persistent search for accurate information, he learned through a very wise councillor the custom of the citizens and the place of perpetual exile, and was shown clearly how he ought to safeguard himself. When, therefore, he knew this and learned that the island was on the point of receiving him,

and that he must leave to other newcomers the throne which he had possessed but which was not his own, he straightway opened the treasuries (of which meantime he had free and unfettered control) and took thence money in abundance and an enormous quantity of gold and silver bullion and precious stones. This he entrusted to devoted slaves and sent them on with the treasure in advance to the island to which he was to be banished. At the close of the appointed year the citizens rose and transported him all naked, like his predecessors before him, to banishment. Wherefore, whilst the rest of the kings, who were stupid and lived but for the day, were starving miserably, this man, thanks to the wealth he had stored up in advance of his coming, lived a life of unbroken ease in the lap of inexhaustible luxury, and, relieved entirely from the fear of the turbulent and wicked citizens, ceased not to congratulate himself on his shrewd wisdom.

Understand, then, by the city this vain and deceitful world; by the citizens the princes and potentates of the devils, the world-rulers of the darkness of this life, who angle for us with the ease of pleasure and egg us on to regard as incorruptible what is transitory and corruptible, as though our enjoyment thereof would last eternally and always be with us. If then we are deceived thus and take no heed concerning the things eternal, neither lay up provision for ourselves against the after life, sudden destruction falls upon us, the destruction of death. . . .

11. Parable of the Poor but Happy Couple.

For I have heard that there was a certain king who ruled his kingdom very righteously, and treated his subjects with gentleness and mildness, but failed solely therein that he was not rich in the enlightenment of knowledge of God, but was misled by the delusion of idols. Now, he had a councillor, a good man, adorned with piety towards God and with all other virtuous wisdom, who, being pained and distressed at the king's errors, desired to bring the truth

home to him; but he fought shy of carrying out his purpose, fearing lest he should bring trouble both on himself and on the king's friends and put a stop to the benefits many were enjoying at the king's hands. Nevertheless, he kept on the look out for a suitable opportunity to lead the king to the truth. So one night the king said to him, 'Come, let us go out and stroll about in the city to see whether we shall chance to see anything profitable.' And as they were strolling about the city, they saw a light shining out of a chink. Clapping their eyes to the hole, they saw a sort of underground cellar, in the foreground of which sat a man plunged in extreme poverty and clad in sorry rags. By him was standing his wife, mixing wine. And as the man took the cup in his hands, his wife tried to please him by singing a song in a clear voice as she danced to the tune, and by cheering him up with flattering words. In consequence, those with the king, after watching long enough, were astonished that these people, though pinched so sorely by poverty as neither to have decent shelter, or clothing, were such cheerful livers. Then said the king to his prime minister, 'What a marvel, my friend, that you and I never enjoyed our lives, brightened though they are by such dignity and luxury, so heartily as these simple folk enjoy this sorry and miserable existence, and rejoice in this rough and detestable life which seems to them easy and comfortable.' Seizing the favourable opportunity the prime minister said, 'And how, pray, does their condition strike you, sire?' 'As the most unpleasant and the most woful I have ever seen,' said the king; 'I call it abominable and detestable.' Then said his prime minister, 'Even such and far more harsh is the view of our life taken by those gifted with insight, and those who know the mysteries of the everlasting glory and the blessings which pass all understanding. Palaces gleaming with gold and this rich raiment and all the rest of this life's luxuries are less pleasing than dung and ditch-water in the eyes of those who know the unspeakable beauty of the heavenly mansions not built by hands, of God-spun raiment, and of the in-

corruptible diadems which the All-Creator and Lord has prepared for those that love Him. For, as these two people were adjudged foolish by us, much more do we, who are led astray by the world and are self-satisfied in the midst of this false glory and foolish luxury, merit weeping and tears in the eyes of those who have tasted the sweetness of those good things.'

12. Parable of the Rich Youth and the Poor Maiden.

And the old man answered him as follows: "If you do this, you will be like a certain youth of great intelligence, of whom I have heard that he was the son of rich and noble parents. His father had arranged a marriage for him with a very beautiful girl, the daughter of a gentleman notable for his birth and riches; but when he communicated with his son about the marriage and the arrangements that were being made in the son's behalf, the latter had no sooner heard the project than he thrust it aside as if it were shameful and monstrous, and ran away from his father. On his journey, he received hospitality in the house of a poor old man, as he halted for repose during the heat of the day. Now the old man had an only daughter, a virgin, who, as she sat in the doorway, kept working away with her hands, whilst with her lips she never ceased to praise God, thanking Him from the depths of her heart. Hearing her hymns of praise, the young man said to her, 'What are you engaged in? And what is the reason why you, who are so poor and so badly off, sing hymns of praise and return thanks to the Giver of your sorry lot as heartily as though you had received great gifts at His hands?' She answered him and said, 'Do you not know that, even as a tiny drug oftentimes saves a man from serious ailments, so also thankfulness to God for small things leads to great things? Accordingly, I, though the daughter of a poor old man, nevertheless thank God and bless Him for these small mercies, knowing that He who gives them can give greater things also. So much then for external things that

are not our own, wherefrom neither the possessors of abundance reap any additional gain (not to speak of the actual loss in many cases), nor do they derive hurt whose portion is smaller—seing that both rich and poor are travelling the same road and pressing on to the same goal. Next, in respect of most necessary and momentous things, I have enjoyed many great blessings from my Lord, blessings without number and beyond compare. For in God's image have I been created, and of His knowledge have I been deemed worthy; I have been endowed with reason beyond all living creatures, and have been summoned from death to life on account of the bowels of compassion of God; I received authority to share in His mysteries, and the door of Paradise has been opened, affording me free and unrestrained entrance, if I will. Therefore, for all these great gifts (which are shared alike by rich and by poor), it is utterly beyond my powers to return thanks sufficient. But if I fail to bring even this little tribute of praise to the Giver, what manner of defence shall I have to plead?'

Marvelling exceedingly at the girl's great understanding, he called to him her father and said, 'Give me your daughter. For I am enamoured of her understanding and piety.' Said the old man, 'It is impossible for you, who come of a rich family, to take the poor man's daughter to wife.' But the young man rejoined, 'Yes, I will marry her, if you will give your consent. For a daughter of a rich and noble house has been sought in marriage for me, and I put her from me and took to flight. But, as regards your daughter, it is for her piety to God and her sensible understanding that I have fallen in love with her, and am set upon being united to her.' Then said the old man to him, 'I cannot give her to you to take away to your father's house, and to tear her from my embrace, for she is my only child.' 'Nay,' answered the young man, 'I will stop with you and will adopt your way of life.' Therewithal he stripped off his own rich suit and attired himself in clothes which he begged of the old man. After numerous trials, and after manifold tests of his determination,

the old man was sure that the youth was of steadfast mind, and was not seeking the girl merely out of passion bred of folly, but, on the contrary, that through love of piety he was choosing a life of poverty, preferring such piety to his own estate and nobility. Then, taking the youth by the hand, the old man led him into his treasure chamber, and displayed the great wealth he had stored up and his countless piles of money, more than the youth had ever before set eyes on. 'My son,' said the old man to him, 'all this do I give you because of your deliberate choice to succeed to my lot.' The young man became his heir, and outstripped all the noble and rich of the land.

13. Parable of the Fawn.

A rich man was rearing a young fawn: when it grew big, its natural disposition led it to pine for the wilderness. So, going out one day, it found a herd of gazelles grazing, and, keeping with them, traversed the expanses of cultivated land, returning at evening, but sallying out again at early morn through neglect of the servants, and grazing with the wild gazelles. But as they changed their feeding grounds and moved further off, the fawn, too, travelled along with them. Marking this, the rich man's servants pursued on horseback and captured their own fawn, whom they brought back alive, never letting it go abroad in future. As for the rest of the herd of gazelles, they killed some and maimed others.

14. Parable Respecting Love for Women.

A certain king used to fret over not having a son, a lack which he deplored deeply and accounted a signal misfortune. And while he was like this, a son was born to him, and joy filled the king's heart. But the sagest amongst the physicians told him that, if within twelve years the infant were to see sun or fire, it would lose its sight altogether, as they perceived from the disposition of its eyes. Tradition

says that the king consequently hewed a cave-dwelling out of the solid rock, and there shut up the babe and its nurses, in order not to let it see a single glimmer of light till the twelve years were past and gone. When these years had elapsed, the king took from this dwelling the boy who had never seen anything of the world, and bade everything be paraded before him, each after its kind, for the boy to see. There were men in one place, women in another; gold and silver here; and there pearls and precious stones; rich and gorgeous raiment; beautiful chariots drawn by royal horses with golden bits and purple housings, ridden by men in armour; herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. In brief, they proceeded to show the boy everything in succession. And as he kept asking what each was called, the king's swordsmen and spearsmen failed not to tell him its name. But when he asked the name of the women, the king's Yeoman of the Guard merrily said that they were called 'Demons,' who led men astray. Now the boy's heart was much more captivated by them than by anything else. When, therefore, they took him back to the king at the end of the survey, the king proceeded to ask what he thought he liked best of all he had seen. 'Why, those demons,' replied the boy, 'who lead men astray. For, of all I have seen to-day, my heart went out to nothing save them.' And that king marvelled at the boy's reply, and at the imperious might of man's love for women."

[The Evil One entered into one of the damsels, who was the fairest of them all, being the daughter of a king, and a captive led away from her own country, and given to the king Abenner as a peerless gift, whom the father of Joasaph had sent to be a snare and a stumbling-block to his son. Into her the Deceiver entered, and inspired her with words abundantly proving the wisdom and intelligence of her understanding. . . . And he inspired the prince with love for the damsel on account of her wit, forsooth, and beauty, and also on account of her having lost, nobly born and royal though she was by descent, at once her country and her state. Further, he suggested arguments to the prince to

turn her from her idolatry and to make her a Christian. But all this was the craft of the guileful Serpent. . . .

The King divided into two parts the whole of the territory subject to him, made his son king, crowned him with a diadem, and, adorning him with all royal pomp and state, despatched him with a brilliant train to the kingdom set apart for him.

Filled with holy zeal, the king Abenner (who had been converted by his son Joasaph) stamped heavily upon the idols of gold and silver which were in his palace, and broke them into fragments, which he distributed among the poor, thus making that useful which before had been useless. And with his son he beset the temples and altars of idols, and razed them to their very foundations. And this they did, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole land, with great zeal. Then was the king Abenner made perfect by baptism. And Joasaph was his sponsor at the font, in this last matter appearing as the parent of his own father, repaying his father in the flesh with spiritual re-birth.

On the eighth day after his father's death, Joasaph returned to his palace and distributed among the poor all his riches and substance, so that no one was left needy. A few days sufficing to do this service and to empty all his treasuries, in order that the pride of riches might not trammel him in his contemplated passage through the narrow gate, —on the fortieth day after his father's death, erecting a tomb to the latter, he summoned together all those in authority and vested with military command, and a number of the citizens (and told them he was resolved to become a monk, to their great sorrow). . . . By night, unseen of any, he left the palace. But he could not escape them entirely. For at daybreak the news caused uproar and lamentation among the people; and they all set out with great speed to find him, with intent to divert him by every means from his flight. . . . They found him in a ravine with his hands uplifted to heaven, and repeating the prayer of the sixth hour. Seeing him, they gathered round him sorrowing, and upbraiding his flight. "In vain is your

toil," he answered; "give up all hopes of having me for your king henceforth." . . . Thus did that noble youth yield up his throne with joy, even as when from a far land a man returns to his own country right glad of heart. He was clad outwardly in his usual garments, but underneath in the hair shirt which Barlaam had given him. That night he went into the house of a poor man on his way, and doffing his outer raiment, gave it to the poor man as his last act of benevolence. . . . . After many diverse mischances and tribulations he came, after many days, to the wilderness of the land of Senaar, in which Barlaam was dwelling. . . . (After Barlaam's death) Joasaph endured to the end, leading upon the earth a life truly angelic, and subjecting himself to still sterner discipline after the passing of the old man. Five-and-twenty years old was he when he gave up an earthly kingdom and engaged in the ascetic's struggle; five-and-thirty years in the heart of the wilderness did he, angel-like, persevere in an asceticism too rigorous for mortal man.]

ART. XI.—*On two Stones with Chinese Inscriptions.* By E. KOCH. Epitomized from the Russian by E. DELMAR MORGAN, M.R.A.S.

IN the last number (vol. v. parts ii.–iv.) of the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archæological Society (St. Petersburg, 1891), we find an account of two stones inscribed with Chinese characters, discovered on the Upper Orkhon, near the ruins of Kara Balgassun, among a quantity of other remains, by M. Yadrintsef, during his expedition last summer in North-eastern Mongolia, and forwarded by him to St. Petersburg. Here they were carefully examined by M. E. Koch, who reports that the stones are unfortunately only fragments of a much larger monument, and that it is impossible to say whether they both formed part of the same though they were found in close juxtaposition and their contents would apparently support such a conjecture. Most of the characters are easily legible, being very similar in style to those in present use in China, but owing to the fact of the stones being of grey granite, much weatherworn in places, and the age of the inscriptions (upwards of one thousand years old), there are difficulties in deciphering them. They refer to the period of the T'ang dynasty, or, to be more precise, to the time when the Uighurs were dominant in Northern Mongolia. The characters differ in some instances from those in general use and a few are quite illegible. Where these occur dots are inserted in the text. All the lines want both beginning and end.

The three characters of the first line are read by M. Koch as "*Shi sii ming*," a proper name, and he adds the following remark. In 755 the celebrated *An lu shan* rebelled against the T'ang Government, his insurrection soon assuming

alarming proportions and nearly causing the overthrow of the T'ang dynasty. This An lu shan in 757 fell a victim to a conspiracy of his own followers, and his son *An tsin siui* assumed command over the rebels; but in 759 he too was slain by the experienced general Shi sii ming, mentioned in the inscription, who then had himself proclaimed Emperor. In 761, however, Shi sii ming was in his turn killed by his son *Shi chao i*, whom he had intended excluding from the succession. The rebellion was finally crushed, but only with the aid of the Uighurs, who about that period several times sold their services to the Chinese throne, of course at a high price.

The second line contains a reference to the eastern capital under the T'ang dynasty, viz. the town of *Lo yang*, near the present Ho nan fu, in the province of Ho-nan, as distinguished from *Changan* the chief town, otherwise known as *Si ngan fu*.[1]

Nearly the whole of the sixth line is taken up by the long title of a Khan— . . . mo Mi shi heh Gu du lu Hu lu Bi gia keh khan (khakhan), and is evidently in the Uighur or Turki dialect. Such elaborate titles were bestowed by Chinese emperors together with diplomas of princely rank only on Uighur Khans during their ascendancy in Central Asia, combined with Chinese epithets. Though all the several parts of the title of the inscription occur in those of various Khans mentioned in history, there does not happen to be one exactly corresponding with that on the monument, so that it is impossible to say to whom in particular it refers. It may here be remarked that the old and new histories of the T'ang dynasty, the chief sources for the history of the Uighurs, are frequently contradictory with regard to honorary titles; in the old history the titles of one and the same person are often rendered differently on the same page. In the eighth line the country or

[1] Cf. Sin T'ang shu (New History of the T'ang Dynasty), Geographical summary. [Chang gan "was probably the most celebrated city in Chinese history and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties." But it is chiefly remarkable as the site of the discovery of the stone Christian monument dating from the eighth century, cf. Yule's Marco Polo, second edition, vol. ii. p. 21.—M.]

kingdom of *Gian gun* is mentioned. This was the ancient name of the country inhabited during the T'ang dynasty by a people called the Khia gia sii (Khakas[1]). According to the official history *San go chji* the country of Gian gun lay to the north-west of the nation of *Kan giui*, and became known in China under this name during the period of the triumvirate (220–265). In the first half of the seventh century, when the Uighur tribes submitted to China and were organized on the Chinese system, their kinsmen the Khakas, living to the north-west near the sources of the Yenisei, also signified their wish to tender their allegiance to the Middle Kingdom, and their country was, in 648, formed into a province with the historical title of Gian-gun-fu, but its dependence was only nominal. The Uighurs having vanquished the Dulgasses[2] or Tugiueh and formed a mighty kingdom in Central Asia, also subjugated in 758 the Khakas. These, however, after a while, succeeded in freeing themselves from the Uighur yoke, and even became dangerous rivals of the Uighurs, upon whom they inflicted such a decisive defeat in 840, that the latter only saved themselves by flight to Southern Mongolia.[3] But the Khakas never acquired so brilliant and commanding a position in Central Asia as that formerly held by the Tugiueh or Uighurs during the period of their supremacy. It is difficult to say what the Gian gun kingdom had to do with the inscription, parts of the characters in this line being wanting.

[1] Or Hakas, known in the West as 'Kazaks.' Howorth identifies them with the Oghuz Turks. (Geogr. Mag., vol. ii. p. 150.) The Hakas inhabited that part of Asia now known as the government of Tomsk and the southern limits of the government of Yeniseisk. Cf. Hyacinthe, *Svédeniya o narodakh obitavshikh v Srednei Azii*, part i. p. 443, note.—M.

[2] A Hunnish tribe who derived their descent from a wolf. They founded the dynasty of *Tugiu*, known to the Mongols as *Dúlga*, whose principal tribe *Ashina* was settled at the foot of the Altai mountains. When the Huns were completely subjugated by the Chinese in A.D. 92, in the neighbourhood of Tarbagatai, these Dulgasses undertook to supply the Chinese court with iron. Hence their legendary origin from the mountains. Cf. Père Hyacinthe, *op. cit.* part i. pp. 256–266.—M.

[3] Cf. Howorth's History of the Mongols, part i. p. 21.

The Second Stone.

In the first line the Uighur or Turki names *I nan chju* and *Mo kheh* occur. The former, I nan chju, a high functionary, was sent at the beginning of the ninth century to the Chinese court to ask the consent of the reigning sovereign to his marriage; he next appears in 821 at the head of a numerous embassy to China to receive the princess *Sheh hu*, affianced to the Uighur Khan, but the last syllable of his name is written with a different character in Chinese history. The name Mo kheh occurs in conjunction with other attributes (Mo kheh Da gan, Giui lu Mo Kheh) several times in the T'ang histories. The third line probably refers to the Emperor of China and his relations towards the hundred subject families (bo sing). The character, however, immediately preceding the syllable *tsai* is evidently *Khan* (*Keh Khan*—Khakan).

The Khan mentioned in the fourth line is in all probability other than *Peh lo*, the founder of the Uighur kingdom, who subdued the Dulgasses and extended his dominions on the east, to the nation of the *Shi vehi*; on the west, to the Altai mountains; and on the south, to the great sandy desert. In 744 he took the title of *Gu du lu Pei gia Kiueh keh khan*, and died in the following year. The word *Kiueh* only occurs in the title of this Khan, and is preceded as usual in Chinese writings by a blank space.

Upon a general review of the facts included in these fragmentary inscriptions, the following conclusion may be arrived at, that the original monument was raised during the supremacy of the Uighurs in the Mongolia of the present day, or, to speak accurately, between the years 761 (the death of Shi sii ming) and 840; in the last-named year the Khakas sacked and burnt the capital city of the Uighurs, between the U deh gian mountains and the river *Gun* (Orkhon), forcing the Uighurs to retreat towards the south. However fragmentary these inscriptions, their phraseology testifies to the fact of their having formed part of a monument erected by an Emperor of China, who condescended

to accept foreigners as his subjects, because of their "enlightenment." It is more difficult to say what induced him to do this; possibly the conclusion of a treaty: on the other hand, the fourth and beginning of the fifth line (sepulchral tower) on the first stone seem to point to the inscription having been cut in memory and honour of some deceased Khan, the more so as it goes on to say "the Khan . . . succeeded." A parallel case is actually recorded in Chinese history. In 731, when *Kiueh tek leh*, brother of the Tugui Khan Mohilian, died, the Emperor sent the commander, *Chjang tsiui i*, and the court dignitary, *Liui hsiang*, with a manifesto,[1] stamped with the seal of state, to express sympathy and offer up sacrifices. The Emperor ordered an inscription (distinct from the manifesto) to be cut on the monument, a temple to be built and a statue erected; on the four walls battle pieces were to be painted. Six skilful artists were deputed to execute these orders in the most artistic style, a thing unheard of before . . . On the death of Bi gia Khan Mohilian in 732, the Emperor expressed regret, commanded Li tsiuan, president of the princely order, to condole and offer sacrifices. Whereupon a temple was built, and the historian, Li yung, was charged with the composition of an epitaph.

One important circumstance has yet to be mentioned in connexion with these inscriptions—on the right side of the second stone three lines of characters, distinct from the rest, are evidently not Chinese. Though much obliterated by time and weather, they may be recognized as Uighur, and if so the monument is the oldest known of the Uighur writing, a proof that this nation acquired their written character before they removed from the north.

Upon the whole these fragmentary remains are more likely to arouse curiosity than allay it. A number of interesting questions are concerned in the subject, but for the present their solution must be deferred. It would be premature and unprofitable to enter upon conjectures as to the

[1] The text of this manifesto is to be found in the collection of elegant extracts of the T'ang dynasty, Tsiuan T'ang Ven.

connexion, if any, subsisting between the vast ruins of Kara Balgassun and this monument, or between the so-called runic inscriptions and the Uighur character. Careful researches into the antiquities of Central Asia and Mongolia in particular may doubtless supply historical gaps and explain many obscurities in the past history of this home of the nomadic states.

Note.—We have only translated M. Koch's historical remarks, his original paper is accompanied by facsimiles of the stones, readings of the characters and a full commentary.—M.

ART. XII.—*Two Edicts of Aššurbanipal.* By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A.

(*a.*)

THE following inscription is engraved (lines 1 to 49) on the back and (lines 50 to 81) on the left side of a stele of reddish stone brought from Babylon by Mr. Rassam, and now in the British Museum. The stele is rounded at the top, and on the face Aššurbanipal is represented in high relief in his tiara and royal robes, supporting on his head with his two hands an object which looks like a basket of woven reeds. The meaning of this attitude has been discussed in a learned paper by Mr. Evetts, and his conclusion is that the king is represented "in his capacity as priest carrying the instruments of sacrifice" (P.S.B.A. 1891). In the inscription the king, after setting forth his glory and titles, goes on to record how that he completed the work of restoration and adornment, which Esarhaddon his father had begun in Êsagila and the other temples of Babylon, that he brought back the image of Marduk, which in the reign of a former king (Sennacherib) had been carried away to Assyria, that he reorganized the public worship and other internal affairs of Babylon, and established his brother Šamaššumukin on the throne. Then he describes his restoration of Êzida, the temple of Nebo, and, after a prayer to the god for mercy and favour both for himself and for his brother, he winds up by invoking in the usual form the blessing or the curse of Nebo upon the future prince, according as he shall preserve or destroy this work in Êzida with the image and inscription.

The events here recorded must have taken place at the beginning of the reign of Aššurbanipal, probably in the year 668 B.C. For, according to the Babylonian chronicle

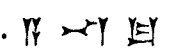
(B.VI. 33), Esarhaddon dying in the twelfth year of his reign, that is in 669, Aššurbanipal and Šamaššumukin ascended the throne, the former of Assyria, the latter of Babylon. And we learn from the same source (l.c. 34–36) that the return of Bel (that is, Marduk) and the gods to their ancient seats, which Aššurbanipal commemorates in our inscription, took place in the first year of the reign of Šamaššumukin.

The inscription is clearly and beautifully written, and the characters with few exceptions present the pure Babylonian form. The ends of a few of the lines on the back are almost obliterated, while nearly all those on the side are more or less defaced; but in every case certain restoration has been possible with the help of the closely parallel inscription on a companion stele, the cylinder of Abu Habba (V.R. 62, 1) and the cylinder published below.

The transliterated text of the inscription has been published with a Latin translation by C. F. Lehmann in his dissertation *De inscriptionibus cuneatis quae pertinent ad Šamaš-šum-ukīn regis Babyloniae regni initia*, pp. 24–29.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, who kindly collated my copy with the original.

Text.

1. 
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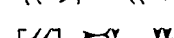
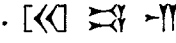
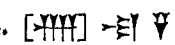
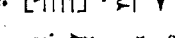
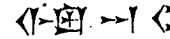
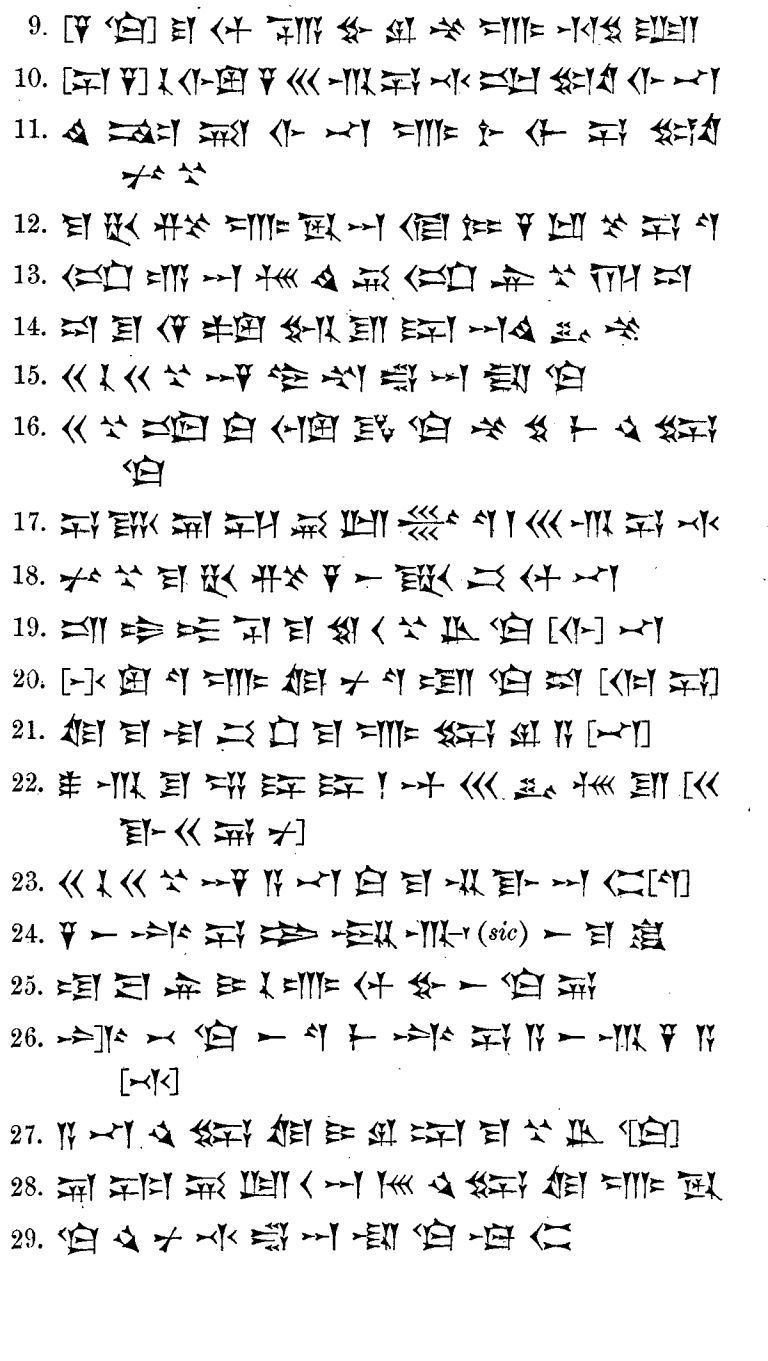
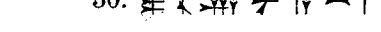
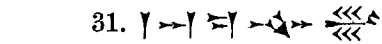
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 



30. 

31. 

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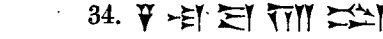
37. 

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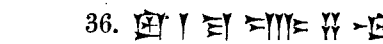
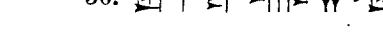
40. 

41. 

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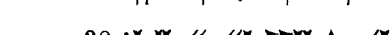
43. 

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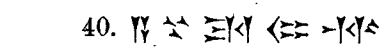
47. 

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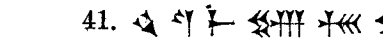
49. 

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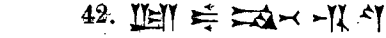
51. 

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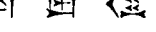
58. 

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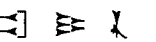
62. 

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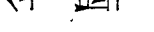
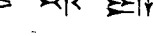
66. 

67. 

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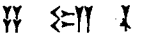
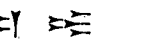
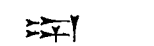
71. 

72. 

73. 

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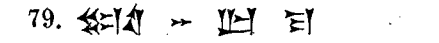
80. 

81.

Transcription.

1. a-na-ku Aššur-bân-aplu
2. šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur
3. [šar] kib-rat irbit-ti šar šarrâni
4. rubû la ša-na-an ša ina a-mat Aššur Šamaš
5. û Marduk ul-tu tam-tim ê-lit
6. [a]-di tam-tim šap-lit i-bê-lu-ma
7. [gi]-mir ma-lik u-šak-niš šê-pu-uš-šu
8. [za-nin] Ê-sag-ila ê-kal ilâni
9. [ša ki]-ma ši-ṭir bu-ru-mu u-nam-mir
10. šigar-šu û ša eš-ri-ê-ti ka-li-ši-na
11. ḫi-bil-ta-ši-na u-šal-lim ê-li kul-lat
12. ma-ḫa-zi u-kîn (ilu) Dul-lum ša ip-šê-ê-tu
13. êli kâl ilâni ṭâbu êli ṣal-mat ḳaḳḳadu
14. du-šu-pat rê'-us-su apil Aššur-âḫâ-iddin
15. šar kiššati šar Aššur šakkânâku Bâbili
16. šar Šumêr û Akkadi mu-šê-šib Bâbili
17. ê-piš Ê-sag-ila mu-ud-diš eš-ri-ê-ti
18. kul-lat ma-ḫa-zi ša ina kir-bi-ši-na
19. iš-tak-kan si-ma-tê u sat-tuk-ki-[ši-n]a
20. ba]ṭ-lu-tu u-ki-nu par-ši ki-du-d[i-ê]
21. k]i-ma la-bi-rim-ma u-tir-ru a-[na]
22. aš-ri-šu-un bin-bin Sin-âḫî-irbâ šarru rabû šarru dan-nu
23. šar kiššati šar Aššur a-na-ku-ma bêlu rabû Marduk
24. ša ina pali-ê šarri maḫ-ri ina ma-ḫar
25. âbî bâ ni-i-šu u-ši-bu ina ki-rib
26. Aššur ina û-mê pali-ê-a ina ri-ša-a[-ti]
27. a-na Bâbili i-ru-um-ma sat-tuk-k[i]
28. Ê-sag-ila u ilâni Bâbili u-kîn
29. ki-din-nu-ti Bâbili aḳ ṣur
30. aš-šu dan-nu a-na enšu la ḫa-ba-li
31. Šamaš-šum-ukîn âha ta-lim

32. a-na šarru-u-ti Bâbili ap-ḳid
33. ina û-mê-šu-ma igâra Ê-zi-da
34. ša la-ba-riš il-lik-u-ma i-ni-š[u]
35. tim-me-en-šu ina pali-ê-a an-ḫu-us-s[u]
36. lu-diš-ma u-za-ak-ki-ir ḫur-sa-n[iš]
37. a-na šat-ti Na-bi-um bêlu ṣî-ru
38. ip-šê-tê-ia damḳâti ḫa-diš lippalis-ma
39. ia-a-ti Aššur-bân-aplu rubû pa-liḫ-šu
40. a-mat da-mi-iḳ-ti-ia liš-ša-kin šap-tuš-šu
41. balaṭ û-me ruḳûti šê-bi-ê lit-tu-tu
42. ṭu-ub šêri ḫu-ud lib-bi li-šim
43. ši-ma-ti išid kussî sarru-u-ti-ia
44. ki-ma šad-i li-šar-šid it-ti
45. šam-ê u irṣi-tim lu-kin pal-u-a
46. û ša Šamaš-šum-ukin
47. [šar] Bâbili âḫî ta-liṃ-ia û-mê-šu
48. l]i-ri-ku liš-bi bu-'-a-ri
49. ma-]ti-ma ina aḫ-rat û-mê rubû arku-u
50. ša ina û-mê pali-šu
51. ši-pir šu-a-ti
52. in-na-ḫu
53. an-ḫu-us-su
54. lu-ud-diš ṣa-lam
55. šarru-ti-ia
56. li-mur-ma kisalla
57. lip-šu-uš niḳâ
58. liḳḳî it-ti
59. ṣa-lam-i-šu
60. li-[iš]-kun
61. ik-ri-bi-i-šu
62. Nabû i-šim-mê
63. ša šu-mê šat-ru
64. i-pa-aš-ši-ṭu
65. ṣa-lam šarru-ti-ia
66. i-ab-ba-tu
67. lu-u a-šar-šu
68. u-nak-ka-ru-ma
69. it-ti ṣa-lam-šu
70. la i-šak-kan
71. Na-bi-um
72. bêlu šur-bu-u

73. ag-gi-iš
74. lik-kil-mê-šu-ma
75. kussû šarru-ti-šu
76. li-ša-bal-kit-ma
77. li-dir be-lut-su
78. šum-šu zêri-šu ina mâtâti
79. li-ḫal-lik-ma
80. ai ir-ši-šu
81. ri-ê-mu.

Translation.

1. I Aššurbanipal,
2. the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria,
3. king of the four regions, king of kings,
4. the prince without an equal, who at the command of Aššur, Šamaš
5. and Marduk from the upper sea
6. to the lower sea rules, and
7. all princes has subdued under his feet,
8. who adorned Êsagila the palace of the gods,
9. (and) like the (starry) writing of the night sky caused its bolts
10. to shine, and of the temples all of them
11. their breaches restored, (who) over the whole
12. city established Dullum, whose works
13. towards all the gods are good, whose lordship over the black-headed
14. is sweet; son of Esarhaddon,
15. king of the whole (world), king of Assyria, governor of Babylon,
16. king of Sumer and Akkad, who peopled Babylon,
17. builder of Esagila, restorer of the temples
18. of all cities, who within them
19. placed adornments, and their daily sacrifices
20. (which had) ceased revived, (and) the broken edicts
21. as of old brought back to
22. their places; grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king,
23. king of the whole (world) king of Assyria am I. The great lord Marduk,
24. who in the reign of a former king in the presence of
25. the father his begetter dwelt in the midst of

26. Assyria, in the days of my reign with rejoicing
27. into Babylon entered. Sacrifices of
28. Êsagila and of the gods of Babylon I established;
29. the ordinances of Babylon I confirmed,
30. in order that the strong to the weak should do no harm;
31. Šamaš-šum-ukîn, (my) own brother,
32. to the kingship of Babylon I appointed.
33. In those days the wall of Êzida,
34. which had grown old, and whose foundations
35. had decayed, in my reign its ruins
36. verily I restored, and piled high like mountain-peaks.
37. For ever may Nebo the exalted lord
38. my good works joyfully look upon, and
39. for me, Aššurbanipal, the prince who fears him,
40. may a word of favour towards me be found in his lips;
41. a life of long days, abundance of offspring,
42. health of body, joy of heart may he appoint
43. as (my) lot; the foundation of the throne of my kingship
44. like a mountain may he establish; with
45. heaven and earth may he firmly fix my reign!
46. And as for Šamaš-šum-ukîn,
47. king of Babylon, my own brother, may his days
48. be long, may he be sated with gladness!
49. In the future, in afterdays, may the later prince,
50. in the days of whose reign
51. this work
52. may decay,
53. its ruins
54. restore; the image
55. of my kingship
56. may he see, and the pavement
57. anoint, (and) a sacrifice
58. offer; with
59. his own image
60. may he set it up:—
61. his prayers
62. shall Nebo hear.
63. (But) whosoever my name written
64. effaces,
65. the image of my kingship
66. throws down,

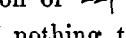
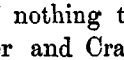
67. or its place
68. alters, and
69. with his (own) image
70. sets it not up,
71. may Nebo,
72. the great lord,
73. in anger
74. look upon him, and
75. the throne of his kingship
76. overthrow;
77. may he blot out his lordship,
78. his name, his seed in (all) lands
79. may he destroy:—and
80. may he not grant him
81. grace!

Notes.

9. *burumu*, 'blue,' or 'grey-blue,' is here used substantively as a name of the sky, and the literal meaning of *šiṭir burumu* is therefore not 'the blue writing,' but 'the writing on the blue,' that is, the characters formed by the constellations on the blue ground of the night-sky. See Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 6–8.

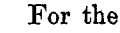
10. For *šigar* 'bolt,' Lehmann (l.c. p. 24) reads *riša*, cacumen. Nebuchadnezzar (E.I.H. III. 49) speaks of adorning the *šigari* of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa with silver; but the word is also used metaphorically of 'the gates of light.' Thus, in a hymn to the Sun (IV. R. 20, 2, 1 and 2) we read: *Šamaš ina išid šamê tappuḫamma šigar šamê ellūti tapti*, "O Sun, in the foundations of heaven thou hast dawned, the bolt of the glorious heavens thou hast opened."

11. and 12. *êli kullat maḫazi ukîn Dullum* I propose to translate as it stands—'over the whole city I established the god Dullum, or the god of *work*,' and I take the meaning to be that the building and

restoring operations of the king were on such a scale that the presence and influence of the god seemed to pervade the whole town. Cf. VR. 62, 1, 15, *êli kullat maḫazi ušatriṣi AN. DUL. LUM*, 'over the whole town I caused Dullum to extend.' The likeness between this phrase and the following words of line 6 of the cylinder-inscription of Sargon—*ša êli Ḫarrana ṣulûlašu itruṣu*, 'who over Ḫarran extended his shadow'—has apparently suggested the identification of  and  ; but I know of nothing that supports such an equation. Cf. Harper and Craig in *Hebraica*, vol. ii. p. 88; Lehmann, *De Inscript.* p. 24, and Lyon, *Manual*, p. 74. If Dullum were really a god, he must have been one of the less important members of the pantheon, coming into prominence only on special occasions, like Kidudu, 'guardian of the wall,' who appears but once (Shalmaneser, Throne-inscription, III. 1), or the hypothetical Brick-god, with whom Harper and Craig (*Hebraica*, l.c.) propose to fill up the lacuna in VR. 62, 1, 17.

The phrase *ša ipšêtušu . . . . . ṭâbu* may refer either to the king or to Dullum. In the latter case it is possible that the meaning is 'whose works more than (those of) all the gods are good.' But, on the other hand, cf. IV. R. 12, 16, *šarru ša ipšêtušu êli Bêli u Bêlit ṭâba*. For the meaning 'work' here assigned to *dullum*, see Pinches in P.S.B.A. 1885, p. 150.

14. *dušupat* for *duššupat*, 3 sing. fem. permansive II. 1 from *daṣāpu*, 'to be sweet.'

19. The rendering '*daily sacrifices*' is conjectural; but that *sattukku* means a regularly recurring celebration or ceremony of some sort seems clear from the following gloss (83—1—18, 483+1372, Rev. 5), to which Mr. Pinches has directed my attention:  *sa-an-tak-ku* = *ka-a-a-ni* ('regularly').

20. *parṣi kidudiê* Lehmann (l.c. p. 26) translates by *iussa edicta*. Smith (*Sennacherib*, p. 140) interprets *kidudiê* to mean 'sanctuaries,' and, in this case, if *parṣi* means 'commands,' 'the commands of the sanctuaries' must have been tablets inscribed with commands or edicts, which had fallen from their places in the sanctuaries and become broken and defaced. But if Ball's suggestion (P.S.B.A. 1888, p. 230) be adopted, that *parṣu* itself means a '*sanctum*, a separate abode,' then *parṣi* and *kidudiê* must be parallel, and the whole phrase will mean 'the shrines, the sanctuaries (that is their ruins) I brought back to their places.'

25. 'The father his begetter' is Aššur, who on his own ground ranked as the king and father of all the gods.

29. *kidinnuti* Lehmann renders by '*servitutem*,' Lyon (doubtfully) by 'right, custom,' while Harper and Craig give 'priesthood.' I propose the rendering 'ordinances.'

48. It is probable that *bu'aru*, usually translated vaguely by 'glory, well-being,' literally meant the more material satisfaction of 'food' or 'fatness.' Cf. Heb. בָּעַר *depavit*, בְּעִיר *pecus a depascendo dictum*, also the use of *bu'uru* for the quarry in hawking. See P.S.B.A. 1884, pp. 57, 58, and Lotz's *Tiglathpileser*, p. 207.

56. *kisallu* evidently meant some part of a temple-building; but what part exactly is uncertain. It has been variously rendered by 'floor, platform, altar.' But the same character is also explained by *šamnu*, 'oil,' and, if that reading be adopted here, the meaning is that the king's image was to be anointed with oil, either as a religious ceremony or to cleanse it.

77. *lidir*. I refer to a root *adāru*, 'to afflict, to darken,' whence *na'duru*, *nanduru*, 'darkened,' *idirtu*, 'affliction.'

(*b.*)

Besides the stele just described, the British Museum contains another of the same shape and material, but somewhat larger. An effigy of the king in the same attitude is sculptured on the face; but in style and execution it is inferior to the other. The inscription, running in ninety-nine lines over the face, back and right side of the stele, is much mutilated; but, as before, most of the gaps can be filled up with certainty. The characters are large and finely cut, and the Assyrian influence is more marked than in the forms of the companion stele. With the exception of the following variants *Dul-lu* for *Dullum* in line 12 above, *du-uš-šu-pat* for *du-šu-pat* in line 14, *ma-ḫa-zu* for *ma-ḫa-zi* in line 18, and *ḫa-ba-lu* for *ḫa-ba-li* in line 30; it reproduces the former text word for word down to the end of line 32, that is, as far as the words *ana šarrûti Bâbili apḳid.* It then continues as follows:

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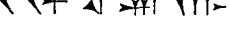
2. 
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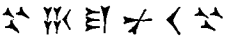
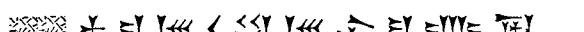
8. 

9. 

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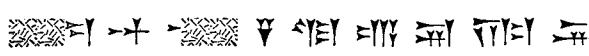
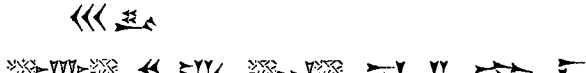
11. 

12. 

13.

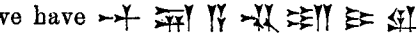
Transliteration.

1. u ši-pir Ê-sag ila
2. ša za-ru-u-a la u-ḳa-at-tu-u
3. a-na-ku u-šak-lil gušûri
4. êr-nu u šur-man ṣi-ru-tu tar-bi-ti
5. Ḫa-ma-nu u Lab-na-nu ê-li-[šu ?]
6. u šat-ri-ṣi dalâti urkarîni meš-ma-kan-na
7. [ê ?]-li êr-nu u-šê-piš ma u-rat-tu
8. [ina] bâbâni šu u-na-a-te ḫurâṣi kaspi siparri
9. parzilli êṣi u abni êpuš ma u-kîn
10. ki-rib-šu [ina ū-] mê šu-ma Ê-kar-za-gin-na
11. [bît Ê-a] ša ki-rib Ê-sag-ila eš-šiš
12. u-šê-piš Ê-a šar apsî ši-[pir]
13. šu-a-ti [ḫa-diš] lippalis-ma ia-a-ti . . . . . .

Translation.

1. And the work of Esagila,
2. which my progenitor finished not,
3. I completed: beams of
4. cedar and cypress, the tall growth of
5. Ḫaman and Lebanon, over it
6. I caused to be laid; doors of box-wood, *meš-makanna*,
7. [besides ?] cedar I caused to be made, and I fixed (them)
8. in its gates; utensils of gold, silver, copper,

9. iron, (implements of) wood and (implements of) stone I made, and set
10. within it. And in those days Êkarzaginna,
11. the house of Êa, which is within Êsagila, anew
12. I caused to be built. May Êa, king of the abyss, this
13. work joyfully look upon, and as for me, etc.

From this point it simply reproduces the former inscription, from line 39 to the end, with the exception that Êa of course takes the place of Nebo in the invocations. Thus for *Nabium bêlu šurbu* in ll. 22, 23, we have  *Ê-a bêlu ṣi-i-ru.*

The fragment above is remarkable in that it establishes the important fact that Êa also had a sanctuary of his own in Êsagila.

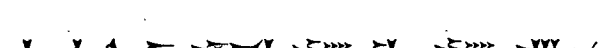
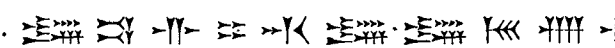
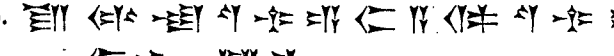
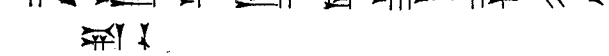
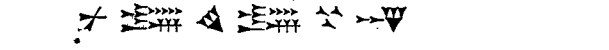
Notes.

6. For a discussion of the etymology and meaning of *urkarînu*, see Ball in P.S.B.A. 1889, pp. 143–4. The exact nature of *meš-makanna*, that is, apparently, the *meš*-tree from *Makan*, is unknown. It is mentioned in the E.I.H. inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (II. 31, III. 41 and IX. 9), where it is variously read by Winckler (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III. 2) thus: *musu-kanna*, *musukkana*, and lastly *musikkana*. It is true we hear of the word *musikkanni*, sometimes also spelt *musukkanni*, *miskanni*, as being highly prized and used for building purposes (see e.g. *Aššurnaṣirpal, Standard Inscr.*, Sennacherib, *Taylor Cylinder*, I. 54); but it is an unproved assumption that this and *meš-makanna* are identical.

(*c.*)

The restoration of Êsagila and the elevation of Šamaššu-mukin to the throne of Babylon form the theme of yet another text of the same king in the British Museum (No.

12064). It is inscribed in twenty-four lines of large and very clear Assyrian characters on a small barrel-shaped cylinder of terra-cotta also brought from Babylon by Mr. Rassam. The ends of lines 18 to 22 are almost entirely obliterated; but the sense of the missing portions can easily be gathered from the context. This time the king boasts of having restored—besides Êsagila—the temple or shrine of the Babylonian Ištar, and he bespeaks her favourable remembrance of him in the presence of the supreme Bel. The text has never yet been published or translated.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
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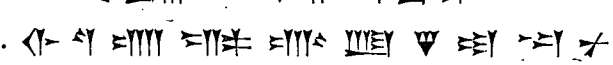
7. 
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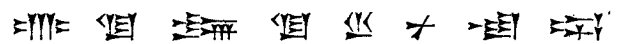
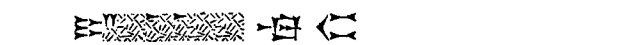
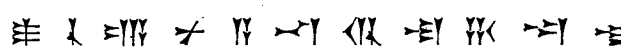
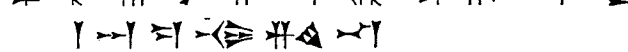
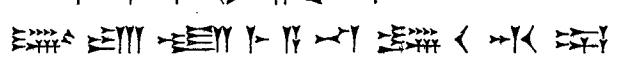
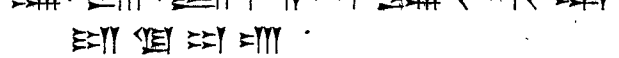
10. 

11. 

12. 

13. 

14. 

15. 

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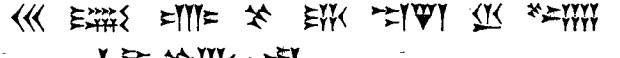
19. 

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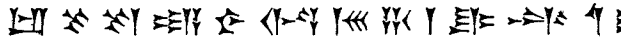
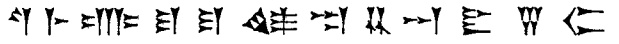
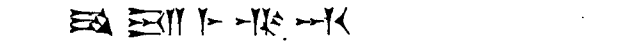
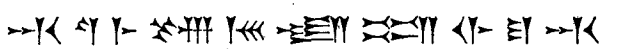
21. 

22. 

23. 

24. 

Transliteration.

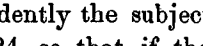
1. Aššur-bân-aplu šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur
2. šar kib-rat irbit-ti šar šarrâni rubû la ša-na-an
3. ša ul-tu tam-tim ê-lit a-di tam-tim šap-lit i-bê-lu-ma
4. gi-mir ma-li-ki u šak-niš šê-pu-uš-šu
5. apil Aššur-aḫê-iddin-na šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur
6. šakkânâḳu Bâbili šar Šumêr u Akkadi
7. bin-bin Sin-âhî-irba šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar Aššur a-na-ku-ma
8. ši-pir Ê-sag-ila ša âbû ba-nu-u-a la u-ḳa-at-tu-u
9. a-na-ku u-šak-lil sat-tuk-ki Ê-sag-ila u ilâni Bâbili
10. u-ki-in ki-din-nu-tu Bâbili aḳ-ṣur
11. aš-šu dan-nu a-na enšu la ḫa-ba-li Šamaš-ukîn
12. âḫû ta-li-mê a-na šarru-u-ti Bâbili ap-ḳid
13. ina û-mê-šu-ma Ê-tur-kalam-ma bît Ištar Bâbili
14. eš-šiš u-šê-piš Ištar Bâbili bêltu ṣîr-tu
15. ip-šê-tê-ia damḳâti ḫa-diš lip-pal-lis-ma
16. û-mê-šam-ma ma-ḫar Bêli bêlit-ia lit-taš-ḳar da-mê-ik-ti
17. balâṭ û-mê rûḳûti li-šim ši-ma-ti
18. [it]-ti šam-ê u irṣi-tim lu-ki-in palu-u-a
19. [u ša Šamaš]-ukîn šar Bābili
20. [. . . . . û-mê-šu] li-ri-ku liš-bi lit-tu-tu
21. . . . . i-pa-aš-ši-ṭu
22. mu-šar-u-[a] i-ab-ba-tu lu-u a-šar-šu u-nak-ka-ru
23. Ištar Bâbili ina ma-ḫar bêli bêlti-ia limnuti-šu
24. lit-taš-ḳar šum-šu zêri-šu ina mâtâti li-ḫal-lik.

Translation.

1. Aššurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria,
2. king of the four regions, king of kings, the prince without an equal,
3. who from the upper sea to the lower sea rules, and
4. all princes has subdued under his feet,
5. son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria,
6. governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad,

7. grandson of Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the whole (world), king of Assyria am I.
8. The work of Êsagila, which (my) father, my begetter, did not finish,
9. I completed; the (daily) sacrifices of Êsagila and the gods of Babylon
10. I established; the ordinances of Babylon I confirmed,
11. in order that the strong to the weak should not do harm. Šamaš-ukîn
12. (my) own brother to the kingship of Babylon I appointed,
13. and in those days Êturkalamma, the house of Ištar of Babylon,
14. anew I caused to be built. May Ištar of Babylon, the exalted lady,
15. my good works joyfully look upon, and
16. daily in the presence of Bel (and) my lady may she speak graciously,
17. a life of long days may she appoint as (my) lot,
18. with heaven and earth may she firmly fix my reign.
19. And as for Šamaš-ukîn, king of Babylon,
20. [my own brother, may his days] be long, may he have abundance of offspring!
21. [Whosoever my name written] effaces,
22. my tablet throws down, or its place alters,
23. may Ištar of Babylon in the presence of Bel (and) my lady evil against him
24. speak; his name, his seed in (all) lands may she destroy!

Notes.

11. For a discussion of the form  *Šamaš-ukîn* (which also occurs in line 19 below) instead of the more usual Šamaš-šum-ukîn, see Lehmann, in Z.K. ii. p. 360 *sq.*
16. *Ištar* is evidently the subject of *littašḳar* both here and in line 24, so that, if the rendering proposed above be correct, we have an exception to the rule laid down by Delitzsch (*Grammar*, § 84) that the Ittafal has always a passive signification.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The four 'requisites' in Guhasena's grant dated 248.

In the "Archæological Reports of Western India," vol. 3, pl. lix., we have a grant of the Vallabhi King Guhasena, dated in the year 248 (= 567 A.D.), which is transliterated by Professor Bühler on p. 94. He gives in line 7 the reading:

Grāsācchādanaṣayanāsanaghānabhashajyādi, etc.

These must be the 'four requisites' (*catupaccayā*) of a Bhikshu. It is true that they are usually given in the Pali texts as *cīvara*, *pindapāta*, *senāsana*, and *gilāna-paccaya-bhesajja* (*see* Majjhima Nikāya, I. 33, etc.). But we find at Dīgha Nikāya, II. 35, *ghāsacchādana* for the first two (compare *ghāsacchādo* at Puggala Paññatti, IV. 19=Anguttara, IV. 85. 2). It is clear therefore that the reference is to the "four requisites." We must read, of course, *bhaishajyādi*, though the engraver of the plate has merely *bha*, quite plainly.

It is worthy of notice that the Pali idiom has invariably, in this connection, *ghāsa;* and the ordinary Sanskrit as invariably *grāsa* (reserving *ghāsa* for the sense, not of "food," but of "fodder"). I have not as yet noticed the expression at all in Buddhist Sanskrit, which has often enough the more usual words given above from the Pali (see, for instance, Divyāvadāna, p. 143).

T. W. Rhys Davids.

2. Nāgasena.

As I pointed out in the Translation of the '*Milinda*' (vol. i. p. xxv) Nāgasena, the 'hero' of that historical romance, has not yet been found in any other Pāli or Sanskrit book.

Neither has the book itself been as yet found mentioned by any Buddhist author except Buddhaghosa (about 430 A.D. in Ceylon). But Burnouf had pointed out that in one Buddhist Sanskrit work—the Abhidharma Koṣa Vyākhyā, a commentary by Yaṣomitra, whose date is unknown, on the Abhidharma Koṣa of Vasubandhu, the younger brother of Asanga, both of whom Professor Max Müller ('What can India teach us,' p. 290) places in the sixth century—there is an opinion of one Nāgasena which Yaṣomitra disputes. M. Léon Feer has been kind enough to consult Burnouf's MS., which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and has sent me copies of the passage in question, together with the context, both in transliteration and in Sanskrit letters. It runs as follows:

Abhidharmakoçavyākhyā, Manuscrit de Burnouf, No. 114, fo. 475*vo*, l. 10–11.

Kasmād Bhagavatā Sa jīvas tac charīram anyo veti na vyākṛtam ity ayam eṣām abhiprāyaḥ. Yadi skandheṣu pudgalopacāraḥ kasmāc charīram eva jīvā iti noktam iti sthavira-nāgasenādibhiḥ. Bahuvollakā iti bahupralāpāḥ.

It will be seen that Yaṣomitra is giving various interpretations of a passage in his author which declares the identity of form (*rūpa*) and the four elements (*catvāri bhūtāni*). Some think the passage in question is meant to point out why the Buddha refused to explain whether 'soul' (*jīva*) and 'body' (*ṣarīra*) were the same. Some think that the passage is meant as an answer to Nāgasena and others who ask why it is not said (in the Pitakas) that 'body' (*jīva*) and 'soul' (*ṣarīra*) are the same, when it is admitted (in the Pitakas) that the range of the 'soul' (here pudgala) is within the Skandhas (skandhesu pudgalopacārah).

So far from Yaṣomitra disputing the opinion of a Nāgasena, he is in fact quoting that opinion (given in the form of a question) as a possibly correct statement which his author's passage is meant to explain, and he does not say that either he or Vasubandhu think that the statement inferred in the question is wrong.

Now, the author of our Milinda puts into Nāgasena's mouth (Milinda, ed. Trenckner, p. 28) a quotation from the Saṃyutta which says, 'Where the Skandhas are, there people talk of a being (Satto).' This is at the end of the celebrated discussion about the chariot which starts by Nāgasena *denying* the existence of the soul (*pudgala*). And he makes him, after a full discussion (pp. 54–57), deny the proposition that there is 'soul' (the terms used are *jīva* and *vedagū*) in the Skandhas. And again (pp. 71, 87), he makes Nāgasena say that there is no such thing as a soul (*vedagū* at p. 71, *jīva* at p. 87). On this last passage the Ceylon translator adds as a gloss 'inside the forms (*rūpa*) consisting of the four elements?' So that the particular question assigned by Yaṣomitra to his 'Nāgasena and others' is nowhere, in our 'Milinda,' put into Nāgasena's mouth. And not only so, but the Nāgasena of the Milinda holds opinions the very reverse of those suggested by the question raised by Yaṣomitra's Nāgasena.

The other question—whether the soul is the same as the body, or different from it—is one of the well-known points on which the Buddha is so often stated, in the Piṭakas, to have refused to express any opinion (see my Hibbert Lectures, chap. iii.); not, of course, because he did not know, but because no one else, not even the Arahats, could understand it.

It is a great pity that we have not the words of Vasubandhu on which Yaṣomitra is commenting. And it is curious that, as was pointed out in the Introduction to my translation of the Milinda, even Buddhaghosa, when referring to it, never uses quite the same phraseology as is found in the printed text. The only thing therefore that is certain is that we owe many thanks to M. Feer for giving us the actual words of the reference in a Sanskrit Buddhist, and Mahāyānist, work to a Nāgasena.[1]

T. W. Rhys Davids.

[1] One of the donors whose names are recorded on the Bharhut Tope is Nāgasenā Koḍiyānī of Pāṭaliputta (on the 8th pillar, plate 53).

3. A Ceylon Embassy to Egypt.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, 1885, p. 61, Mr. Howorth quotes Maqrīzi's account of an embassy sent from the King of Ceylon to the Sultān of Egypt. According to Mr. Howorth, the name of the Sinhalese King is Abu Nekbah Lebadahs. But the date is April, 1283, when Bhuvaneka Bāhu the First was reigning in Ceylon (see Mahāvansa, ed. Wijesinha, p. 314, for the chronicler's account of him, and my 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' plate i., for a photograph of his *kahāpaṇas*, which have been found in considerable numbers). It is clear that Bunekbah (there is no initial A in the Arabic) in the English transliteration of Maqrīzi's Arabic reproduction of this Ceylon name corresponds to Bhuvaneka-bāhu, so that we have here an undesigned confirmation of the sometimes doubted chronology of the Ceylon chronicles. The other half of the name is curious. Quatremère, in his translation, from which Mr. Howorth is quoting, has, not Lebadahs but Lebabah, and in the Arabic text given on p. 176 he has جهة ابو بكسا صاحب, which is apparently only. *Ṣaḥib*—a title naturally added to the name of a foreign king.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

4. Modern Name of Ur of the Chaldees.

Queen's College, Oxford,
Nov. 10th, 1890.

Sir,—If Sir James Redhouse will refer to my "Hibbert Lectures," he will see that I have never written the modern name of Ur of the Chaldees "Mugh-ir." Like other Assyriologists, I have followed what is now the traditional mode of transcribing the name, Mugheir.

If I am not mistaken, Sir James Redhouse's explanation of the name as the Arabic Muqayyar is supported by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who has heard it so pronounced on the spot. Nevertheless, I have a suspicion that Loftus by his *gh* intended to represent the Arabic *ghain*.

A. H. Sayce.

5. The Nāgas and Serpent-worshippers in India.

15, *Willow Road, Hampstead Heath,*
April 25, 1891.

Dear Sir,—I have heard with interest Dr. Oldham's novel and ingenious theory regarding the ethnological affinities of the Nagas. But I greatly doubt whether the Naga to-tem—or totemic—worship of any kind had much to do with the origin or diffusion of serpent-worship in India—at any rate in the North-West Provinces—the part of India with which I am best acquainted. And this for two reasons: 1st, We have the same general features and the same superstitions which characterize serpent-worship in other countries; 2nd, The distinctive marks of totem-worship are, so far as I know, entirely wanting.

To give some examples of my first proposition. Snakes are regarded as the guardians of secret treasure. Many years ago in the Furukhabad District I asked some villagers regarding a ruinous mound in their vicinity. I was told that a palace lay beneath—in which there was a great hoard of gold; but it was guarded by the cobra-king: and when a villager once ventured to dig for it, the cobra-king came with his army of cobras at midnight, surrounded the house in which the man lay, and bit the audacious wretch to death. Then they are supposed to haunt strange and weird-looking trees. A mango tree of this kind once stood in my garden. On its topmost boughs it was said there lived a huge and aged cobra—it might be 100 years old—who descended to the earth only at the darkest hour of night, and was rarely if ever visible by mortal eye. Snakes are also the guardians of divinely inspired, or protected, children. A story was current two or three years ago of a cobra, which had glided out of the forest and coiled itself round a little girl of ten or twelve. It canopied her head for a while with its hood, and then returned to the forest. This it did three days running. So far, all the stories I have heard mentioned only cobras; but there are many superstitions common to all snakes. It is counted uncanny to kill any snake: it is sure to take vengeance (*badla lega*). A lady,

who was travelling in the Himalayas, compelled her porters to kill a snake which had glided on the path. They remonstrated and warned her of the consequences; and, next day, thanks to the snaky ghost, or the assistance it derived from the porters, her "dandy" broke down, and she was thrown on the ground. Another popular superstition is that a person bitten by a snake will not die as long as the snake is kept alive. I have known men carry *karaiths* about in earthen pots, when they brought their friends to be cured. Some snakes, too, are supposed to be endowed with preternatural cleverness. *Dhamans*, for instance, are said to be able to stand up and milk the cows at pasture without hurting them. These illustrations will suffice, I think, to show that the popular superstitions in India regarding snakes are very similar to those which prevail in other countries. They appear to differ in only one important point. I have never heard of any oracular power attributed to snakes, but this may simply be because I never inquired regarding it.[1]

I am not aware that actual worship is ever paid to snakes, although they are kindly treated, and individuals frequently place basins of milk at night for snakes to drink. A similar practice still prevails, I believe, in Germany. As to serpent-totem worship, I have never seen any traces of it in the North-West Provinces. In totem-worship we expect to find that all the members of a family or tribe reverence the totem—while it is persecuted by their enemies. I could never find that any tribe or caste as such reverenced the serpent. It has always seemed to me a matter of individual belief, and we find instances of it in every class of society, from the most orthodox Hindus to the lowest aborigines. It is strongest, I think, as might be expected, among the Vishnuites, and the hill-tribes of Kumaon, or at the foot of the Himalayas, a region which abounds with superstitions, as with jhungle; and the snake has no enemies, for the Naths (gipsies), who are professional snake-killers, kill them

[1] There is no connection between serpent and river worship in India any more more than there was in Egypt or (until a later period) in Babylonia.

for reward, but have no special hostility. Moreover, many persons who will not kill snakes themselves have no objection to bring them to you to be killed. Not long ago a man brought me a number of earthen pots full of live cobras to be killed. I demanded to see some before I paid him the reward. He darted his bare arm into a pot, seized two large cobras, one after the other, by the middle, and flung them on the ground within a few feet of me. I made no further question.

The cobra, by his terrific aspect and his deadly venom, naturally takes the highest rank among snakes; indeed, the cobras are, I think, the only snakes that have a king. But the cobra by no means monopolizes the popular imagination or Hindu mythology. For instance, there are two representations at least in the Amaravati sculptures where three men carry in triumph a gigantic snake—which they have captured or killed. It is apparently a python. In almost all mythologies the serpent plays a double part—it is an obvious symbol of the awful and mysterious power which resides in a divinity or king. On the other hand, it is an embodiment of the evil principle of the earth. And as in early ages the physical and moral are inextricably intertwined, the serpent becomes more than an emblem: it becomes an incarnation of the mysterious double nature which it symbolizes. Serpent-worship in Egypt appears to me the nearest analogy to serpent-worship in India—except that in Egypt the opposition between the divine uraeus and the evil snake is more strongly marked perhaps. However that may be, the uraeus which raises its hooded head on the crown of every Egyptian divinity and king, and the solar hawk which hovers over the statue of Cephren at Ghizeh, are an exact counterpart of the cobra which overcanopies Buddha or Siva and the eagle of Garuda. The Naga worship described by Dr. Oldham is no doubt a case of totem worship; but I think it is more probable to believe that it arose out of or contemporaneously with the prevailing serpent-worship than that it should have spread serpent-worship throughout the length of the land.—Yours truly,

J. KENNEDY.

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

6. Prof. Kielhorn on the Vikrama Era.

Edinburgh,
June 15, 1891.

Sir,—In the *Nachrichten* of the Göttingen University for June, Prof. F. Kielhorn, C.I.E., has published a very ingenious theory of the origin of the designation of the Vikrama era, which ought to attract attention.

When the late James Fergusson broached his hypothesis that it might have derived its name from Vikramâditya of Malwa, about A.D. 543, no earlier dates in this era were known than the tenth century. Since then the Dholpur inscription has been found, dated in the 898th year elapsed *kâlasya-vikramâkhyasya*, and at least two earlier dates in "the era of the Mâlava kings," which must belong to the same era. It hence appears that between the sixth and ninth centuries the designation had been changed, though even in the ninth century it was only the "*vikrama* time." No allusion is necessarily made to a king Vikrama. But the years of this era then always dated from the month Kârttika (October-November). Now this was the time when kings went out to war; autumn was thus specially the *vikrama-kâla*. This the poets, as Prof. Kielhorn remarks, know as well as the writers of the *Niti-* and *Dharma-Sâstras*. Raghu undertakes his *digvijaya* in autumn. Autumn (*sarad*), decorated with lotus flowers, approaches him as a second Râjalakshmî, inviting him to set out even before Raghu himself had taken the resolution. In autumn also the bulls seek to equal him in *vikrama*; and as Kalidâsa, so Bhâravi speaks of autumn at the marching out of Arjuna. In autumn Râma sets out to slay Râvana and regain Sîtâ. In the *Gaüdavaho*, Yasovarman goes out at the end of the rainy season, in autumn, to subject the world to his sway. In the *Harshacharita*, Bâna compares the beginning of autumn (*saradârambha*), white with flowering grasses, to a cup drunk at war-time (*vikrama-kâle*).

From autumn (*sarad*), as the true *vikrama-kâla*, it is but a short step to the year (*sarad*), according to the *vikrama-*

kâla; and Prof. Kielhorn believes that the Hindus had taken this step, and that the later reckoning of the Mâlava era, as that of a king Vikrama, owes its origin to a misunderstanding. If they were accustomed to speak of autumn as *vikrama-kâla*, the connection of *vikrama-kâla* with the notion of "year" followed; and the practice of denoting the year as *vikrama-kâla* was the more natural as it expressed the distinction between the Mâlava and the *Saka* year—namely, the fact that the Mâlava year begins in autumn. When they had been accustomed to speak of years as *vikrama-kâla* or *vikrama* years, nothing was more natural than that later ages should seek to interpret this in the manner of their time, and so ascribed the establishment of the era to a king Vikrama, who, like their own kings, had counted the years from his accession.

Such is Prof. Kielhorn's argument, and its naturalness and probability will commend it as an ingenious and most plausible explanation of the designation. How the Mâlava era itself originated is, of course, a different matter.

JAS. BURGESS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1891.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

20th April, 1891.—Sir Frederic Goldsmid, Vice-President, in the Chair.

In accordance with Rule 7, the election by the Council of the following gentlemen as members of the Society was announced to the Meeting.

1. The Rev. J. S. Ball.
2. Dr. Schrumpf.
3. James Kennedy, Esq.
4. Robert Roy, Esq.
5. Hari Dās Sāstri.
6. Eustace K. Corbett, Esq.
7. Count Goblet d'Alviella.

Surgeon-Major Oldham read a paper on the Nāgas, which is printed in full in the present issue of the Journal. A discussion followed, in which M. Darmesteter (Secretary of the 'Société Asiatique'), Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Professor Bendall, and Professor Rhys Davids took part.

25th May, 1891.—Anniversary Meeting. The Earl of Northbrook, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following gentlemen as members of the Society was announced to the meeting.

1. W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.
2. B. H. Lāl, Esq.

The President said: "I may congratulate the Society on the improvement in its position which the Report, about to be read, shows to have taken place. The evening lectures lately inaugurated will, I trust, do something to interest the public in Eastern matters. Professor Max Müller's very able and interesting address will be fresh in your memory. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff has been kind enough to undertake the second lecture, and the Society can confidently expect an intellectual treat from one who has not only filled so high a position in India, but who has taken in intellectual life in Madras the same wide interest as he has always taken in the world of thought at home. Perhaps the most important of the matters mentioned in the Report is the proposed revival of the Oriental Translation Fund. This is a very interesting and important part of the work we are endeavouring to carry out. The leading Oriental Societies on the continent have, with no better resources than our own, done a great deal in that direction. And I hope we may be able in the future, as we did for so many years during the early life of our Society, to contribute substantial aid to the work of translating Oriental texts—a work so valuable not only to the historical student, but to the dissemination of a true and accurate knowledge of the East."

The Secretary then read the

Report of the Council for the Year 1890.

The Council regret to have to announce the decease during the year of the following members:—

1. Major T. P. Burt.
2. Sir Richard Burton.
3. Sir John F. Davis.
4. Sir James Gordon.
5. Mr. Colborne Baber.
6. Sir Edward Colebrooke.
7. The Rev. John Davies.
8. Mr. James Pilkington.
9. The Marquis Tseng (*Hon. Mem.*).

In the obituary notices which have appeared from time to time in the Journal will be found an account of the life and work of Sir Richard Burton, whose genius and wide knowledge had done and still promised to do so much to advance our knowledge more especially of Arab life and literature. Of Mr. Colborne Baber, who was unrivalled in his mastery of those byeways of Chinese scholarship on which we had hoped he would have lived to throw more light. Of Sir John Davis, who was, with one exception, the oldest member of the Society, and who had in his day done so much good pioneer work in Chinese. Of Sir Edward Colebrooke, who was throughout his life so warm a friend to the Society, and had rendered it such signal service both as President, and as member of Council. And of the Marquis Tseng, who was one of our honorary members, and was a man of mark and distinction in the public service of his own country.

The following gentlemen have been elected during 1890 as members of the Society :—

As Resident Members—

1. Col. Acton Havelock.
2. William Heinemann, Esq.
3. Jag Mohun Lal, Esq.
4. Sultan S. S. Hosain, Esq.
5. C. L. Tupper, Esq., B.C.S.

As Non-Resident Members.

1. H. H. the Gaikwar of Baroda.
2. C. E. Biddulph, Esq.
3. The Rev. J. E. Carpenter.
4. R. S. Chitgupi, Esq.
5. F. H. M. Corbet, Esq.
6. W. D. Deane, Esq.
7. The Rev. Blasius D'Monte.
8. Major C. R. Conder, R.E., LL.D.
9. M. L. van Deventer.
10. M. J. Grosset.

11. G. H. Hoffmann, Esq.
12. M. R. de la Grasserie.
13. H. G. A. Leveson, Esq.
14. R. Waddy Moss.
15. Prof. Peter Peterson.
16. Dr. Arthur Pfungst.
17. Surgeon-Major Ranking.
18. Har Bilas Sarda, Esq.
19. Edward B. Tylor, Esq., F.R.S.
20. W. H. Verner, Esq.
21. Pandit Lāl Chandra Vidyāsāgāra Guru.

It will be noticed that the number of members on the books of the Society shows an increase. This increase has gone on steadily, though slowly, during the last few years. The actual figures appearing in the summaries which have been introduced as appendices to the last four lists published are as follows :—

	Compounders.		Subscribers.				
Date.	Rest.	Non-Rest.	Rest.	Non-Rest.	Libraries.	Hon. Members.	Total.
1888 (July)	43	53	127	154	—	30	411
1889 (Oct.)	50	62	115	168	7	30	432
1890 (Oct.)	48	62	112	179	11	30	442
1891 (Jan.)	47	62	110	185	16	30	450

Since the appearance of the list in January last, the following changes have taken place.

Deaths and retirements	2	—	2	4	—	—	8
	45	62	108	181	16	30	
Elected . .	1	—	3	5	2	—	11
	46	62	111	186	18	30	453
Transfers .			—4	+4			
			+2	—2			
	46	62	109	188	18	30	453

An examination of these figures will show that the number of resident members, paying three guineas a year, has gone gradually down in these three years from 127 to 109, with a resulting loss to the Society's income of fifty-four guineas (£56 14*s*.).

But, on the other hand, the number of non-resident members has increased in these three years from 159 to 188, and eighteen Libraries have become annual subscribers under the new arrangements enabling them to do so. These two items together show a gain to the Society's income of 37 subscriptions at thirty shillings a year (that is £70 10*s*.), which more than makes up for the loss in the income from resident subscribers.

It will be necessary to go back even a little further to show the real bearing of these facts. In 1884 there were 166 resident members, subscribing three guineas a year, and only 132 non-resident members subscribing, then, only one guinea a year. But the non-resident members received every year four issues of the Journal, which cost the Society considerably more than the sum at which the non-resident subscription was fixed. While, therefore, the non-resident members was rising every year, each new non-resident member elected was an actual loss to the Society. And, on the other hand, the number of the profitable members—the three-guinea subscribers—was as steadily decreasing. It was in view of this very serious position that the Council had to face the question whether they should discontinue the quarterly issues of the Journal. The measures they adopted to avert this apparently impending calamity will be in the recollection of members. The figures now put before the Society show that those measures have been successful. The loss has been more than made good; and instead of one class of members being called upon to pay for what another class of members received, the method of payment for the Journal has now been placed on a sound financial basis, and the issue of four numbers each year has been practically insured for the future.

Having thus arranged for the continuance of the Journal,

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1890.

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1890		9 5 1
95 Resident Members at £3 3*s.*	299 5 0	
61 Non-Resident Members at £1 10*s.*	91 8 4	
1 " " at £2 2*s.*	2 2 0	
79 " " at £1 1*s.* (less 1*s.*) ...	82 18 0	528 4 10
1 " in advance	1 10 0	
Arrears	11 14 0	
Compositions	39 7 6	
Donation from the India Office	210 0 0	
Dividend on Stock (N.S.W. £1002 13*s.* 10*d.* 4 per cent.)	39 2 0	397 17 11
Sale of *Journal* for 1889 *and* 1890	132 5 11	
Library Subscriptions for Journal, 1890 (11 at 30*s.*)	16 10 0	
Rents—		
British Association (3 quarters)	87 15 0	
Hellenic Society	30 0 0	
Numismatic Society (half year)	10 0 0	167 13 0
Aristotelian Society	12 12 0	
Art Association, 1889 and 1890	17 17 0	
Folk Lore Society	9 9 0	
		£1103 0 10

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House—Rent	300 0 0	
Insurance	5 0 0	
Water	9 10 0	
Gas	13 16 3	350 17 9
Coals	3 18 0	
Repairs	18 13 6	
Salaries—Secretary and Assistant	250 0 0	
Bedford (pension)	25 0 0	280 0 0
Income Tax	5 0 0	
Journal—Printing Vol. XXII. 1890	223 9 1	
Illustrations	43 10 0	269 17 7
Reporter	2 18 6	
Library—Books purchased	19 18 9	
Binding and Repairs	36 14 6	66 13 3
Preparing Catalogue, on account ...	10 0 0	
Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing	8 12 7	
Postage, Parcels, and Messenger	40 0 0	108 12 7
Housekeeper, cleaning, and attendance	60 0 0	
Balance Dec. 31, 1890		26 19 8
		£1103 0 10

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct. H. C. KAY. C. L. TUPPER. ROBERT CHALMERS.

April 14, 1891.

which is that part of the Society's work which chiefly interests the non-resident members, the Council have also endeavoured to provide evening lectures in London in addition to and of a more popular nature than the papers read at the afternoon meetings (each lecture to be followed by an informal conversazione). Professor Max Müller was good enough to deliver the inaugural lecture, and Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff will deliver the second of the series on the 19th of June. The Council believe that this new departure will meet with the approval of members. It no doubt entails a considerable expense, but it is hoped that it will advance the interest in the objects which the Society has principally in view.

During the year the laborious work of cataloguing the Society's Library has been steadily carried on, and is now in fact very nearly completed. When published, it will not only be a standard work of reference on Oriental bibliography in all its branches, but will also render the Library more practically useful to members of the Society.

The Council have in past years found much difficulty in procuring papers for the Journal—in some years, indeed, the publication of the Journal had to be altogether suspended. The regular publication of the quarterly issues during the last few years shows how much the position of the Society has, in this respect, improved. And the Council are glad to say that they have never, in their remembrance, been better supplied with valuable papers than they are at the present moment, having, indeed, enough on hand already for all the issues of this year. They trust that in this matter they will receive the continued support of those members of the Society who have especial acquaintance with any period of Oriental history.

The Council desire, however, to add to their work done on the Journal the separate publication of Oriental texts, and especially of translations, and have given continued attention to the revival of the Oriental Translation Fund. The difficulties in the way are very considerable, but they can venture to express the hope that, before this year expires,

the scheme will have been placed on a practically substantial footing, and that a beginning at least will have been made.

On the whole, though the Society is weakened at every turn by its want of funds, it is in a better and more promising state than it has ever been, and with careful management, with the increasing support of scholars, and with an extending list of members, can look forward with confidence to still greater activity and usefulness in the future.

Copies of the usual yearly balance sheet as certified by the auditors lay on the table, and the Council propose for election as members of Council during the ensuing session (to replace the five members retiring under Rule 22):

(1) General Maclagan,
(2) Dr. Duka,
(3) Professor Bendall,
(4) Professor Macdonell,
(5) Mr. Robert Chalmers.

Mr. Bouverie Pusey moved, and Sir Frederic Goldsmid seconded, the adoption of the report. This motion, on being put from the chair, was carried unanimously.

Major Conder, R.E., M.R.A.S., then read his paper on the Lycian Inscriptions, which will appear in full in the October issue of the Journal, and a discussion followed.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band xlv. Heft 1 (received 19 June, 1891).

1. August Conrady. Newāri Grammar.
2. Karl Vollers. A Modern Arabic 'Tartuffe.'
3. Th. Nöldeke. On the 'Book of the Ten Vizīrs.'
4. G. Bühler. The Seven Pillar Edicts of Asoka.
5. G. van Vloten. On Moslem Irdjā.

III. Obituary Notices.

George Bertin, for many years a member of this Society, who died in February last, was born in Paris about the year 1848. He was a son of Auguste Bertin, B.-ès-L., *avocat* and journalist, and grandson of Jean Victor Bertin, the well-known landscape-painter, for whose pupils the *Prix de Rome* may be regarded as having been created. About the year 1856 George Bertin, then a boy, accompanied his parents to London, where, for some time, his family lived. He received a private education until he was old enough to return to Paris to continue his studies there, and he then attended the classes at the Collège de France, taking up the study of Assyrian, under Professor Oppert. He began his career as a journalist whilst in Paris, and continued it after finally settling in England in 1871, when he was naturalized. At this time, also, he continued his studies of Assyrian, often going to the British Museum, and regularly attending the meetings of the learned societies, for he was not only an Assyriologist, but also an Anthropologist. Mr. Bertin was very widely read in the domain of comparative philology and ethnography.

Among Mr. Bertin's contributions to his favourite study may be mentioned his *Suggestions on the Formation of the Semitic Tenses* (1882), *Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns* (1885), *The Origin and Development of the Cuneiform Syllabary* (1887), and *The pre-Akkadian Semites* (1887), all in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, to which, also, in 1886, he contributed a paper entitled *The Bushmen and their Language*—a paper which he had written in consequence of having studied the subject when writing a similar article for the *Grande Encyclopédie*, published by Lévy, to which work he contributed the articles referring to Africa generally. Other papers by Mr. Bertin are *The Races of the Babylonian Empire* (Anthropological Institute), *Akkadian Precepts for the Conduct of Man in his Private Life*, *The Assyrian Numerals*, *Notes on Assyrian Numerals*, *On the Character and Influence of the Accent in the Akkadian and Assyrian*

Words, Notes on Babylonian Contract-Tablets, etc., in the *Transactions and Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, together with many papers of a similar nature in several English and French periodicals, etc. One of his last works was his *Abridged Grammars of the Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (*Sumero-Akkadian, Assyro-Babylonian, Vannic, Medic, and Old Persian*) in Trübner's *Collection of Simplified Grammars*. His last article, *Babylonian Chronology and History*, will be published shortly by the Royal Historical Society. The total number of his papers, exclusive of those contributed to the *Grande Encyclopédie*, is about forty. He always spoke with great respect of his first teacher, Prof. Oppert, and with affectionate regard of Professor Sayce, who may be regarded as his teacher in England, though, to say the truth, he was mainly self-taught, having acquired an excellent knowledge of the languages of ancient Mesopotamia direct from the tablets and published inscriptions.

Mr. Bertin was, or had been, also a member of the Anthropological Institute, the Philological Society, the Society of Biblical Archaeology, the Royal Historical Society, and the Société Philologique of Paris. In addition to the papers which he contributed to these institutions, he also gave several series of lectures, at the British Museum and elsewhere, upon his favourite study of Assyriology.

A man of very decided views, he was most conscientious, very kind-hearted, and always ready to help inquirers from his own special fund of knowledge. Unfortunately, fate dealt out to him more than his proper share of the difficulties of this life, and this, added to the trying malady from which he was suffering, has deprived Assyriology of an enthusiastic student, who, had all gone well with him, would have made himself a still greater reputation in his own special branch of research. T. G. P.

We have to record the death of the Earl of Powis, great-grandson and heir to the title of Lord Clive, the conqueror of Plassey in India. He joined the Society in 1861, and

was present at the Anniversary Meeting in 1890, and had always taken an interest in Oriental, and specially Indian, Literature and Archæology, without pretending in any way to be a scholar. He seemed to think that this was a suitable mode of expressing his continued interest in India, which had been the foundation of the greatness of his family.

R. N. C.

Commendatore Gasparo Gorresio.—We regret to be obliged to omit from the future lists of Honorary Members the name of Commendatore Gasparo Gorresio, the illustrious Professor of the Sanskrit Language at Turin: he was born in 1808, and died in May, 1891. To him has been accorded the special honour of making the first translation into a European language of the great Sanskrit Epic, the Rāmāyana, and of carrying both text and translation through the Press at Paris between the years 1843 and 1856. This monumental work will be of the greatest service when a serious beginning comes to be made in the critical study of that famous poem. On the completion of the work (the expense of printing it, I may mention, was defrayed by Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia), he returned to Turin, and occupied the post of Librarian of the University. He always welcomed the visits of Sanskrit scholars, and it was a pleasure to hold converse with this grand old scholar, who was a pupil of Burnouf, and the Father of Sanskrit Philology at this epoch. He was named "Senatore di Regno," in recognition of his literary merits, and was one of the Associate Members of the French Academy.

R. N. C.

It is with great regret that we have to chronicle the death of one of our most distinguished members, Colonel Sir Oliver Beauchamp Coventry St. John, of the Royal Engineers. Though not remarkable as a book scholar, or Orientalist, in the stricter sense of the term, he was a proficient in "Persian Colloquial," and by no means backward as a grammarian or critical student of the beautiful language

of Háfiz and S'adi. It may indeed be said of him that, wherever his lot was cast within the dominions of the Shah, his quick ear and keen apprehension of surroundings made him a tolerably safe referee in questions of local idiom and pronunciation; and the present writer can testify from personal knowledge that for the seven or eight years during which the deceased officer was connected with Persia, in respect of telegraph operations or survey, his appreciation of the native character was of the truest value.

The bare record of St. John's services gives speaking testimony to his ability and versatility. When in his twentieth year, or in December, 1856, he received his first appointment to the Bengal Engineers, his Lieutenant's Commission dating from the 21st August, 1858. After a quasi apprenticeship in the Public Works Department of Upper India, he volunteered, in 1863, for special employment in Persia, and was accepted as an Assistant to his brother officer, Patrick Stewart, who had been directed by the Indian Government to organize a line of telegraph which would connect India with the European system by cables in the Persian Gulf, and land wires, carried from the Cable Stations on one side viâ Asiatic Turkey, and on another viâ Persia. The latter line—though its successful issue was eventually found in a prolongation of the wires in Northern Persia towards Russia and Western Europe—was, in the first instance, intended as a mere alternative to a section of the Turkish telegraph. In 1867, St. John was despatched to Abyssinia, where he did good service during the war, for which he received the thanks of the Government of India, and returned to Persia in the following year. In 1871, he conducted a survey of the Perso-Baluch frontier, from Gwatar in the South, to Jalk and Dizak in the North, and for some months afterwards he was employed by the India Office at home in preparing maps of Persia and Baluchistan. He returned to India in 1875, after an absence of more than eleven years.

The duty for which he was now selected was Educational, and he became Principal of the Mayo College at Ajmîr.

Continuing to hold this post for a considerable period, he was attached, in August, 1875, to Sir Neville Chamberlain's Mission to Kabul, and was afterwards Chief Political Officer of the Kandahar Field Force, and Resident in Kandahar. In April, 1881, he officiated as Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan; in January, 1883, he was employed on special duty in Kashmîr; in 1884, Acting Resident at Haidarabad; later in the year, Resident in Kashmîr; in December, 1887, Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda; in January, 1889, Resident in Maisur, and Chief Commissioner in Coorg. From Maisur he was quite recently recalled to Baluchistan, to take up the vacated office of Political Agent, owing to Sir Robert Sandeman's departure.

Persia and the contiguous lands supplied undoubtedly the more fitting field for Colonel St. John's labours. When he was at Ajmîr, in 1875, a letter addressed to the present writer shows that his heart was still in the country he had left:

"India revisited," he wrote, "has few charms after a dozen years in more genial climes . . . Consequently you will not be surprised to learn that I not unfrequently wish myself back at Tehran." As to his then immediate work, he added: "I expect to commence operations about the 1st August, with eight Jodhpûr boys, the same number from Ajmîr, and ten or a dozen from Jaipur. Udaipur, the most aristocratic and conservative of the States—though a home is being built for the boys—won't send any as yet."

Nine years later he wrote from Kashmîr: "This is the most charming of countries, and deserves all that has been said of it: but the appointment, save for the easy work, is almost the most disagreeable in India." He has much to say of the native administration (or mal-administration), but matters have now changed, and the state of affairs described may be considered obsolete. The following passage is, however, interesting: "It was a relief to get to Haidarabad, among decent followers of the Prophet. I got on famously with every one there, and I believe they were quite sorry to lose me. The fact is, that in most parts of India the

Musulmans are Hindúized, or keep away from us, so that our people don't understand or sympathize with them as they might; and in Haidarabad—where the higher classes have retained Western ways and ideas—I have found that my Persian and Afghan experience put me quite *en rapport* with them."

Sir Oliver St. John was a sportsman of no mean repute, and among his adventures with wild animals, one with a tiger in India (showing how he risked his life to save a comrade), and one with a lioness in Persia, have a special interest, and are to be read in print. He was, moreover, a geographer of distinction, and a naturalist, but in late years little able to pursue any scientific research owing to the continuous and urgent demands of the public service.

Zealous and enthusiastic in his profession, whether in its scientific, military, or political aspect, there is no doubt that his re-transfer from Maisúr to Quetta was a move fully in accordance with St. John's tastes and wishes. From the latest Indian papers we learn that, at the time of his lamented death, "he had only arrived a little more than a fortnight before at Quetta," having left, as truly stated by the *Times of India*, "perhaps the pleasantest billet in India . . . for one that gave a better field to his active mind and keen interest in public affairs." F. J. G.

IV. Notes and News.

Sir Henry Layard, P.C., G.C.B., M.R.A.S., has received from Germany the very distinguished Ordre pour la Mérite for his services to Assyrian archæology.

A Jain God.—A touching exposition of unadulterated heathenism—we use the word in its Christian sense—is displayed in the petition of the Jaini sect of Gwalior to the Viceroy. They request his Excellency's assistance, by pressure brought to bear upon the Gwalior Durbar by the Governor-General's Agent in Central India, to convert their "immage," known as Ruth Biman, into a pucca

god. At present it is only an "immage," and, to quote the petition, "cannot be considered a god unless it is taken with procession into the streets and accompanied by several immages which come from other stations, and these immages take the new immage to the temple." The public procession alone confers divinity, it appears; for "until the procession is not performed a new immage is not considered a god according to our religion." The spectacle of the Viceroy, called upon to assist the Jaini bunnias of Gwalior to make an "immage" into a god, should give subject for serious reflection to Exeter Hall. India, however, has not been, and is now less than ever, governed on Exeter Hall lines; and, from the point of view of Government policy, the Jaini petitioners seem to have made out a case which in British territory would certainly be listened to. They appear to have suffered from Brahmin hostility; their temple has been broken into and their image broken. They are, therefore, in their own eyes without a god, and cannot, until the new image is deified by orthodox rites, perform the ceremony of marriage. Hence, for the last four years, because the Gwalior Durbar refuses to sanction the performance of the proper processional rites, the girls in the sect have been growing up unmarried. As a rough and ready local cure for early marriage this may not be a matter for grief; but the complainants are naturally miserable, and they make generous offers to obtain a remedy for their grievance, being willing to pay for any extra police force which may be needed for the protection of their procession against Brahmin hostility. In British India, where followers of every creed are protected in the performance of their religious rites by the State, such an offer would be as unnecessary as the reason for making it. Interfering, however, with religious matters in Native States is, probably, not a job for which the Government of India has much liking.—*Civil and Military Gazette.*

Discovery of Ancient MSS.—Lieutenant Bower's previous Central Asian travels will have proved of benefit to the world at large in other ways than by ridding it of a murderous villain like Dad Muhammad. He discovered

the remains of a buried city in the wilds, and had excavations made on a small scale, resulting in the discovery of some old MSS. These were entrusted to Dr. Hoernle for investigation, and he reports that they compose a medical treatise or, rather, three medical treatises in different hands and of great antiquity. The oldest is Buddhist, of the fourth or fifth century, so that it must be about 1400 years old; and Dr. Hoernle says it is the oldest MS. yet found in this part of the world, and of great value.—*Overland Mail.*

Samarkand Coins in Skye.—At the close of 1890 a hoard of broken brooches, ingots, and coins was accidentally discovered in a rabbit burrow on the face of a cliff by the Storr Rock, near Portree, in Skye. In addition to ninety Anglo-Saxon coins (silver pennies) struck between 891 and 941 by Archbishop Plegmund, Edward the Elder, Sitric of Northumbria, and Athelstan, this hoard contains seventeen Oriental (silver) coins struck at Samarkand and Esh Shash between A.H. 279 and A.H. 320 (A.D. 892–942) by Ismael ibn Ahmed, Ahmed ibn Ismael, and Nasr II. ibn Ahmed. These seventeen coins thus all belong to the Sámánis series. There is also reported to be a further Oriental coin, the identity of which has not yet been determined, farther than that it is of the Abbasside series, mint and date illegible. The discovery of the Cufic coins in the Isles is not without precedent, a similar discovery having been made in 1858 in the Orkneys (Skaill Hoard). The occurrence of these Asiatic coins is usually attributed to the Vikings, whose brooches, etc., are buried with them, but neither of these hoards was a burial deposit. As the latest Sámánis coin was struck in A.D. 931, and as no Saxon coin is of a reign subsequent to Athelstan, the date of deposit may be fixed with tolerable certainty as between A.D. 932 and A.D. 941. A paper (from which the above has been taken) was read upon this hoard in May last before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by Mr. A. B. Richardson, the Society's Curator of Coins. In accordance with the usual practice, it is probable that this important hoard will be kept intact, and ultimately deposited under

the charge of Dr. Anderson in the National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, side by side with the Skaill hoard of 1858. At present it is in the custody of the Queen's Remembrancer in Scotland as 'treasure trove.'

Mr. Gerald Portal, C.B., who has just been appointed H.M. Consul-General at Zanzibar, in succession to Sir E. Evan Smith, has written a narrative of his adventurous mission to Abyssinia in 1887–1888, when the British Government sent him to endeavour to mediate between King Johannis and the Italians after the massacre of Dogali. Accompanied only by two Europeans and a few native servants, Mr. Portal penetrated for several hundred miles into the interior, successfully overcoming the grave difficulties of the route, and the undisguised hostility of the Abyssinian General, Ras Alula. Even when he reached the King's quarters, he was imprisoned for a considerable time while the great Council of Chiefs was deciding whether he and his companions should be put to death or allowed to return home; fortunately the decision was in Mr. Portal's favour. The book, which will be illustrated, will be published shortly by Edward Arnold.

In the list of lectures proposed for next term by the board for oriental studies at Cambridge, we notice that Mr. S. A. Strong will lecture on Assyrian, provided that a class can be formed.

Captain Léon Berger, military attaché of the embassy at Constantinople, has sent to the Académie des Inscriptions the rubbing of a bas-relief which he took, at the height of 250 metres from the ground, in the gorge of Cheïkane, in the mountainous region, hitherto little explored, which separates the ancient Babylonia from Media and Persia. The design resembles a bas-relief from the same tract recorded by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Despite the coarse execution, it is evidently the work of a people under the influence of the ancient Chaldean civilization, anterior to the style properly called Assyrian. The figure is that of a man with hair and beard shaven, his waist girt with a fringed cloth, and on his head a turban, the mitra which, according to Herodotus, distinguished the Kissaei. At the side is an inscription in

cuneiform characters, arranged in vertical lines and divided by compartments, as upon the statues of Tello.

The last number of *L'Anthropologie*—the bi-monthly periodical in which are incorporated the *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, the *Revue d'Anthropologie*, and the *Revue d'Ethnographie*—contains an elaborate article, illustrated with photographs, upon the Veddahs of Ceylon, by M. Emile Deschamps, who visited the island in the course of an official mission of ethnological research in the East. Though he has not added much to our actual knowledge of this curious people, his conclusions as to their probable origin differ in several important respects from those generally received. In the first place, he would regard them as of Aryan blood, having reached Ceylon from India in prehistoric times, and being identical with the Yakkhas, demon-worshippers whom Vijaya found there when he conquered the island in 477 B.C. Secondly, he considers their present degraded condition to be due, not to the absence but to the loss of a previous culture, owing to their having taken refuge in the jungles from the tyranny of their conquerors. Their physical traits he attributes to an early mixture with aboriginal races. The Singhalese proper are the result of an admixture of the conquerors with a subjugated portion of the Yakkhas or Veddahs, and also with another early race of Aryan origin who are to be traced at the present time in the Rhodias.

M. James Darmesteter.—We are very pleased to hear that this distinguished scholar, the Secretary of the Société Asiatique, will deliver the Hibbert Lectures next year, his subject being "The Religion of the Parsees." The trustees have presented a set of their publications, which have so much importance for Oriental studies, to the Library of our Society. M. Darmesteter, who is an excellent English scholar, and whose wife is an accomplished and successful English writer, was present at our General Meeting in April, and took part in the discussion.

V. Reviews.

Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series, the Fundamental Institutions. By W. Robertson Smith, M.A., LL.D. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1890.) pp. 488.

Even a few years ago students publishing their researches in common Semitic subjects exposed themselves to the injunction that their efforts were premature, and that much remained within the single branches requiring closer investigation. The latter holds good even to-day, and to mention only one, our knowledge of the Hebrew language is considerably limited. Yet the results gained up to the present in the literature and archæology of the various Semitic peoples begin, not only to enable the scholar to gather features common to all of them, but they make it almost a postulate for the student of one of the Semitic branches to review the whole realm. Language and culture come here chiefly into consideration. The last twenty years have brought us many successful trials in this pursuit, but the proximate past has produced several most important works referring to the common Semitic philology. As for the history of Semitic culture, the religion of course stands in the foreground. The idea is correct that, however sharp the contradistinction is between the Israelitish monotheism, and the prophetic view of divine justice on the one hand, and the Canaanite or Arabian heathenism on the other, they all must have started from a common basis. To trace this common idea through all the different forms and varieties which the worship assumed is the aim which the author of the above-mentioned work had in view. In his excellent book on "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," the author has shown how well prepared he was for so comprehensive a task and to the fulfilment of it he has brought the highest tact, the soundest judgment and the

deepest learning. So this first attempt[1] to delineate by comparison the religion of the Semites on a larger scale, though it is not yet completed, has already much furthered our knowledge of the primary life of the Semitic tribes. The author displays a fine gift of observation which, from casual remarks, the importance of which the general reader is likely to overlook, draws frequently clever conclusions. Besides that, it is no small merit that he has understood how to arrange the mass of his materials in such a way as to be not only attractive, but systematic and intelligible to any educated reader.

And yet it is by no means easy to judge this interesting and comprehensive book with due discrimination and impartiality. The theories laid down in it, as well as the way the author explains them, are so stimulating and often so tempting that we must admire his skill of exposition, even where a deeper examination does not allow us to share his views. And this—I may say unfortunately—will happen just there where it will appear that his splendid acumen has concluded perhaps more than is warrantable.

The reader of the book will take his attitude towards a large portion of the same according to the view he holds himself with respect to the modern Bible criticism, especially to the so-called *Graf-Wellhausen* theory on the Pentateuch. The author stands so completely on the ground of this theory that he regards the critical questions attached to the Levitical law as decided, and overlooks entirely the objections which Strack[2] has collected and arranged in a manner as clear as it is powerful. This will be the *locus minoris resistentiae* of the book. It expresses itself on the foundation of that theory in numerous places so positively that the reader has to take many an important thing for granted, which, however, is far from being certain.

The author begins with the undoubtedly just hypothesis that the positive or later religions of the Semites were no

[1] *Kuenen's* work: *Relig. natur. et rel. univ., islam, israelitisme, judaisme, et christianisme, buddhisme; cinq lectures faites à Oxford et à Londres* (1882), *Paris*, 1884, is written with a different object.

[2] Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. 1888, p. 30.

new creations, but were based on ancient institutions with which they had to reconcile themselves in the way of protest, and thus to turn them into the service of monotheism. The sacrificial and other laws of the Old Testament are consequently introduced as understood to be founded upon older traditions existing similarly among the other peoples belonging to the Semitic group.

After the author has in the first lecture thrown light upon his subject, sources and method of investigation, he proceeds in the second to the relations of the god to his worshippers, who form together with him a community both political and religious. With any member of it, leaving the fatherland would be equivalent to his leaving his faith. This idea prevails not only in the O.T. (Ez. xxxvi. 20), but was also still rife in later Judaism. For in connexion with the verse, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, quoted by the author, the Talmud[1] says that the refusal of a husband or a wife to emigrate to Palestine is sufficient reason for divorce, and payment or forfeiture of the settlement. "Men shall rather live in Palestine, even in a town mostly inhabited by heathen, than in a town abroad mostly inhabited by Jews, because he who lives in Palestine is equal to one that has a God, whilst he that lives elsewhere is as though he were without God."

The theory of the originally real kinship of the god—or rather the goddess—with the worshippers, right as it appears, is yet somewhat circumscribed by the freedom of the O.T. from such an idea. The Hebrew proper names compounded of father, brother, son and daughter with El, Yāh, etc., are so common that they can only be taken as a usage of the language expressing submission and love. We have no reason to believe that the other Semitic tribes did not follow this example.[2]

Similar questions arise in reference to the theory of totemism. Some examples given by the author (p. 425)

[1] Ketūbōth, 110*vo.*, cp. the remarks attached to it in the *Book Al-Khazari*, my ed. p. 88 et seq.

[2] For names compounded with *Abū* in Arabic, cp. Goldziher, in ZV. ps. 18, 69–82.

appear to support his view rather strongly. But they do by no means decide the question of *Semitic* totemism. The reverence paid to wild and half-wild beasts may just as well run, on the whole, parallel to the later instances of reverence paid to the milk-giving domestic animals under somewhat altered circumstances. When man had not yet settled, he lived as a hunter amongst those wild beasts which provided him with food and clothes, or against which he had to look for protection and defence. The "loving reverence" felt for these companions of his daily life was after all but based on fear and greediness. The later devotion felt for the herd is the same thing, only the former fear is replaced by care under a more civilized form. A very appropriate expression of this sort of kinship we find in the fable related in 2 Sam. xii. 3, and "fables," the author remarks rightly, "are only modern reproductions of primitive conceptions of nature."

The religious decay in Arabia shortly before Islam may well be taken in a negative sense, in the sense of the tribes losing the feeling of kinship with the tribal gods. We may express this more concretely by saying that the gods had become gradually more and more nebulous through the destructive influence exercised for about 200 years by Jewish and Christian ideas upon Arabian heathenism.

The transformation myths touched upon by the author, have left also some traces in the Qorān, drawing their origin probably from legends of the Jews in North Arabia. The profaners of the Sabbath are changed into monkeys (Qor. vii. 166); and in one of the latest revelations we find: those whom Allāh cursed he changed into monkeys and swine (v. 65). Quite a similar legend is related in the Talmud (Sanh. 109*ro.*, l. 22), where the people who wanted to build the tower of Babel were changed into monkeys, ghouls, demons and night-ghosts (Liliths).[1] According to Erub. 18*vo.*, Adam, as long as he was banished, begot ghouls, demons and ghosts.[2]

[1] Properly *nightowl*. Lilith was represented as a woman with long hair, cp. Talm. Erub. 100*vo.*

[2] בצלמו opposed to בצלם אלהים.

Both ingenious and instructive are the remarks of the author concerning the worshippers being the clients of their gods. Referring to *Ba'al* the author maintains against Noeldeke (Z.D.M.G. 40, 174) his former view that it is a foreign word in Arabic. As far as *ba'l* signifies the god, it is certainly a foreign word in the Mekkan revelation, Qor. xxxvii. 25. When Mohammed learnt the story of Elijah, he evidently did not know much of the god Ba'al, and quoted him therefore without the article *a ba'l*. On the other hand, when meaning "husband" *ba'al* is surely an old Arabic word, and the way in which it is treated in other passages of the Qorān[1] shows distinctly a very close familiarity with it. The author assumes that applied to men *ba'l* signifies in the first instance *master*, and only in a secondary sense, in which alone the word is used in Arabic, it means *husband*. In accordance with this, he thinks *ba'al* is the master and provider of a piece of land with moisture, and a piece of land not irrigated by men, but exclusively watered in a natural way, is consequently called *Ba'al's land*. But this just shows that *ba'al* and *ba'l* mean originally *husband*.[2] The Arabic lexicographers are evidently no more certain in the explanation of the word, and give the name *ba'l* to a piece of land which is situated too high to be irrigated, and has rain very seldom or not at all, so that a tree standing on it sucks up the moisture of the ground by its roots. That this is not a primary conception can be gathered from the fact that they do not call it *ba'l's land*, but *ba'l*, and so they call even the tree itself.[3] This conception is undoubtedly influenced by the scarcity of rain in the Arabian desert. In the Jewish-Aramaean usage matters are entirely different, and here *Ba'al's land* is a piece of land watered by rain. Therefore we read in the Talmud (Taan. 6*vo.*) מיטרא בעלא דארעא *the rain is the husband*

[1] Sur. ii. 228; xi. 75; xxiv. 31.

[2] cp. Lane's Lexicon, I. 228.

[3] A field watered by rain is عِذْى; to عثرى, which the author rightly identifies with rain, cp. Ps. lxv. 10. The Mishna Taan. i. 1, calls the rain גבורות (גבר).

(*ba'al*) *of the land.* The verb *bā'al* means first *to consummate the marriage,* both in the O.T. and in the later Jewish literature. It is but natural that the various Semitic tribes had each a somewhat different conception of *ba'al,* according to the larger or smaller amount of rain in their territories, or to the way in which land insufficiently irrigated received some moisture to nourish trees. Therefore *ba'al* is *mutatis mutandis* as equally rain or underground water, or perhaps even a well. The *ba'al* is the husband of a piece of land, which he fertilizes in any way the nature of the place permits, consequently the *ba'al* of the land artificially irrigated is its *husbandman,* or the *master* of the field. The passage of Qorān ii. 223, "*Your wives are an acre for you,*" etc.—quoted by the author—shows that this view was still alive at a very late date; and it is so even at the present time, the connecting link lying undoubtedly in the idea of madefaction. I suggest therefore that the primary signification of *ba'al* might be *fructifier* or *waterer,* and though not without precaution we might perhaps assume that the stem is derived from a biliteral root בל with the guttural inserted, cp. בלל and بَلّ, *to mix up* or *to moisten.* From this signification of *ba'al*[1]—*de facto* rather than *de jure*—all the further significations: *master* in a larger sense or *possessor,* etc., can be easily deducted.

Now it seems at least doubtful whether we can take the Ba'al of the Western Semites as a *Sungod,* a view which the author still maintained in his article on *Baal* in the *Enc. Brit.* 9th ed. vii. 175. He is quite right in saying that *ba'al* is the male principle of life, and in this point *ba'al* corresponds with Saturn (Merx in *Schenkel's Bibel-*

[1] בעולה is the wife after the consummation of the marriage (opposed to בתולה), the same is the earth after rain. Isaiah lxii. 4 בעולה is opposed to שממה, cp. lv. 10. Talm. Taan. 6*vo*, the first rain is called חתן and the earth כלה, which was, in all probability, founded on an old tradition. It is now not necessary to translate بَعِلَ *to be Baal struck,* as the signification *to be troubled* can be derived from the above suggested primary meaning. Jer. xxxi. 32, is not necessarily either to be translated *I have despised them* (Gesenius), but *whilst I had become their husband,* cp. iii. 14.

lexicon, v. 193). But this life-giving principle is not so much the sun as the water, the burning sun having rather a destructive influence. In 2 Kings xxiii. 5 *ba'al* is most distinctly opposed to sun, moon and stars. בעלשמן[1] is nowhere necessarily the *sun*. On the contrary, *šāmayīm* means in numerous passages of the O.T. rain, and never sun. It is but natural that in countries which occasionally also have snow and cold the proper principle of life is a moist warmth, so that heat cannot be excluded entirely from the idea of *Ba'al*; but the heat would be fatal without the beneficent influence of the rain which can seldom be too plentiful. The promise of sunshine is rare in the O.T. (Mal. iii. 20), but that of rain recurs frequently as a reward of obedience. Burning heat is a curse (Deut. xxviii. 22–24). A sharp definition of *Ba'al*, as he was conceived by *all* Semitic peoples, is perhaps impossible; and the various conditions of temperature, and of the distribution of rain and sunlight, make the idea of Baal in general somewhat complicated. Sun-worship proper must have started independently, and can only at a later period have crept into that of Baal. If this god be originally *sun*, it is strange that we have no correct idea how he was represented, as nothing is easier than to make an image of the sun. Ba'al was worshipped on the high places—as the author adds in the article quoted above—not by an image, but by obelisks or pillars, sometimes called *ḥammānīm*. The *Baal ḥammōn*, however, he refers very justly refers to the place Ḥammōn. How much the *ḥammānīm* have to do with Ba'al we shall see a little later.

The obscene character of the Baal-service, which, of course, taken in all its *naïveté*, would not at all agree with a conception of *sun*, can be inferred from many passages of the Old Testament. Apart from *Ba'al-Pe'ōr*,[2] to which Jerome gives rightly a priapic character, we see the name *ba'al* frequently replaced by *bōšeth* (Jer. iii. 24; xi. 3; Hos.

[1] Z.D.M.G. 18, 104, cp. 37, 542 בעשמם.

[2] Numb. xxv. 1-9, cp. Targum Jon. to v. 5, ולמפער גרמיהון לטופסא דפעור, cp. Kitto's *Cyclop. Bibl.* L. i. 271; but this Baal cannot be the *sun*.

ix. 10). When the prophet Hosea (ii. 18) makes God again the husband of Israel, he does not like to give him the disreputable title *ba'al* (cp. Ex. xxiii. 13; Josh. xxiii. 7), but calls him *'iš*. It is therefore unlikely that a combination with *ba'al* would ever have been applied for Israelitish proper names in the sense of *'ēl* or *yāh*. It is less probable that Saul named his son *Ishba'al* "man of Baal," in a monotheistic sense as the author assumes. As the same person is also called *Išbošeth*, it seems rather that the name is to be taken in an aggressive sense, perhaps: *he that copes with Ba'al* (*Bōšeth*). Nor does *Meriba'al* mean "man of Ba'al" (1 Chr. ix. 40), as the name is evidently shortened from *Merib-ba'al* (ibid. and viii. 34) and equal to *Jerūbba'al* (Judg. vi. 32) and *Jerūbbēšeth* (2 Sam. xi. 21).[1]

Thus, if Baal signifies the moist life-giving element above and beneath the earth, it is easy to understand why it could not be simply depicted by any corporeal figure. Ba'al could only be represented by his principal characteristics, consequently he is rather symbolized than represented by the *Ashēra*. We cannot but agree entirely with the author that there existed no Canaanite goddess Ashera whose symbols were trees or pillars. The *Ashēra* is the symbol of Ba'al. Primarily it may only have been an upright wooden pole denoting that a piece of land was Ba'al's, that is to say, unfit for agriculture, and completely depending on Ba'al. The author is scarcely right in blaming Movers for having put up the phallic theory for sacred posts and pillars. Movers's arguments may, on this point, not always be very strong, but the Ashēra is decidedly a phallic token of the matrimonial relation between Ba'al (Saturn) and the mother earth.[2] Ba'al and Ashēra are inseparable, and the

[1] *Mefibōšeth*, according to 1 Chron. viii. 34; ix. 40, equal to *Meribba'al*, must have a similar signification. At a very late date when an apostacy in favour of Ba'al was no more feared, and Ba'al had the wider sense of *Lord*, it was possible to change *Eljāda'* (2 Sam. v. 16) into *B'ēlyāda'*, 1 Chron. xiv. 7; *B'alyāh*, 1 Chron. xii. 5, means emphatically *Baal is Yāh*.

[2] Jer. Sabb. cp. 9, הבעל ראש גויה ונאפן היה *Baal phallus adulterque erat*. No doubt the word *φάλλος* is nothing but בעל, the guttural after the short vowel being replaced by the repetition of the *l* [Jer. Abōdā Zārā 3, Hal. 6, has וכאפון *bean*].

latter was stuck in the ground wherever an altar was built in honour of the god. An image of Baal could now be dispensed with. We must not mix up the worship of trees, which developed itself separately from that of Ba'al-Ashera, and it can only have been at a later period that Ashera and tree were taken for one another, so that the living tree could also represent the Ashēra of Ba'al. The Mišnāh (Succāh iii. 1–3) forbids the use of branches or fruits taken from an Ashēra for religious purposes. It is improbable that in the Old Testament *Ashēra* means anything else than a pole. In Deut. xii. 2–3, Ashēra and tree are kept asunder, whilst in xvi. 21, it is not at all certain that this Ashēra is meant to be a tree (cp. Is. li. 16; Ecc. xii. 11.; Dan. ii. 45), as the verse can just as well be translated: Thou shalt not set up (stick in the ground) an Ashēra, any (sort or piece of) wood, etc.[1] Consequently I should prefer not to regard the pole as a surrogate of the sacred tree, as the author does, but, conversely, the sacred tree as uniting later on the functions of both. The common expression used for fixing an Ashēra is that it was *made* (1 Kings xvi. 33; 2 Kings xvii. 16; xxi. 3, and often). The view of Movers that the *Miflēzeth* (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16) of the Ashera was a *simulacrum priapi* is to be corrected by that of Merx (*Schenkel's Bibell.* iv. 223), of *rima mulieris*. Something similar may have been the *bāttīm* which the women wove for the Ashēra (2 Kings xxiii. 7) in the houses of the *Qedēšīm*. Was the law of circumcision, the covenant between God and Israel, perhaps but a protest against the service of Ba'al-Ashēra?[2] We see by all this how much the Ashēra

[1] Cp. Merx, in *Schenkel's B. L.* i. 258.

[2] Yet there is nothing to deter us from regarding the blood spilt as an offering which sealed the covenant made. The author views the circumcision as originally a preliminary to marriage. This may well be the case in Arabic, but ختن seems to be a denominative from חתן like התחתן. In Arabia the father of the bride was perhaps the performer of the operation, or he had to care for it. It is more than mere accident that the Hebrew language uses quite a different word for this idea, and חתן דמים, Ex. iv. 26, means: *closely affiliated by the blood (spilt)*.

differs from the *Astarte*; and the author is perfectly right in laying stress upon the latter having nothing in common with the Ashēra, which in 2 Kings xxiii. 3, is distinctly separated from Astarte.[1]

It is conceivable that the wooden Ashēra could also be imitated in stone, and was then scarcely discriminated from the other sacred pillar called *Maṣṣēbhā*. The Maṣṣēbhā of Ba'al as quoted in 2 Kings iii. 2; x. 27, was probably nothing but an Ashēra in stone. Otherwise the holy stone or the *Maṣṣēbhā* proper, whatever its origin may have been, remains distinct, being often quoted together with Ashēra in the same passage (Deut. xvi. 21, 22; 2 Kings xvii. 10). The difference between the altar—the archetype of which is of course the table[2]—and the stone pillar seems to be greater than the author assumes. Their being found side by side in Canaanite sanctuaries shows that they had each a different function, though the monolith and the wooden pole had almost the same external appearance. On the other hand we often find the *ḥammānīm* or sun-pillars mentioned together with the Ashēra (Is. xvii. 8; xxvii. 9). It may not be too far-fetched to presume that occasionally an Ashēra or maṣṣēbhā standing on an especially suitable place lent its shade to mark the hours of the day and hence received the name *Ḥammān*. In 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4 (cf. xiv. 4), there are *ḥammānīm* mentioned as standing next to the altar of the Ba'als. The *ḥammānīm* may have primarily nothing to do with Ba'al; but, as the altars of this god used to be built on lofty places, they were equally adapted also for sun-pillars (2 Chr. xiv. 4). *Ashēra*, *massēbhā* and *ḥammān*, consisting of wooden or stone pillars, are consequently by their form closely related to each other, and we cannot wonder that the original difference between them grew gradually smaller and smaller. The *ḥammānīm*, which had

[1] The אם האשרת in Cit. 51 (Z.D.M.G. 35, 424) is translated by the author *mother of the pole*. Schroeder's *Allmutter Aschēra* is impossible. We may ask if אשרת is here not simply the name of a woman?

[2] The rocks in Judges vi. 20, and xiii. 19, have no holy character whatever, and are used as tables, cp. p. 358 of the book.

the appearance of a gnomon, were probably used as sundials, and were sacred to the sun. That divine worship was paid to them can be inferred from many passages of the Old Testament. Their external similarity to the Ashēra, and their position next to the altar, may have been one of the reasons of the fusion of the worship of Ba'al with that of the sun.

It is obvious, therefore, that the worship of trees must be kept quite distinct. The author may be right in observing that no greater Semitic cult was developed out of tree worship, and that the latter was connected with the belief that trees were watered by Ba'al.[1] But this is also limited. As a solitary tree marked Ba'al's-land, it is easy to understand that gradually a part of the worship designed for Ba'al fell to its share. We have seen that Ashēra and tree are two entirely different things, and now we must not overlook that real tree-worship is nowhere spoken of in the Old Testament. In Deut. xii. 2, where the Canaanite cult is described, it is only said: "their gods upon the high mountains and hills, and under *every* (sort of) green tree."[2] But the command to destroy refers only to the altars, maṣṣēbhas, Ashēras, ḥammānīm and idols. When those were removed the tree was a harmless child of nature, which had then for the Israelite no offensive character whatever.[3] When Jehu and Josia extirpated the Baal-service, it is never said that they also cut down the trees which stood within the Baal sanctuaries (2 Kings x. 27; xxiii. 6). In Hosea iv. 12, are surely only meant a wooden idol and a divining rod, and in the following verse the sacrifices made under *oak, poplar and terebinth* are accounted for in the words: *for their shadow is good.*

I hereby do by no means wish to assert that there existed

[1] The place *Ba'al Tāmār*, Judges xx. 33, may hence have its name, cp. p. 176.

[2] Cp. 1 Kings xiv. 23; 2 Kings xvii. 10.

[3] The Mišnāh Abīdā Zārā, iii. 8, defines the Ashēra as a tree under which heathen worship was conducted. According to another view the tree itself was worshipped. Subsequently it is told that when in Zidon an idol was discovered in a cairn of stones under a sacred tree, the use of the tree was permitted.

no Semitic tree worship. The Ashēra in Deut. xvi. 21 is, according to the view of the Talmud (Sanh. 7*vo*), a tree, which shows at least that tree worship was a well-known thing.[1] On the contrary, this cult is very natural and originated independently at an epoch, perhaps, not younger than that of wild and domestic animals. The stature of the tree being taller than man drew the glance upwards, whilst the rustling foliage sounded like a supernatural voice (Gen. xii. 6; Judges iii. 37). It is not in the least absurd to assume with Stade that the Punian *Allōnīm* is a generalization of the Hebrew word *allōn*. Perhaps we have to regard some solitary trees mentioned with the article "*the* terebinth" (Judges, vi. 11, cp. 1 Sam. xxii. 6; xxxi. 13), as possessing a sacred tradition. As Furrer relates (Schenkel's B.L. v. 486), a certain reverence is still paid to the terebinth by the peasants in Palestine.

The second half of the book is devoted to the various kinds of offerings, but based on the above-mentioned theory. A critical review of this part is not possible without touching upon Pentateuchical questions, which would be here out of place. We must therefore now confine ourselves to a brief survey of the author's ideas, adding then a few remarks.

The author considers it as established that in the Levitical law we possess only an account of the system of sacrifices during the second temple, based on very ancient traditions. He misses in the book any clear idea of the place which each kind of altar service held in the old religion. But here it should not be overlooked that the Levitical law may have taken for granted that this was generally known. And if the law had been only adapted for the second temple in its somewhat altered state, we should have expected more clearness, particularly as the minutest regulations are given concerning laws of less importance. On the other hand, there were ordinances which were impracticable for the post-exilic period. The assertion that there was a tendency to keep the people as far as possible from the altar is directly contradicted, for instance, by the detailed description the

[1] See the preceding note.

Mišna gives that the Passover offering was killed by the laymen in front of the altar (Pesach, v. 6, cf. Bartenora's Commentary). As a rule laymen were admitted to kill all sacrifices, and the priestly function began with the sprinkling of the blood. That not all fermented things were excluded from the sacrifices may be inferred from Lev. vii. 13; xxiii. 17. The author himself seems not quite convinced on this point; and from Amos iv. 5, it cannot be simply concluded that this rule was not observed in the northern empire.

It is possible that milk and honey were excluded from Israelitish offerings, on account of their not being immediate natural products. Wine and oil, on the other hand, were regarded as the real fruit, whilst grape and olive were looked upon as the outward shell, in the same light as the husk of corn.

The author continues by defining his views on the subject of tithes and sacrificial feasts. The picture describing the public festivals is beautifully drawn, but some details are a little uncertain; others have no proper sequence. The original significance of animal sacrifice the author finds in the *commensality* of the god and his worshippers with reference to the old Semitic hospitality which resulted in a *bond of food.* For the explanation of the various significances of *ḥayy*, the remarks of Nöldeke (Z.D.M.G. 40, 175), and Goldziher (L.O.Ph. 3, 24) may be compared. Perhaps we may reckon in the same group the name of the *Ḥivvites* (Gen. x. 16, etc., cf. Ewald, *Geschichte des israelit. Volkes*, 3rd ed. i. 341). That in 1 Sam. xx. 29 the whole clan is meant is not certain, and the argument drawn from it must therefore likewise be doubtful. The conclusion that the beds mentioned in Hos. vii. 14 are couches on which men reclined at a sacrificial banquet is not sufficiently justified. There is no proper reason to go beyond the simple sense that people cried in sleepless nights in their despair at the failure of the harvest.

The author defines periodical sacrifices as a medium of keeping afresh the former congenital relation to the god.

The original claim of a human sacrifice was later on substituted by an animal, which in its turn was regarded as a kinsman. That in the oldest times there could be no reason for thinking a man's life better than that of a camel, or a sheep, as a vehicle of sacramental communion, is a view which rests on the author's theory of totemism, and is *perhaps* right. We have no certain proof that it was so, whilst Gen. i. 27, 28 point at any rate to a very old idea opposed to it. The consequence would be that the slaughter of an animal in that ancient period was expiated by the death of the murderer, which is rather doubtful. Detailed meditations on holocausts, sacrificial gifts and piacular sacrifices, and the special ideas involved in them, form the conclusion of the book, to which is attached a series of additional notes.

The contents of this learned and original volume are so rich that only a few questions could be touched upon in the preceding pages. They could easily be doubled; but even then the discussion would only tend to show how stimulating the book is for any reader interested in the comparative study of the history of religious beliefs. With a subject so comprehensive, and extending as it does to the earliest ages of mankind, it is hardly possible to avoid theories which, at times, rest upon uncertain foundations. But, after all, it is only in the threshing out of theories, which, however new and uncertain, have been seriously formed, that permanent and generally acceptable results can be obtained. And most sincerely do we wish, in the interest of science, that the author's state of health may allow him to let us have soon another volume of his ingenious investigations.

H. Hirschfeld.

THE BÚSTÁN OF SHAIKH MUṢLIḤU'D-DÍN S'ADÍ, photographed from a MS. prepared under the superintendence of J. T. PLATTS, M.A.; further collated with original MSS. and annotated by A. ROGERS, Bombay Civil Service. (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1891.)

As a specimen of photolithography applied to a Persian MS. this volume is interesting, and it will have, moreover, a certain value among students of the beautiful language of S'adi. But few experts will prefer it to manuscripts heretofore attainable, or indeed to the Calcutta edition of the Bústán, with commentary, printed and published in 1828. Fully admitting the creditable clearness of the caligraphy in the copy made by the Muhammadan gentleman, "Master in the Government School at Ságar," we seem to miss the more genuine Persian article. The characteristics of the Indian scribe are evident in every page, and there "needs no ghost from the grave" to tell us where the book had its origin. To many critics this circumstance will prove a serious drawback; nor does it add to the attraction of the title-page to attach the English publisher's name at foot as "*Dabal yú éch* Allen and Company," the word *maḥdúd* (limited) being added as if the Arabic past participle fitly expressed the limitations of a British commercial firm.

"The entire work," it is stated in the preface, "has been recollated with Graf's Vienna edition, compared with several original MSS. in the India Office Library, and checked by careful reference to Lieut.-Colonel Wilberforce Clarke's translation into English." But Graf, however good, can hardly be said to have superseded the Calcutta edition, which, as it stands with its appropriate marginal commentary and notes, is, notwithstanding its Indian origin, just the kind of book for the advanced scholar, and may almost compare in fulness with the comparatively recent German publication. In point of fact its total of 3957 couplets is only short by 142 of the whole number translated by Clarke. The latter makes his complete figure 4099, and

in his third, sixth, and eighth chapters, he shows but a difference of one couplet (more or less) from the Calcutta edition.

It is not necessary to enter upon a close examination of the text or its prefatory notes. So far as these are original they appear to be written with that discrimination and knowledge of his subject which Mr. Rogers undoubtedly possesses. But the following observations are the result of a hasty glance at the earlier pages of the reproduced Bústán:—

In the preface the transliteration adopted, and we think rightly, for *Gulistán*, *Hindustáni*, *Jabalpúr*, *Jamalu'd-dín*, and *Lakhnau*, would necessitate for consistency's sake, *Ṣafdar*, not *Safdár*, ʿAlí (the rank-burster, breaker or destroyer, not the rank-keeper), as also *Dehlí* or *Dilli*, not *Delhi*.

In line 6 of the introduction, beginning دوگونش, the second stroke of the ک is here not only an unnecessary Indianism (which it is at any time), but a manifest error.

In lines 26 and 50, the mistakes pointed out by Mr. Rogers do not occur in the Calcutta edition.

Finally, line 46 of Chapter i. appears thus:

زمتکبرانِ دلاور بترس از آن کو نترسد زداور بترس

literally rendered:

Fear the proud haughty ones:
Fear him who does not fear God.

Major Clarke, in his published translation of the Bústán (1879), makes it—

Fear *not* the proud haughty ones:
Fear that one who fears God.

He explains in a foot-note that in the second line of the Persian text a negation had been wrongly inserted, but leads by his English to the inference that there *was* a negation in the first line.

Mr. Rogers, on the other hand, taking the Persian text as we now find it, says that a negation, *i.e.* "Fear not," would be an improvement.[1]

Now it is not improbable that—as both the Persian text under notice and that of the old Calcutta edition are literally rendered into English, as above shown, by

Fear the proud haughty ones:
Fear him who does not fear God—

the imperative "fear" should be interpreted "shun," or "dread the society of," and no further negation is needed. The sense of the couplet would then be much in accordance with the verse of Ecclesiasticus (Chapter xiii. 1)—"He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith, and he that hath fellowship with a proud man shall be like unto him."

Arabic Literature.

As Part III. of the *Porta linguarum orientalium* has appeared: "*Delectus carminum arabicorum, Carmina selegit et edidit Th. Nöldeke. Glossarium confecit A. Müller*" (H. Reuther, Berlin). The small volume is an excellent and, unnecessary to say, most trustworthy book for introduction to the study of the Old Arabic poetry.

Jewish Literature.

Professor R. Röhricht, the well-known student of the history of the Crusades, has issued a volume entitled: "Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae. Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heil. Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie" (H. Reuther, Berlin). The work is an almost exhaustive sequel of T. W. Tobler's book on the same subject.

Dr. W. Feilchenfeld has contributed to the *Jubelschrift für Dr. Hildesheimer*, an exegetical study on Isaia, ch. 65

[1] It may be concluded that he means مترس instead of بترس, but does he apply the modification to both lines?

and 66, under the title: "*Die jüdischen Gegner der Heimkehr und der Tempelbaus unter Cyrus*" (I. Kauffmann, Frankfurt-a-M.).

The third part of *Dr. S. Gelbhaus'* investigation on *Mittelhochdeutsche Dichtung in ihrer Beziehung zur biblisch-rabbinischen Literatur*, treats of the *Parcival of Wolfram von Eschenbach* (I. Kauffmann, Frankfurt-a-M.).

Mr. Max Leopold Margolis has published his inaugural dissertation at Colombia College, New York, under the following title—Commentarius Isaacidis quatenus ad textum Talmudis Investigandum adhiberi possit tractatu Erubhin ostenditur. Dissertatio inauguralis, etc. It forms a brochure of seventy-two pages.

Pali Literature.

Among the Ceylon publications for the second quarter of the present year are three Pali works of some importance, and all printed for the first time.

1.—*Mahābodhivaṃsa*, or History of the Bo-tree. Edited by Sobhita Yati (Lankāravikirana Press, Colombo). Gurulugomi's commentary on this work in Sinhalese was printed without the text in 1886.

2.—*Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, the Description of "Adam's Peak," by Vedeha, a name familiar to all students of Sinhalese as the author of the Sidāt-saṅgarāwa, a grammar probably of the fourteenth century A.D. This edition has a Sinhalese version by the editors, and is beautifully printed at the Government Press. It appears to throw light on Sinhalese topography as well as on Buddhist tradition.

3.—*Abhidhamma-atthasālinī-atthayojanā* (published at the Lankopakāra Press, Kataluva, Galle), a supercommentary on the Dhammasangānī, *i.e.*, an exposition by Ñānakitti, a Sinhalese monk, of the Atthasālini, a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgani, a text already published by the Pali Text Society. As the MS. used for this edition was given "with some other rare works," by the King of Siam, "to be used in Ceylon," and are placed in the hands of Mr. E. Guṇaratna, the Pali Text Society's chief supporter in the island, it

seems almost a pity that that gentleman did not induce his countrymen to allow the book to be printed in Roman characters, so as to be of more use to European scholars. The editor expresses a fear that the work in its present form is "not free from clerical and other errors," owing to copying and collation by ignorant transcribers. If he would print his other rare MSS. in Roman type, he would not only get subscriptions from Europe, but could possibly also send his proof-sheets to Siam, and get them compared with other MSS. which may be fairly presumed to exist there.

CECIL BENDALL.

THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

The publications for this year will be the *Mahā-Bodhi-Vaṃsa*, edited by Mr. S. Arthur Strong, of Cambridge; and the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, edited by Dr. Wenzel and Prof. Rhys Davids. Of these the first is nearly ready, and the second is in the press.

VI. MAGAZINES.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, Mr. R. H. Dana narrates a "Voyage on the Grand Canal of China" in 1860. The travellers succeeded in entering the City of Suchau, which had not allowed a foreign visitor from the time that Lord Macartney passed through it in 1792, till 1857. Only a few days after Mr. Dana's visit the town was captured by the Tai-Ping insurgents. The writer testifies that the accounts of the industry and populousness of China are not overrated. After diplomatic parleyings, the Chinese officials not only admitted them but received them hospitably, and gave them a guide and escort over the "Paris of China," as Su-Chau was called, and refused all monetary consideration.

Blackwood for April contains "*Nissā*," a true story of Isfahān, from the French of M. Albert Delpit. The original narrator of this tragedy, which is actually founded on fact, is said to have been M. Patênotre, now French Minister for

the Republic at Tangiers, who was in Persia some 15 years ago.

The same magazine for June contains an article on the "Jewish Colonies in Palestine," by Major C. R. Conder, R.E., M.R.A.S.

In the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* for June is a sketch entitled "Haroun the Caliph, and others," by Ferid el din Attar.

Chambers's Journal.—"A Burmese Œnone," by E. D. Cuming. A Story.

Contemporary Review, June.—"The New Scheme for the Indian Civil Service Examinations," by J. Churton Collins. ——"The Shadow of the Kurd," part ii. by Mrs. Bishop. ——"The Manipur Blue Book," by Sir R. Temple (recent events).

In the *English Illustrated* for April.—V. Ball, "The True History of the Koh-i-Nur." With diagrams of this famous gem.

This same Magazine for June has "The Fate of Nana Sahib's Englishman," most graphically told by Archibald Forbes.

In *Macmillan's Magazine* for June Sir Alfred Lyall prints a lecture delivered at Oxford, "The Rise of British Dominion in the East."

In the *National Review* for April the Hindu Marriage Agitation is the title and subject of an article by Mr. F. Pincott, and also a Letter from Nana Moroji of Bombay, accompanied by a Resolution passed at a meeting of which he was chairman.

In the *National Review* for May is an article by C. N. Barham on "The Hill Men around Manipur," their habits and customs, and Mr. C. T. Buckland contributes "Some Jail Experiences in India."

To the *New Review* for May Sir R. Temple sends an instructive article on "The Outcome of the Manipur Disaster." Sir Richard is adverse to annexation, unless it is impossible to set up a Native Administration. Yet he says Manipur must be "under the hand of British authority,"

and suggests the making of a railway through the State connecting it with the existing railway systems of Bengal and Upper Burmah. This will secure our hold on the Eastern frontier of India, which it will be well to render absolutely secure in time of peace, as, if ever a struggle for the retention of the Eastern Empire shall come, it will be in the North-West.

To the *New Review* for June Col. the Hon. N. G. Lyttleton sends an article "The Gurkhas: a Fighting Race."

In the *Nineteenth Century* for May Rafiüddin Ahmad has an article on the Condition of Women in India.

In this magazine is also Prof. Max Müller's Inaugural Lecture delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 4th March, 1891. After dwelling on the meaning of "Antiquity," the Professor distinguishes between authentic and constructive history, bringing forward illustrations from the history of ancient kingdoms. He then talks of language, giving a lucid exposition, with examples, of Grimm's Law. He then touches on the folk-lore of the East, illustrated by a wondrous story which looks like a prototype of "Potiphar's wife," but the Professor is doubtful on this point. The lecturer concludes: "Give us men who are not only scholars but thinkers. . . . . Discover what is human, not only what is old, and Oriental studies will become popular . . . . helpful to the attainment of man's highest aim on earth . . . to learn to love man."

In the *Nineteenth Century* for June, Sir J. F. Stephen writes on "The Opium Question," as suggested by Sir J. Pease's resolution passed in the House of Commons. The alternative to abolishing the opium traffic is to pay the Indian Government £5,500,000 a year. Sir James declares that the evils of opium are much exaggerated, and that English people "will pay a 4*d.* income tax for the destruction of opium in India is one of the most foolish dreams ever indulged in." As the Indian opium is the best, the stoppage of it would prevent the Chinese from using the best kind.—— The same number of this magazine contains "A Description of Manipur," by Sir James Johnston, K.C.S.I. (late Political

Agent, Manipur), who relates the modern History with a description of the country, people, and government, in a very full and entertaining manner. Mrs. Reichardt's paper on "Mohammedan Women," and Prof. Huxley's "Hasisadra's Adventure," also appear in this Magazine.

In the *Quarterly Review* the new edition of Maundeville's Travels edited for the Roxburgh Club by Mr. G. F. Warner is the subject of an exhaustive article. Col. Yule's words, "the lying wonders of our English Knight," printed twenty years ago are entirely confirmed, and Sir John Maundeville himself proved to be a myth. The book is now levelled to the position of a mediæval story book.

VII. Additions to the Library.

	Donors.
Bombay. Administration of the Salt and Continental Customs Department for 1889–90. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.	*The Secretary of State for India.*
——— Administration of the Opium Department for 1889–90. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.	
——— Selections from the Records of the Government. No. 201. N.S. fol. *Karachi*, 1890.	
Catalogues of Books published in the Punjab, Assam, and Central Provinces for quarter ending Dec. 31, 1890.	
Gazetteer of the Ferozepore District, 1888–89. 8vo. *Lahore*, 1891.	
India. Survey of India Department. General Report by Col. Thuillier for 1889–90. fol. *Calcutta*, 1891.	
India. Selections from the Government Records. No. 275.	
Hakluyt Society. Voyage of Francis Leguat. 2 vols. 8vo. *London*, 1891.	
Indian Antiquary. As issued.	
Sa'adī. The Būstān. Photographed from a MS. prepared by J. T. Platts, further collated by A. Rogers. 8vo. *London*, 1891.	

Abd ul Kadir Muhammad (Schēch). Wissenschaft der Erbrechts der Hanefiten und Shafeiten. Arabic text, translation and notes by L. Hirsch. p. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1891.	*The Editor.*
British Association for the Advancement of Science. Report of the 60th Meeting, held at Leeds. 8vo. *London*, 1891.	*The British Association.*
Bible. De Spreuchen van Salomo, in het Boegineesch *et* in Makassaarsch vertaald door Dr. B. F. Matthes. 2 vols. 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1891.	*Dr. B. F. Matthes.*
Catalogue of the Hebraica and Judaica in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London. With a subject index by Rev. A. Löwy. 8vo. *London*, 1891.	*Corporation of the City of London.*
China. Imperial Maritime Customs. 1. Statistical series. No. 2. Oct.–Dec. 1890.	*The Inspector General.*
Chistaller, J. G. von. Die Volta-Sprache Gruppe, aus der "Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen." 1888. III. 1889–90. Heft II.	*Dr. Cust.*
Goblet d'Alviella (Le Comte). La Migration des Symbols. 8vo. *Paris*, 1891.	*The Author.*
Al-Hamdani. Geographie der Arabischen Halb-Insel her. v. D. H. Muller. Bd. II. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1891.	
Indian Magazine and Review. As issued.	*The Publishers.*
Kielhorn (F.) Die Colebrookeschen Pāṇini MS. der Königl. Bibl. zu Gottingen. *Pamphlet.*	*The Author.*
Liebich (B.) Panini. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1891.	*The Author.*
Mahābhārata. Published by Pratapa Chandra Rāy. Part 65.	*Purchased.*
Redhouse, Sir James. A Turkish and English Lexicon. Parts 5–8. Roy. 8vo. *Constantinople.*	*The Author.*
Straits Branch. Royal Asiatic Society. Journal. Dec. 1890.	*The Society.*

Renan (Ernest). Histoire du Peuple d'Israel. Vols. 1–3. 8vo. *Paris*, 1889–91.	
Mariette (Auguste). Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History. Translated and edited, with notes, by M. Brodrick. 12mo. *London*, 1891.	*W. F. Sinclair, Esq.*
Mendez Pinto. Voyages and Adventures of, done into English by Henry Cogan. With an Introduction by Arminius Vambéry. 8vo. *London*, 1891.	
Kaart van het Eiland Java. On sheets in case. 1855.	*H. T. Lyon, Esq.*

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second Lecture in the Theatre of the School of Mines in Jermyn Street. A third Lecture in February, 1892, is being arranged.

Free tickets will be at the disposal of each Member of the Society, on application. Members purposing to attend are accordingly requested to apply for such tickets of admission as they may require to the Secretary of the Society, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, and are requested to do so as soon as possible.

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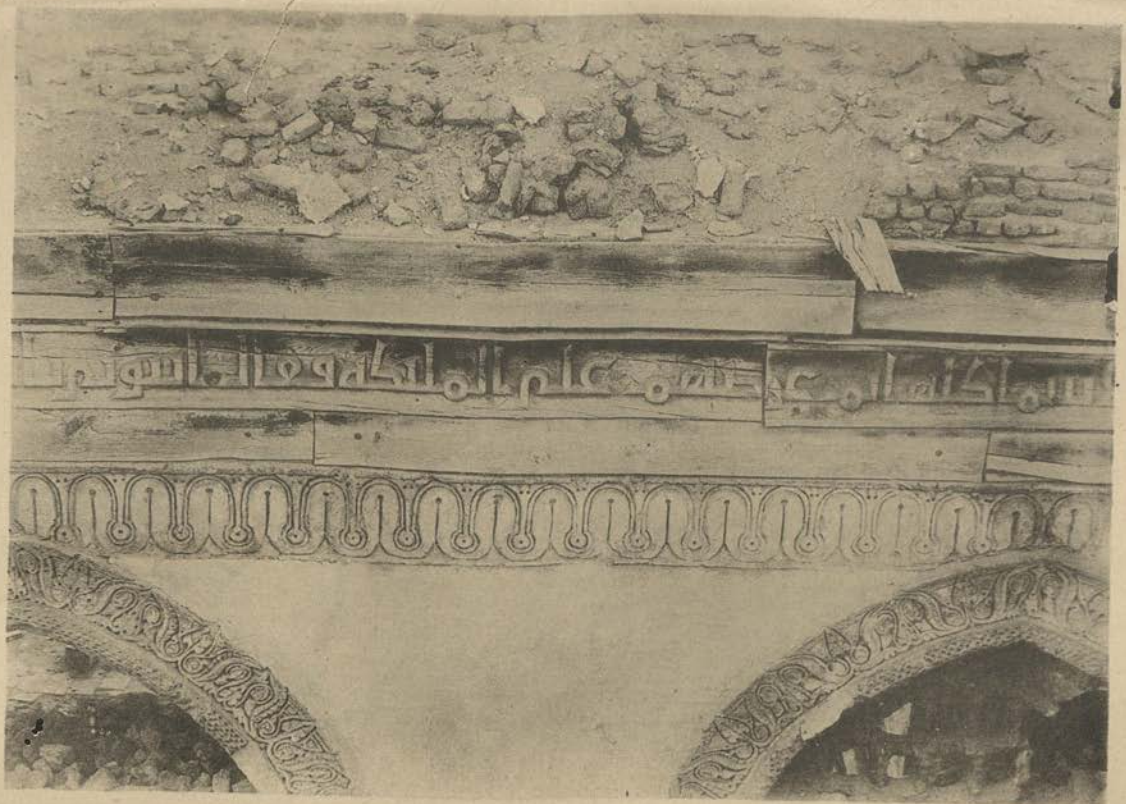

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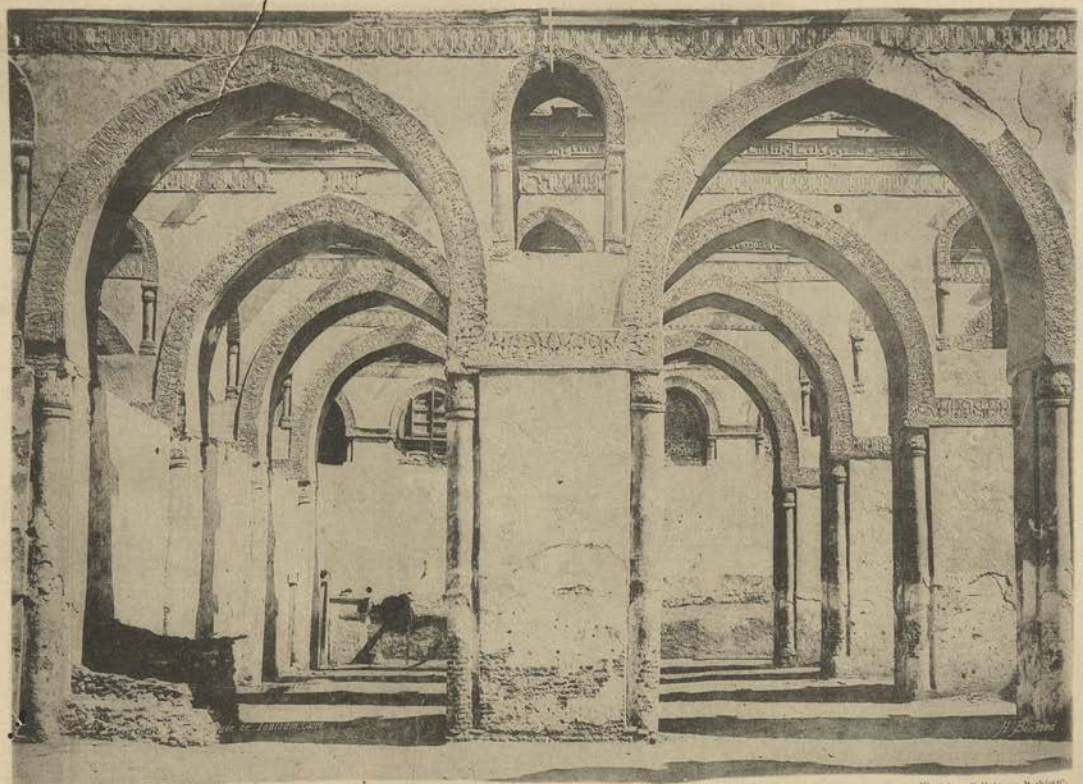

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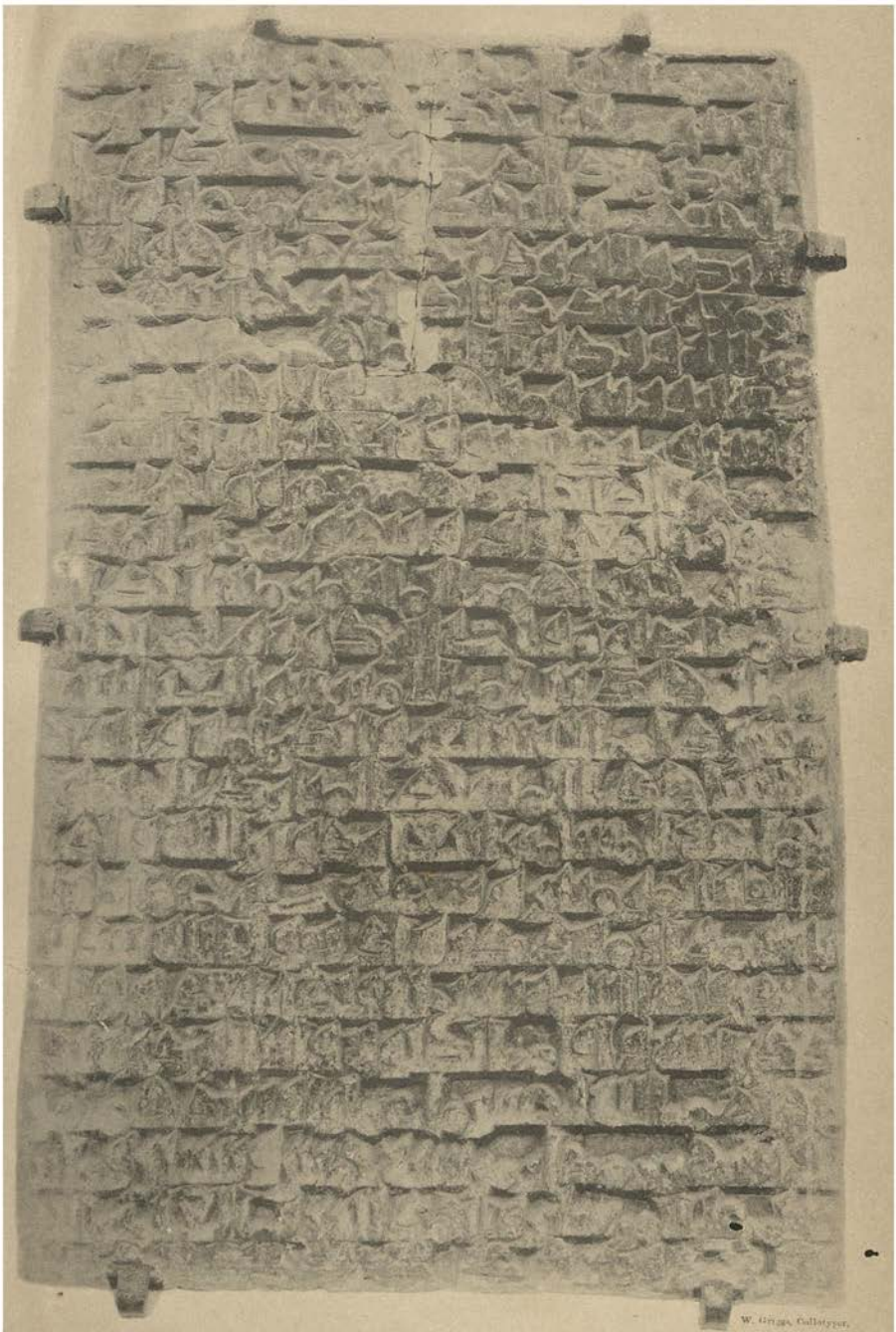

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VI. THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF IBN TULUN'S MOSQUE.

(See Appendix II.)

JOURNAL

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ART. XIII.—*The Life and Works of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn.*[1]

By EUSTACE K. CORBET.

THE Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was the third congregational[2] Mosque built in the Muslim capital of Egypt. The first, originally built by 'Amr, the conqueror of the country, in A.H. 21 (A.D. 642), was re-built and extended by many governors in succession, and still remains—a monument of great historical, if of slight artistic interest.[3] The second, known as Gāmi' al 'Askar, or the Camp Mosque, was built in A.H. 169 (A.D. $78\frac{5}{6}$), in the military suburb which had grown up since A.H. 133 to the N.E. of the original capital. This Mosque was increased in size in A.H. 211 (A.D. $82\frac{6}{7}$) and is heard of as late as A.H. 517 (A.D. $112\frac{3}{4}$); but all traces of it have been lost for many centuries, nor have any details come down to us with regard to its plan and architecture.[4]

The circumstances of Egypt had indeed been unfavourable to any development of architectural activity on a grand scale.

[1] The chief authority upon which I have drawn all through this article is the celebrated book of Al-Makrīzy, generally cited as the *Khiṭaṭ*, written about the year A.D. 1420, and printed at Būlāḳ in 1853; it is a great storehouse of information on the topography and antiquities of Cairo and Egypt generally. I shall cite it under the name of "Mac." simply.

[2] That is, a mosque in which a sermon is preached on Fridays. Many small mosques had been built, but no one of them has survived.

[3] In the Mosque of 'Amr, see Mac. ii. 246-256.

[4] For the Camp Mosque, see Mac. ii. 264.

The administration of the country was entrusted to a governor, who was appointed by the Caliph; and of the governors, from the date of the Conquest (A.H. 21=A.D. 642), down to the accession of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (A.H. 254=A.D. 868), one only[1] had held office for more than two or three years at a time. To this want of continuity in the central power must be added the very disturbed state of the country, which witnessed a succession of revolts, now of the Copts, now of the Arabs of the Eastern desert; and, more important still, the drain on the resources of the country kept up by the payment of the yearly tribute to Baghdād.[2] Meanwhile, early in the third century of the Flight, the Caliphs at Baghdād began to surround themselves with Turkish troops, slaves, and favourites, and the Arabs were gradually driven out from the high positions at Court, in the Administrations, and in the Army. It was Al-Mu'tasim who first began to give the distant provinces in fief to Turkish favourites, who, themselves staying at court, named governors to administer their provinces and send the tribute. As early as A.H. 219 (A.D. 834), Egypt was given in fief to the Turk Ashīnas, who appointed governors till his death in A.H. 230. In A.H. 235 (A.D. 849–50), the Caliph Al-Mutawakkil named his own son (afterwards Caliph under the title of Al-Mustanṣir) to be Lord of Egypt. None of these over-lords ever visited their fiefs: and thus was the way prepared for an able and ambitious prince to make himself independent, and found a dynasty in Egypt: which is exactly what happened under Aḥmad, the son of Ṭūlūn.[3]

Ṭūlūn was a Turk, who had been sent by the governor of Bukhāra as a present to the Caliph Al-Ma'mūn, A.H. 200 (A.D. $81\frac{5}{6}$), and rose to high positions at Baghdād. His son Aḥmad was born in A.H. 220 (A.D. 835), and received a most careful education, soon becoming known not less for his military tastes than for his knowledge of the Ḳur'ān

[1] 'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, son of the ruling Caliph. His rule extended from A.H. 65 to A.H. 86.

[2] The history of Egypt under the governors, from the time of the Conquest up to the accession of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, is told in outline by Mac. i. 299–313.

[3] As to the giving of Egypt in fief, see especially Mac. i. 313.

and the Traditions, and his pious and even ascetic life. He visited Tarsus on several occasions for the purpose of studying under the professors there: and on the death of his father in A.H. 240 (A.D. 854), he asked for an allowance to enable him to further pursue his studies at the same place. This was granted him: but after some time, hearing that his mother was unhappy in his absence, he started back to Sāmarra,[1] and on the way rescued a great booty which had been taken by the Bedouins from an envoy of the Caliph, who was bringing costly works of art from Constantinople. This gained him the favour of Al-Musta'īn, who, when deposed by the Turks in A.H. 252 (A.D. 866), chose Aḥmad to accompany him into exile. After a short time, the mother of the new Caliph Al-Mu'tazz tried to bribe Aḥmad with the promise of the governorship of Al Wāsiṭ, to murder his unfortunate charge. On his refusal to lift his hand against one whom he had acknowledged as Caliph, he was ordered to give up to another the guardianship of Al-Musta'īn, who was immediately murdered, and afterwards piously entombed by Aḥmad, who, on his return to Sāmarra, held a high position among the Turks. About two years later, the Amīr Bākbāk, who had married the widow of Ṭūlūn, was invested with the fief of Egypt; and sent his stepson Aḥmad as his deputy to that country, where he arrived in A.H. 254 (A.D. 868). Aḥmad's authority did not originally extend beyond the Capital: but the death of

[1] Sāmarra was at this time the capital of the Caliphs. It lay about three days' journey N. of Baghdād, on the site of a city which Hārūn-ar-Rashīd began to build, but afterwards abandoned. In A.H. 221 (A.D. 835) the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim founded the new city, and is said to have named it Surra man rā'a (سرّ من راء), *i.e.* "He who beholds (it) rejoices," which was contracted by the people into Sāmarra, and other forms. It has been pointed out, however, that a city with a name like this had long existed on the site; Ammian mentioning it in his account of Jovian's retreat, under the name of *Castellum Sumere*. It would seem, then, that the longer form arose out of a bit of etymological mythology. Sāmarra was the seat of the Caliphs for some time after this. Some accounts place the birth of Aḥmad there: but the date does not allow of it, Aḥmad having been born in A.H. 220, and the city of Al-Mu'tasim founded the year after. For Sāmarra, see Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, ii. 302, note: from which most of the information here given is drawn.

Al-Mu'tazz in the next year brought about the fall of Bākbāk, who was succeeded in power by Māgūr,[1] Aḥmad's father-in-law, who instated him as governor of the whole of Egypt, A.H. 256 (A.D. 870).[2]

It was not long before an opportunity presented itself to Aḥmad for putting himself in a position of practical independence. On the death of the Governor of Palestine, his son, Ibn Shaikh, seized Damascus, declared himself an independent ruler, and detained 750,000 dīnārs of Egyptian tribute on its way to Baghdād. Aḥmad received orders from the Caliph to drive out Ibn Shaikh: and after long preparations he began his march with an immense army A.H. 258 (A.D. 872). Meanwhile, however, troops sent from Baghdād accomplished the work, and Aḥmad received orders to turn back. He had now a very large number of armed followers entirely at his own disposal, and the dwelling-space in Fusṭāṭ and Al-'Askar no longer sufficed to house them. Aḥmad accordingly determined to build a new suburb, and chose for it the high ground which at the present day is occupied by the S.E. corner of Cairo. It is bounded on the E. by the Citadel, and on the N. by the long street which is known during a portion of its course as the *Ṣalība*, and which runs from a point a little S. of the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan right away down to that of As-Saiyida Zainab, near the S.W. corner of the city. The boundaries on the W. and S. are not so clearly defined, and Al-Maḳrīzy's account[3] is in some details unintelligible: but it would seem that on the W. it did not extend beyond the height known as the Kabsh, which ends just beyond the Mosque of Singar al Gāwaly: while on the S. the present extent of the city probably marks its boundaries with sufficient accuracy. To this site, then, Aḥmad rode, on his return from the interrupted expedition against Ibn Shaikh, and gave orders to clear the ground, which was

[1] So in Mac. i. 314. Wüstenfeldt (Statthalter von Ægypten, iii. 9), gives the name as Bargūg. In any case the father-in-law of Aḥmad is not to be confounded with the Māgūr who afterwards appears as Governor of Syria.

[2] Early life of Aḥmad, Mac. i. 314.

[3] Mac. i. 313.

partly covered by the tombs of Jews and Christians. Here he built himself a palace, and laid out a great Maidān, or exercise-ground; while around them he bade his courtiers and followers to establish themselves. So they built themselves houses, and the new town grew until it joined the 'Askar. It was divided into Quarters, called *Ḳaṭā'i'* (قطائع) or "Fiefs,"—here perhaps rather "Wards,"—corresponding, as we are distinctly told, to the *Hārāt* or "Quarters" in the Cairo of Al-Maḳrīzy's day. Each Quarter was named after its inhabitants, as the Quarter of the Nubians, the Greeks, and so forth: the household servants, and the different orders of slaves, each had quarters of their own: while the great courtiers and officers built each as he would. The whole was named Al-Ḳaṭā'i', or the Wards,—a name still preserved[1] in the name of a street in this district. There were seven gates which led to the castle and the Maidān: among the rest, one named Bāb-as-Sibā', or the Gate of the Lions, from two stucco representations of lions, —no doubt reliefs—which adorned it: besides a triple gate which was used only by the Prince himself, surrounded by his Guard.[2]

Among the other great buildings of Aḥmad in his new city was the *Māristān*,[3] or Hospital, in the 'Askar, S. of the Ḳaṭā'i'. This was for the gratuitous treatment of the public, and no soldier, or Mamlūk of the Prince, was to be received there. It was built in A.H. 261 (A.D. $87\frac{4}{5}$) at a cost of 60,000 dīnārs—say £30,000.

Another great work was a *Well* and *Aqueduct*,[4] by which the water was raised from Birkat al Ḥabash, at a point S.E. of Al-Fusṭāṭ, and carried northwards to the neighbourhood of a Mosque in the great burial-ground. This building is of special interest to us with reference to the Mosque: for it is ascribed to the same architect, and is still in

[1] Or at any rate at the beginning of the century, when the splendid map of Napoleon's expedition was made.

[2] Aḥmad's first years in Egypt, Ibn Shaikh, building and description of Al-Ḳaṭā'i', Mac. i. 314-316.

[3] The Māristān, Mac. ii. 405.

[4] The Aqueduct, Mac. ii. 451.

existence, though in a state of ruin, and bearing many marks of repairs at a comparatively late period.[1] The well is constructed at the foot of a spur of the hill Al-Muḳaṭṭam, and has a huge superstructure which is based partly on the end of the spur itself. On this superstructure two great wheels worked by bullocks raised the water in pots by the method customary in Egypt, and poured it into the water-course, which conducted it northwards, on an aqueduct which at the beginning is not much more than six metres high, and which after some time becomes lower as the ground rises, and at last disappears, the watercourse running along the surface of the ground. All the original work is of red brick and mortar, of exactly the same type as that of the Mosque, and all the arches whose original form is not hidden by obviously late repairs are pointed. The original red bricks are even of the same size as those of the Mosque. The architect is said to have been a Christian —which no doubt means a Copt;[2]—and the story runs that on the day when Aḥmad rode out to view the work on its completion, his horse stumbled on some fresh mortar. The Prince, superstitious and tyrannical as he was, interpreted this as a bad omen, for which the architect was guiltily responsible: and after paying him 500 blows instead of the 500 dīnārs he was expecting, had him thrown into prison. How he came out thence we shall presently hear.

The immense sums expended on the works already mentioned, besides the Mosque, could obviously not be raised without oppressive taxation, if the tribute was to be sent as usual to Baghdād. The accepted legend[3] speaks of a

[1] The existence of this aqueduct is known to but few persons, and I am not aware that any one has identified it as that of Ibn Ṭūlūn. It seems to me, however, that there can be hardly any doubt about the matter. The identification depends chiefly on topographical considerations, which involve more discussion than we can here afford space for, and which I hope to develope in another paper. Meanwhile, the details of the construction, given in the text, entirely support the identification.

[2] Had he been a Byzantine, he would no doubt have been spoken of as a *Rūmy*, as in the case of the architects of the three great surviving gates of Cairo, for which see Mac. i. 380, 1.

[3] The legend of the treasure, Mac. ii. 267.

sum of 1,000,000 dīnārs (say £500,000) found by Aḥmad when riding in the desert, after resisting the arguments of his secretary, Ibn Dasūma, who had tried to persuade him to adopt harsh methods of extortion. Considering the important place this treasure occupies in the stories of the building of the Mosque, we may hesitate to reject it as entirely fabulous. At the same time, we remark that the date of its finding is placed in A.H. 259, which coincides exactly with the time when Aḥmad finally got into his own hands the direction of the raising of the tribute,[1] and was surrounded by a large armed force. We are therefore certainly warranted in being sceptical as to the amount of the find, and in attributing to the facts just mentioned a much greater influence on Aḥmad's financial position than any treasure-trove could exercise. In fact, we find that in A.H. 262 (A.D. $87\frac{5}{6}$) Aḥmad refused to send the tribute, and when threatened with deposition, returned so rough an answer, that the Caliph sent against him a great army under Ibn Bugha. Luckily for Aḥmad, the expedition was detained at Rakka for ten months by the want of provisions and money to pay the troops. During this time the Prince built a great fortress on the island of Rōḍa, opposite Al-Fusṭāṭ (A.H. 263=A.D. $87\frac{6}{7}$), and a revolt of the troops of Ibn Bugha resulted in the final relinquishment of the expedition.[2] In the following year, Aḥmad openly rebelled, and invaded and conquered Syria.

Meanwhile, however, he had already begun the building of his great Mosque,[3] to us the most important of all his works, because still existing in comparatively good preservation, and practically unaltered by restoration. Its site is towards the S. of the town of Al-Ḳaṭā'i', on the high rocky ground which was known as the Hill of Yashkur, after a

[1] The collection and expedition of the tribute was usually in the hands of a separate and independent officer appointed from Baghdād. It was in A.H. 259 that Aḥmad at last got rid of Ibn Mudabbir, the collector of the tribute, between whom and himself there had been a continual struggle since the latter's arrival in Egypt. See Mac. i. 314 and 319.

[2] Ibn Bugha's expedition, and the fort on Rōḍa, Mac. i. 319; ii. 178-180. No traces of the fortress now remain.

[3] The Mosque, Mac. ii. 265–269.

tribe of Arabs who had settled there at the conquest. It was a place renowned for the answering of prayer, and a legend related that Moses had there held communication with the Most High.[1]

The accompanying plan[2] shows the Mosque as it exists at the present day. We have only to include in the outer courts the two corners which have been built over, and we have before us the absolute original plan. The whole enceinte is a square, the sides of which measure about 160 metres: but the Mosque proper is a rectangle of 140 by 116 metres: and consists of an open court of 90 metres square, surrounded on three sides by colonnades of two rows of piers, and on the fourth (that of the Ḳibla, pointing to Mekka), by one of five.[3] The narrow outside courts surround the first three mentioned colonnades, and complete the square. These outer courts were technically known as *Ziādas*, or "additions," and served as it were to shut in the sacred precincts from the outside world. They often contained ablution tanks, quarters for the Mosque servants, and other outbuildings, and in the present case we find in the N. Ziāda a place of ablution, and a great minaret: of which

[1] For the Hill of Yashkur, see Mac. i. 125.

[2] This plan reproduces (with modifications in the legend) one drawn by M. Herz, Architect of the Wakfs Administration. As to the orientation, it is to be remarked that I have throughout called the Ḳibla side South, according to Al-Maḳrīzy's invariable habit, and marked the sides accordingly, though the custom of the present day would rather call it East. As a matter of fact, in the present case, S. is nearer the truth than E. Taking its bearing as accurately as was possible with a pocket compass, I found the axis of the Miḥrab to read 148 degrees. Allowing 4½ degrees for W. declination, we get 143½ degrees, or 8½ degrees S. of S.E. The reading for the Mosque of 'Amr was 135 degrees, or exactly S.E.: and, with some allowance for declination, 4½ degrees E. of S.E. This difference of 13 degrees is confirmed by Al-Maḳrīzy (ii. 256) in his chapter on the different Ḳiblas, or directions to Mekka, in use in Egypt. These, he says, are four in number, the first being that of the Companions of the Prophet, in the Mosque of 'Amr, and others. The second is that of Ibn Ṭūlūn, which points much further to the S. When 'Izz-ad-dīn 'Abd-al-'Azīz was Ḳāḍy, [he does not give the date], an assembly was held in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and was attended by all the most learned astronomers, who came to the conclusion, and put it on record, that the Miḥrab pointed 14 degrees South of the true direction of Mekka. Ibn Ṭūlūn's Ḳibla is therefore an isolated instance, and officially condemned as incorrect. The third Ḳibla in Egypt is that of Al-Azhar, and those like it, which are, says our author, scientifically determined and absolutely correct. The whole subject would be well worth looking into more exactly. See Mac. ii. 256-264.

[3] The front row of these five has unluckily disappeared. See below.

latter more hereafter.[1] To the south of the Mosque, Aḥmad built his "Dār al Imāra,"[2] or Government House, from which a door (which still exists), led into the Mosque close to the mimbar and the miḥrāb. In the days of Al Mu'izz, the first Fātimy Caliph, the Dār al Imāra was used for the offices of the Tribute. It afterwards fell into ruin, with the whole of the Ḳaṭā'i'; and its site was occupied in Al-Maḳrīzy's day by a cloth-sellers' market.

The stories of the building of the Mosque plainly prove that this was the first occasion on which piers had been used instead of columns in any great building in Egypt. We know that the Arabs found a plentiful store of ancient columns ready to their hand, and that it was their invariable custom to use this material, and not to make columns themselves. Such had been their method in the Mosque of 'Amr, and we cannot doubt that it was the same in the Camp Mosque. The authority quoted by Al-Maḳrīzy is called by him the "Chronicler of Ibn Ṭūlūn;[3] and we have unfortunately no certainty as to his date, and cannot tell whether he is a contemporary authority or not. His account of the matter is that the Camp Mosque having become too small, Aḥmad determined to build a new Mosque, out of the treasure which by the favour of Providence he had discovered. He estimated 300 as the number of columns which he should require: and he was told that they could not be supplied without pulling down churches in the country districts. To this he would not consent: and he was vexed and embarrassed about the matter. Now this came to the ears of the Christian who had built the Well

[1] The street which runs outside the W. Ziāda bears to this day the name of Shāri' az-Ziāda, or Ziāda Street. Till within the last four or five years it had a fine show of the picturesque "mashrabīya" windows, and was one of the most frequently reproduced specimens of Cairene street architecture. It is given opposite p. 76 of Mr. Lane Poole's "Art of the Saracens in Egypt:" and again as a frontispiece to a book written the other day, by an American citizen, in a lighthearted vein of supreme inaccuracy, Mr. Jeremiah Lynch's "Egyptian Sketches." The latticed windows have now (1891) nearly entirely disappeared.

[2] Mac. ii. 269.

[3] Or, perhaps more probably, of the dynasty of Ibn Ṭūlūn. The Arabic جامع السيرة الطولونية is equally translateable by either.

and the Aqueduct: and he wrote to Aḥmad from prison, saying, "I will build it for thee as thou wishest and choosest, without any columns except the two columns of the ḳibla." Brought before the Prince, he offered to make a drawing of the Mosque for him.[1] Aḥmad sent for parchment, the drawing was made on the spot, and the Prince, astonished and delighted, released the Christian, clothed him in a robe of honour, and paid him 100,000 dīnārs (say £50,000) on account for the building. This story thus assigns as a reason for the use of piers, the difficulty of obtaining columns without desecrating other places of worship: and this view is supported by other details, showing the anxiety of Aḥmad that no illgotten wealth should be employed in this work of piety. Among these we may mention the story that, seeing the workmen at labour during the month of Ramaḍān as the hour of evening approached, Aḥmad gave orders that they should in future be dismissed at the time of afternoon prayer: and when the month of fasting was over, he would not return to the old rule, but still let them go at the earlier hour. Again, it is stated that Aḥmad saw in a dream as though God Most High manifested himself, and His light fell upon the town round about the Mosque, but the Mosque itself remained in darkness. At this the Prince was grieved, and said: "Verily, I built it not save for God entirely, and with wealth permitted by religion, and on which is no doubt." The dream, however, was interpreted to him in this wise: "This Mosque shall remain, and all that is around it shall fall into ruin:" since everything upon which falls the Majesty of God must sink before it: and this interpretation was proved true by later history. From a different source,[2] again, we are told that the absence of columns was criticized by some after the completion of the Mosque, and that Aḥmad replied: "As for the columns, I have built this Mosque with wealth allowed by religion,

[1] There is nothing in the text to show whether this means a plan or elevation, or a view in perspective. The general opinion seems to be that regular architectural plans were not used by the Arab architects.

[2] Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir (died A.H. 692 = A.D. 1292); *apud* Mac. ii. 268.

namely, the treasure, and I would not mingle it with other. And these columns must have been either from a Mosque or from a church: therefore I kept it far from them." Al-Ḳuḍā'y,[1] on the other hand, as quoted by Al-Maḳrīzy later on in his account of the Mosque, gives a different aspect to the matter. He represents Aḥmad as saying, "I will build a building which will remain if Miṣr be burned, and will remain if it be submerged." So he was told, "It must be built up to the roof with lime and burnt bricks which will resist the fire, and there must be no marble columns in it, for they cannot withstand the fire." It is probable that this story, like that of Aḥmad's dream, is an *ex post facto* invention. After 240 years of building with ancient materials, it is no wonder if a difficulty was found in obtaining columns except by desecration of existing places of worship, and Aḥmad was just the man to set his heart on doing some one great work with scrupulous nicety as to the sources from which it came, thinking thus to make an acceptable peace-offering to God, though his life in general was one great story of tyrrany and extortion. We shall see later on that Lāgīn was equally scrupulous when he restored the Mosque.[2]

[1] Died A.H. 454 = A.D. 1062.

[2] In Al-Maḳrīzy's account (ii. 406 *sqq.*) of the Māristān of Ḳalāwūn (A.H. 683 = A.D. 128⅔), we find a good illustration of the whole subject of the employment of forced labour and stolen materials in building a Mosque. On the completion of this great building, which comprised an elaborate hospital, a religious college, and a great domed chamber which was to receive the tomb of the founder,—"a party among the religious made scruples about the holding of public prayer in the college and the domed chamber, and disapproved of the Māristān on account of the excessive labour extorted from the people in building it." It seems that 'Alam-ad-dīn ash-Shugā'y, who was entrusted with the management of the building, had expelled without notice the women who were in the palace which was transformed into the hospital. Besides this, he had collected all the artisans of Cairo, and forced them to work at the building. He used himself to stand on the scaffolding and overlook the work personally, while mamlūks stationed by his orders in the street forced every passer-by, of whatever rank or position, to carry a stone for the building, so that no one would come that way if he could avoid it. He had also taken from the citadel of the island of Rōḍa (built by Sāliḥ Nigm-ad-dīn in A.H. 638, A.D. 1240) all the columns of granite and marble and other materials suited for his purpose. A *fatwa* (or official decision of an authority learned in the religious law) was procured against the lawfulness of holding religious worship in a place from which the inhabitants had been expelled against their will, and which had been built by forced labour, or with materials procured by destroying another building. The remarks of Al-Maḳrīzy himself on the subject are instructive, as showing

In later times there is only one very conspicuous example of a Mosque of the type of Ibn Ṭūlūn's, with piers instead of columns. This is the Mosque known by the name of Fāṭimy Caliph Al-Ḥākim, who finished in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012) the work begun by his father Al-'Azīz in A.H. 380 (A.D. 990).[1] Of this what remains is in a very ruinous state, and bears marks of never having been so solidly built as its prototype. The great Mosque of Baibars, to the N. of Cairo,[2] of the date of A.H. 665 (A.D. 1267), was also constructed with piers, some of which remain. In the mausoleum of Sultan Barḳūḳ,[3] again, built by his son Faraj at the end of the thirteenth century A.D., we have another example of a Mosque on a large scale with piers; but in this example, as also originally in the Mosque of Āḳ Sunḳur[4] (A.H. 747=A.H. 1346), now known as the Mosque of Ibrāhīm Agha, the roof is vaulted. On the whole the later builders returned to the earlier custom; and we have ample evidence that the building of a colonnaded Mosque always meant the pulling down of earlier buildings to supply the columns.

The Mosque, then, was built with piers, which, like the rest of the building, were constructed of hard red bricks, eighteen centimetres long, by eight wide and about four thick, laid flat, and bound by layers of mortar of from one and a half to two cent. thick, the whole being covered by several layers of the finest and hardest white plaster. The

that, however sound in theory the fatwa might be, it proved too much to be a feasible rule in practice. He remarks that the title of the Aiyūbys to all the great palaces of Cairo was as defective as that of Ḳalāwūn to the Dār al Ḳutbīya (the palace out of which the Māristān had been made), and that Nigm-ad-dīn had himself expelled the inhabitants of Rōḍa for the purpose of building his citadel, and, in fact, that the whole was a case of "the robber robbed and the spoiler spoiled." As for forced labour, he exclaims—"Good God! tell me, do, for I know it not, which of them ever proceeded in any other way? Only that some of them are more tyrannical than others." Any one who has some acquaintance with the architectural history of Cairo must agree that Al-Maḳrīzy here represents the facts quite fairly. Nevertheless, in theory, a Mosque should be free from all suspicion of stolen land or materials and forced labour, and occasionally we find a founder insisting on these points.

[1] Mac. ii. 377.
[2] Mac. ii. 399 *sqq.*
[3] Mac. ii. 364.
[4] Mac. ii. 309.

foundations are probably for the most part, if not entirely, on the solid rock; and the result is a building which for strength and durability far exceeds any other in Cairo, if we except the three great city gates of hewn stone, built in Fātimy times, when Badr al Gamāly was at the head of affairs. Only one part do we know to have been rebuilt, the north colonnade, adjoining the great minaret. This we are told was reconstructed in A.H. 792 (A.D. 1390),[1] and it has since suffered so much, that the west portion has had to be supported by filling up the arches. For the rest, we may say that nothing of the original structure has suffered materially, except the one row of piers already mentioned as having disappeared. Of these last it would seem that those in the middle of the row fell in 1814.[2] On consulting the notes taken during that year by the Shaikh 'Abdrahmān Al-Gabarty, and published in his Journal or "History of his own Times" (Būlāḳ, 1880), we find that on the night corresponding to that of Sunday, June 8th, there was an earthquake just at the time of the call to evening prayer, and that the shocks were repeated during the night and early in the morning; and a part of the battlement of the Mosque Al-Azhar was thrown down.[3] We can hardly doubt, then, that this was the occasion on which these piers first suffered damage. A photograph by Frith (reproduced in illustration No. 1), of which I do not know the date, but which is probably at least thirty years old, shows the whole line of piers standing, but the middle arch entirely blocked up. According to the legend of the plan in Baedeker (p. 285) it was in 1877 that the whole line of piers gave way completely. The remains were then cleared away by order.

[1] Mac. ii. 269.

[2] Baedeker's Handbook to Lower Egypt (German edition, 1877, p. 286), says: "To the middle piers, which fell in 1814, were attached marble tablets with Kūfy inscriptions which recorded the date of building: these also have gone to ruin." A portion of one of these inscriptions was found last summer (that of 1890) in the course of taking away the modern walls which formed chambers between the arches. This has been put up against one of the piers. See Appendix II.

[3] Al-Gabarty, iv. 211.

If to the contemporary Egyptians the distinctive note of the new Mosque was to be found in the use of piers, to us it lies rather in the use of the pointed arch, which may be roughly said to appear here for the first time, deliberately and consistently carried out on a large scale. It has been pointed out[1] that an isolated instance of pointed arches occurs in the Nilometer, as restored by Ibn Ṭūlūn at a date some sixteen years earlier: and to this we must now add the arches of the Aqueduct, which must be placed two or three years earlier than the Mosque, and are by our authorities ascribed to the same architect.[2] When all is said, it is plain that the pointed arch first came into general use about the time of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn, and we may practically date the style from the foundation of this Mosque. The arches spring from a height of 4·64 metres from the ground, rising at the apex to a perpendicular height of 3·70 metres from the spring: their span is 4·56 metres, and there is a very slight, but unmistakeable, return. Around the arches and along the top of the piers runs a continuous frieze of raised stucco work, 46 cents. in breadth.[3] Above each of the piers, the space between the arches is pierced by a small pointed arch of the same character, rising to the same height as the great ones. Constructively, they lighten the weight upon the piers, and at the same time they form an attractive feature in the architectural scheme

[1] By Mr. E. S. Poole, in appendix ii. to the later editions of Lane's "Modern Egyptians."

[2] The isolated pointed arches in a part of the Mosque of 'Amr, are, says Mr. Poole (*loc. cit.* p. 341), "at least half a century later than the foundation of the mosque." It is really absolutely certain that they cannot be earlier than A.H. 212; *i.e.*, 192 years later than the foundation. They are probably later than this, and may with great probability be attributed to the restoration by Khumārawaih, son of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn.

[3] The inside of the arches was also originally covered by stucco ornamentation, as may be seen in Prisse d'Avenues (L'Art Arabe, Paris, 1877), vol. i. plate 1, where a view in the S. colonnade near the mimbar shows remains of decoration on the inside of a single arch: and since the last few months, on two or three arches of the W. colonnade (*e.g.*, 4th and 6th arches, counting from the S.), where, in pulling down the modern work which blocked up the arches, some of the latest coating of stucco has been removed. The two examples quoted are of different designs, but both obviously belong to the same time as the friezes here spoken of. It has been remarked (Poole, Art of Saracens in Egypt, pp. 89, 90) that all these friezes are cut, not moulded, which prevents their becoming mechanical and monotonous.

of the whole. Above the small arches runs a horizontal plaster ridge, 42 cents. wide, of a more elementary pattern than that already mentioned: while the space from this to the flat wooden roof is covered with planks of wood, down the middle of which runs continuously a succession of Koranic inscriptions in superb Kūfy letters of severely square type. Each letter is cut out in solid wood and fixed on to the board: their height is some 19 cents., and we cannot doubt that they belong to the original building (see Illustration, No. 2). It is probably this frieze which gave rise to the fable alluded to by Al-Makrīzy, which has been retailed and exaggerated by some modern authors, who have stated it as if it were a fact. It is instructive to note that old Mac., who, for an Arab author, shows on occasions a remarkably critical spirit, gives the story for what it is worth, and does not in the least imply that he believes it. His words are: "I have seen one who said that he [Aḥmad] made a band of ambergris running all round it. I have not seen any *author* mention it, but it is spread abroad by oral report and tradition." The story has been improved in modern times up to the point of asserting that the whole of the Ḳur'ān was written round the Mosque, in letters of ambergris.[1]

The illustration No. 3 will bring before the reader the scheme of the great colonnade, as above described. The sides of the court show the following distinction: the space above the arches is occupied by one broad frieze of stucco rosettes, in place of the two friezes (stucco, and wood with Kūfy inscription). These rosettes are placed each in an octagon sunk space, and are for the most part deeply incised, and of two slightly different types, arranged alternately. Besides this, the court shows a large rosette at each side of the small arches. These are for the most part in circular sunk spaces, and also incised: some, however, are in relief:

[1] It may be of interest to show what proportion of the Ḳur'ān is really contained in the frieze. There are 1988 metres of writing, 9 letters to a metre, and therefore 17,892 letters. The Ḳur'ān contains 323,671 letters, according to Arab authorities, and this divided by 17,892 gives us 17 odd, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{17}$ of the Ḳur'ān is actually contained in the frieze.

and among those which remain we may count at least twenty different patterns. For the most part each small arch shows on each side an example of *similar* type, but not exactly the same pattern. The general effect is that of considerable variety with a certain amount of balance, but not enough to become mechanical (see Illustration No. 4). The patterns of nearly all are so simple and primitive that there can be no doubt that if they were restored by Lāgīn the originals were faithfully reproduced: it would certainly be impossible to point to anything similar of his own time. The only thing that at all recalls the effect of the general scheme and decoration of this courtyard is the great court of the Azhar (A.H. 361=A.D. 971), though there columns take the place of piers. The whole circuit of the courtyard was crowned by a battlement of the strange pattern which we still see in parts.[1] Through the vistas of the arches we catch glimpses of a row of openwork stucco[2] windows, which run round the whole Mosque, and show against the sky at a distance like delicate lacework. Their form is that of a pointed arch of the same type as the great arches, but springing from engaged dwarf columns. A plaster frieze runs round the arches and connects them horizontally from the spring, as in the case of the great arches. They are so arranged that each third one corresponds exactly to the centre of a great arch. This of course does not apply to the E. and W. ends of the N. and S. colonnades, where, as the plan shows, the wall space is interrupted by the piers resting against the walls, and the windows are placed one between each two rows of piers, and the horizontal frieze is in each case interrupted by the pier.

The scheme of the wall outside, as conditioned by the above, may be seen in Illustration 5, which shows the outside of the E. wall of the Mosque proper, looking down

[1] Indeed, every wall in the Mosque was so crowned; the inner and outer walls of the Mosque proper, and the outer walls of the Ziādas. Fragments remain to prove it in each case.

[2] *Not* "calcareous stone," as said by Coste (Arch. Arabe, Paris, 1839, p. 32). Mr. Stanley Lane Poole (Art. of the Saracens in Egypt, p. 51) also talks of "grilles of stone."

S. The windows are perfectly plain, without frieze or any other ornament, and the spaces between them are occupied by very primitive niches with scallop-shaped heads. At the N. and S. ends, where the windows are by the necessity of the case much wider apart, the balance is restored by inserting between each pair of windows a plain niche (somewhat smaller than the windows, but of the same shape) and treating it as one of the series. The outside of the Mosque thus preserves the plain and unornamented character which seems to have been universal in the earlier examples of Arab architecture, and which was in later Mosques of the colonnaded type relieved by projecting portals richly ornamented (as in the Mosque of Baibars to the N. of Cairo). In our Mosque there is no trace of any great entrance portals. In the E. Ziāda we can see all the original six doors, though all but one are blocked up. They are plain flat-topped openings, without doorposts: the wooden lintel is relieved by a solid arch in the wall above.

In the middle of the court, on the site of the present ablution fountain, stood a domed building with latticed windows on all sides. It was supported on ten columns of marble, and surrounded by sixteen others: which would seem to imply that it was a pentagon, supported by two columns at each angle, and surrounded by an octagon colonnade supported in the same manner. It was paved with marble, and contained underneath the dome a marble basin four ells (say 2·30 metres) in diameter, in the midst of which a fountain shot into the air. The dome was ornamented with the signs of the Zodiac, and was used for the call to prayer.[1] This *Fawwāra*, as our authorities call it, must not be taken for an ablution-place: it was merely an ornamental feature in the building. When the Mosque was first opened for prayer, one of the criticisms passed on it was the absence of any place of ablution; and Aḥmad replied that he had purposely omitted it, because

[1] How the dome could be so used is not very clear—it probably had an outside balcony at the base. The original Arabic (which seems to be Ibn 'Abd az-Ẓāhir's) is somewhat obscure.

of the uncleanliness which it brought, but that he would now have one built behind[1] the Mosque, which he accordingly did. In A.H. 376 (A.D. 986) the Fauwāra was entirely burnt to the ground. Nine years later another was built in its place by order of the Caliph Al-'Azīz-billāh.[2] This has given place in its turn to the domed building with the basin for ablution, which we now see there, and which belongs to the restoration of Lāgīn.[3] It is built of fine blocks of Muḳaṭṭam limestone, and is a rectangle of 12·87 by 14·38 metres, the longer sides being those on the N. and S. The dome is built on the square of 12·87 metres on the westernmost part: the extra length of the building to the E. showing inside as merely extra thickness in the wall, which contains a staircase leading to a small chamber which formerly existed on the S.E. corner of the roof.[4] Each side of the square under the dome is pierced by a large pointed arch, with no return. The actual arches are built of red brick, formerly plastered. It seems probable that the arches contained no doors, but that the building was left open on all sides. The floor is of marble, mostly in long slips, obtained by sawing columns. An octagonal ablution basin of stone occupies the centre of the chamber. The high dome is connected with the square by pendentives

[1] *i.e.* in the N. Ziāda. The ḳibla end of a Mosque is always called the front, and the opposite end the back. This contradicts the way we should naturally regard the matter, but the point of view taken is that of the worshipper actually at prayer, who of course fronts the Ḳibla.

[2] It is worth remarking that Al-'Azīz also built a Fauwāra in the Mosque of 'Amr, two years later than this date (Mac. ii. 249).

[3] Mr. Stanley Lane Poole (Art of the Saracens in Egypt, p. 54) apparently takes the present dome to be that of Al-'Azīz, saying it was "built a century later than the mosque." The whole building proclaims itself in its construction and details to belong to the time of Muḥammad an Nāṣir, or thereabouts. The style of the pendentives inside the dome, and the Nashky inscription which surrounds it, are in themselves quite enough to render a Fatimy date impossible. But it is unnecessary to have recourse to such evidence, for a wooden inscription on the outside, though so worn as only to be legible in parts, and so high up as to require a very long ladder to examine it, is conceived in the same general terms as that on Lagīn's pulpit, and contains (as I am assured by my friend M. van Berchem, who has had an opportunity of examining it closely) the name of Lāgīn *as the founder*.

[4] This chamber is shown still in its place in Frith's photograph (Illust. No. 1).

of brick, plastered, of the severe type which we observe in the Mosque of Baibars al Gāshenkīr[1] (A.H. 606=A.D. $12\frac{9}{10}$) and others of the same period. Round the circle of the dome runs a gigantic Nashky inscription from the Ḳur'ān, v. 6, which gives the instructions for ablution.

But the most remarkable and enigmatic feature in the whole building has yet to be described. This is the great Minaret in the N. Ziāda, of a form I believe unexampled among all the minarets of Islām. It is built of blocks of hard limestone, and begins as a great square tower, up which winds an exterior staircase. Above it the minaret rises as a round tower, having likewise an exterior spiral staircase within its own base. This is surmounted again by two octagonal storeys with an inner staircase. Round the top of the first is a pendentive cornice which formerly supported a gallery: and the upper one is crowned by a ridged dome-like cap, also supported on a pendentive cornice.[2] These last two storeys obviously belong to a later time, and have no features in common with the main structure of the tower. We may therefore dismiss them in considering the original minaret.

This square tower is built close upon the N. Ziāda walls, its W. side being 9 metres E. of the axis of the Mosque,

[1] Mac. ii. 416.

[2] The cap was surmounted by a brazen boat, as is remarked by Pascal Coste (Archit. Arabe, ou Mon. du Kaire, Paris, 1859), p. 33. The illustration in the Expedition de l'Egypte (Atlas, Etat Mod vol. i. plate 29) shows the minaret from the W. corner of the N. Ziāda, crowned by the boat. This was a not unfrequent way of finishing off minarets, though the examples in Cairo are now very few. One is seen on the dome of the Imām ash-Shāfa'y, in the Cemetery S. of the Capital. I have remarked them on provincial mosques, *e.g.* several at Rosetta. They were occasionally filled with grain for the birds. We read in Al Gabarty (i. 25):—"And on the 12th of Ramaḍān, in the year 1105 (= May 8, 1694) there blew a great gale, with dust, which obscured the atmosphere, while the people were at Friday prayer, so that they thought the Day of Judgment was come. And the ship on the minaret of the Mosque of Ṭūlūn (*sic*) fell down, and many houses were destroyed." That there was a boat in Al-Makrīzy's time we see from ii. 268, where he says, "The common people say that the boat on the minaret turns with the sun, and this is not true, for it turns with the turning of the wind." It is probable that the original minaret was crowned in the same way; and in one passage in Mac. ii. 267 there seems to be an allusion to it, where it is said that "the Christian who built the Mosque *climbed up*, and stood by the side of the brazen ship," though the minaret itself is not mentioned.

and its position therefore bearing no intelligible relation to the whole. Between its S. side and the outer wall of the Mosque proper is a space of 5·36 metres: and the W. portion is connected with the Mosque wall by two great round arches of very strongly pronounced horse-shoe form, the easternmost of which is in a line with the E. wall of the tower itself. These arches, which have a span of 4·04 metres, abut against the Mosque wall in an absolutely inorganic manner, cutting across the middle of two windows. They are connected by a round arched stone roof—not strictly speaking a vault—supported at each end by four great stone corbels. They are built apparently of the same stone as the tower, and seem in the main to be of the same type of construction, though the stones are on the whole more carefully dressed than those of the tower. The form of the arches also is the same as that of the blind arches on the tower; but the beading which encloses the spandrils of these, as of the arch by which we enter the staircase at the bottom of the tower, is wanting. What is more important, however, is, that the construction of the abutment of the W. arch against the side of the staircase of the tower, shows that the two were built independently of one another: while there are also distinct signs that the wall which joins the E. arch to the tower was not originally one with the wall of the tower itself. Unluckily, the parts which would give us the most important evidence on this latter side are blocked up by modern cells which hide them from view, and render them inaccessible. Nevertheless, I think that we shall be right in concluding, on the evidence just given, that these arches are not part of the original scheme of the minaret, but built at a later time, to connect it with the Mosque, and that some care was taken to keep them in harmony with the original portion.

We have thus a minaret, which by its inorganic connection with the Mosque, by its materials, by the form of its arches—by every particular which we can note—seems to proclaim itself as foreign to the building, and

certainly not the work of the same age. What light do historical records throw upon the question?

None of the scanty references which I have found cast any doubt on its being Aḥmad's work. The story cited by Al-Maḳrīzy—always quoted and usually embellished by modern writers—is introduced by him merely by the expression, "It has been said:" which is equivalent to saying, "A certain author, or certain authors, relate:" and therefore we cannot tell from what period the story dates. As it is generally deformed by modern writers, I translate Al-Maḳrīzy's own words. "It has been related of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn that he never trifled in anything. Now it happened that he took in his hand a roll of white paper, and began to pull it out and stretch it, and then became aware of what he was doing, and saw that he had been observed and blamed, since it was not his habit to behave thus. So he sent for the architect of the Mosque, and said, 'Thou shalt build the minaret for the call to prayer in this wise.' So it was built in that fashion."[1] This account is no doubt a fable, but it shows at least that the minaret was attributed to Ibn Ṭūlūn, and that its peculiar form had struck the popular fancy. If we accepted the story as true, it would account for the minaret's standing as it does in no organic connection with the Mosque: for by the conditions of the story itself, the manner of its building was an afterthought. But the tale is so obviously generated by a desire to explain the peculiarity of the form of the minaret, that we cannot seriously regard it as evidence. In some words of Al-Ḳudā'y's,[2] quoted by Al-Maḳrīzy, we get indeed a dated allusion to the minaret, though without any distinct reference to its form. His words are: "He

[1] Abu-l-Maḥāsin, a pupil of Al-Maḳrīzy (died A.H. 874 = A.D. 1469), quotes the same story from a certain "Aḥmad al Kātib." His words are: "And the workmen said to him, 'On what model shall we make the minaret?' Now he never trifled at all in Council; and he took a roll of paper and trifled with it, and some of it came out and some of it remained in his hand. And those present wondered. And he said, 'Make the Minaret after this model.' So they made it." (Abu-l-Maḥāsin, Annales, ed. Juynboll, Leiden, 1856, ii. p. 8.)

[2] Al-Ḳudā'y, as we have seen, died in A.H. 464 (A.D. 1062), *i.e.* in the time of the last Fāṭimy Caliph, just 200 years after the building of the Mosque.

built it [the Mosque] on the plan of the Mosque of Sāmarra, and likewise the minaret." As there can be no doubt that in any case the present minaret was built before the time of Al Ḳuḍā'y, we have here a distinct statement (to be taken for what it is worth), as to the model on which it, as well as the Mosque, was built. Since, however, we have, so far as I can discover, no account of the plan of the Mosque of Sāmarra, we are no better off than before. On the whole, while I should myself incline to believe that the minaret must date from a later—that is, a Fāṭimy—period, it would seem that the only attitude to be safely taken in the present state of our knowledge is one of suspended judgment.[1]

We have seen that in A.H. 264, while the Mosque was building, Aḥmad had openly rebelled against the Caliph, and made an expedition in which he laid all Syria, besides Tarsus and Antioch, at his feet. While he was still absent, his son 'Abbās raised the standard of rebellion in Egypt (A.H. 265=A.D. 87⅞), and it was not till three years later that he was finally taken prisoner with many of his adherents. In A.H. 269 (A.D. 88⅔) the Caliph Al-Mu'tamid appealed to Aḥmad to take his part against his brother Al-Muwaffak, who had practically usurped the powers of the Caliphate: but the scheme fell through, and Al Muwaffak soon afterwards declared the deposition of Aḥmad, who answered by publishing a counter declaration to the effect that Al-Muwaffak had broken his oath of allegiance, and was unworthy of the succession to the Caliphate. The last act in this wordy war was the cursing of Aḥmad from all the pulpits which acknowledged allegiance to the Caliph. In A.H. 278 (A.D. 88¾) Aḥmad fell sick at Antioch, and

[1] Since this was written Mr. W. M. Conway has pointed out to me a picture of a ruined *Ātesh-Gāh*, or Firetower, at Firūzabād (Media, Babylon and Persia, by Zénaïde A. Ragozin, pp. 151 and 153). This shows essentially the same construction as our minaret, and, taken in connexion with the statement, that the latter was built after the model of the minaret at Sāmarra, renders it probable that we have to look back to a Persian original, and that the Muslim muezzin of Ibn Ṭūlūn called to prayer from the tower of the hated and despised *Māgūsy*. We should thus have an Eastern element entirely owing to the Prince, and independent of the shadowy Christian architect of whom we hear so much.

by his self-willed refusal to obey medical orders, brought himself to death's door. He arrived, however, at Al-Fusṭāṭ, and after frightening one doctor to death and beating another to death, died on the 10th of Dhu-l-Ḳa'da, in spite of the united prayers of Muslims, Jews, and Christians.[1] The historians generally agree in praising him as a good and pious prince, well versed in the Ḳur'ān and fond of the company of the 'Ulama; personally strenuous, and vigorous in the administration of government: but the facts of his life as related by them constrain them also to allow that he was unjust, tyrannical, and ready with the sword. It is related that when he died there were no less than 18,000 persons in the prisons; or, according to another account, the number of persons whom he killed or who died in prison during his reign amounted to that sum. The stories of the amount of wealth he left behind him in money, slaves, horses, camels, etc., are in accordance with all that we read of the state which he kept up. The fact would seem to be that, tried by an Eastern standard, Aḥmad would pass for an admirable prince. His early life showed a simplicity and rectitude which it was not possible for a great autocrat to maintain. When once launched on its course, his strenuous ambition did not long hesitate about means: and the intoxication of absolute and irresponsible rule soon led him to acts of caprice and sometimes of cruelty at once bizarre and tyrannical. But the fact remains that he was a *strong* ruler: and when an Eastern ruler is at once strong, charitable, and of reputed piety, he may rob and murder individuals and hardly lose in the estimation of his subjects. For us on the present occasion Aḥmad is chiefly interesting as the Turkish prince under whom Egypt first since the Muslim conquest played a great part in the history of the time:

[1] This last fact is related by Abu-l-Maḥāsin (ed. Juynboll, Leiden, 1856) vol. ii. p. 19. "When his illness increased in violence, the Muslims went out into the desert with copies of the Ḳur'ān, and the Jews and Christians with the Pentateuch and the Gospels, and the teachers with the children, and prayed for him." This interesting event is paralleled and illustrated by the *Ṣalāt al Istiskā'*, or prayer for water, which took place in times of drought within the memory of men still living. On these occasions the priests and people of all sects joined in prayer together in the Mosque of 'Amr. See Al-Gabarty, iv. 80.

who first introduced into Miṣr the magnificence of Baghdād and Sāmarra, and erected public buildings on a scale of grandeur before unknown in Muslim Egypt, where circumstances had not yet permitted the rise of any great architectural undertakings: and finally as the founder of a Mosque, which still remains fairly intact, is to all intents and purposes the oldest in Egypt,[1] and exhibits the systematic use of the pointed arch some hundred years before we find it in Europe.[2]

Aḥmad was succeeded by his son Khumārawaih, who reigned twelve years, and whose luxury and splendour seem to have exceeded his father's. Of his gardens, his "golden chamber," his new Maidān, his menagerie, his pet lion, called "Little Blue-eyes," his *Dār-al-Haram* (or apartments for his ladies), his stables, his pond of quicksilver, many stories, more or less credible, have come down to us,[3] but no trace remains of any of his works. Three more of the line of Aḥmad reigned after Khumārawaih: but in A.H. 292 (A.D. 905) Egypt was invaded by the army of the Caliph, Al-Ḳaṭā'i' burned and sacked, and every surviving member of the family of Ṭūlūn taken as prisoner to Baghdād. The Governors of Egypt once more resided at the 'Askar: and the Ḳaṭā'i', shorn of its splendour, only survived as a suburb. But a time came when both of these towns fell into utter ruin and desolation. This was the period of plague, famine, and revolution in the days of the Fāṭimy Caliph Al-Mustanṣir, A.H. 457–464 (=A.D. 1065–1071). When the government of the country was taken in hand by Badr al Gamāly, the materials of the deserted towns of Al 'Askar and Al-Ḳaṭā'i' were taken to repair Al-Fusṭāṭ proper, and the two towns became a mere heap of dust mounds; a state from which Al-'Askar has never risen, while the site of Al-Ḳaṭā'i' was once more built upon in later times, and

[1] The Mosque of Amr is of course an earlier *foundation*; but it has been repaired, like the Irishman's knife, till nothing original remains.

[2] "Les arcs doubleaux de l'eglise de Saint-Front de Périgueux datent des dernières années du xe siècle, et sont déjà des arcs brisés."—Violet le Duc. Dict. Arch. vi. 425.

[3] Mac. i. 316-319.

now, as we have seen, forms the S.E. corner of modern Cairo.[1]

In the days of the ruin of Al-Ḳaṭā'i', the Mosque alone remained standing, though in a state of disrepair: all around it were ruined houses gradually falling into mere heaps of dust: and the pilgrims from the West, on their way to Mekka, made the Mosque a halting-place for their caravan. Thus passed the years; the line of Saladin succeeded to the Fāṭimy Caliphs, and in their turn had to yield to their own unruly slaves: and it was not till after the death of the great Sultan Ḳalāwūn (A.H. 689=A.D. 1290) that, in the words of Al-Maḳrīzy,[2] "God, (great is the glory of His Majesty!) brought it about, for the rebuilding of this Mosque, that there was bad blood between Al-Malik-al-Ashraf Khalīl and the Amīr Baidar." Baidar and Lāgīn slew Khalīl, A.H. 693 (A.D. 1294): and the Mamlūks of the murdered sovereign pursuing their revenge, Lāgīn fled to the deserted Ḳaṭā'i' and hid in the Mosque. It was now that he made a vow and covenant, that if God saved him and granted him life, he would restore and endow the Mosque. We need not follow the fortunes of Lāgīn in detail: enough that when by a succession of treacheries and murders he at last came to be Sultan (A.H. 696=A.D. 129$\frac{6}{7}$), he appointed 'Alam-ad-dīn Sangar "to buy land for the use of the Mosque for ever, and paid him what was wanted for restoring it, and gave him strict orders that he should not employ forced labour upon it, either skilled or unskilled, and that he should set no taskmaster over the workmen, and should buy nothing of all the materials that he wanted except at their full price." The Mosque was accordingly restored, paved, and plastered: chairs were appointed for the teaching of theology according to the four sects: another for the exegesis of the Ḳur'ān; one for the Traditions: and one for medicine. A Preacher, an Imām, Muezzins, and servants, were appointed, all with fixed salaries. A school for teaching orphans to read the

[1] For the troubles in the reign of Al-Mustanṣir, see especially Mac. i. 335-7.
[2] Mac. ii. 269.

Ḳur'ān was also added.[1] The expenses of the restoration, together with the price of the lands which were now attached to the Mosque, exceeded 20,000 dīnārs (say £10,000).

We have already seen that the restoration of Lāgīn did not alter the general features of the Mosque. Certain details in the present Mosque may, however, be pointed out as dating from this time. Of these the most important is the domed ablution fountain built in the middle of the Court, in the place of that of Al-'Azīz, as already mentioned. A second, as has been pointed out,[2] no doubt to be found in the little dome or lantern above the Miḥrāb, with pendentives of wood and plaster painted. As to the two upper storeys of the great Minaret, and the arches which connect it with the wall of the Mosque proper, while we have seen that they are undoubtedly later than the Mosque and than the Minaret in its original form, their style would seem to point to an earlier date than that of Lāgīn, and resembles rather the work of Aiyūby times; and we must be content in the present state of our knowledge to leave their date and origin an open question. The general structure of the great Miḥrāb, with its two[3] columns with Byzantine capitals on each side, is undoubtedly original; but the strip of mosaic just below the curve of the half-dome, with its inscription in letters of a late form, must belong to Lāgīn; as in all probability the marbles below. A small Miḥrāb on the same wall, some way to the east, is known to the people as the Miḥrab of Sitt Nafīsa. Its general style would lead us to attribute it to about the time of Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāwūn, and the Nashky inscription which runs round it (containing instructions about the Ḳibla, from Ḳur'ān ii. 149–151) corresponds in style to the other inscriptions of Lāgīn in the Mosque, so that we shall have no hesitation in ascribing

[1] This "Maktab" still remains, in a ruined state. It is situated in the W. Ziāda, opposite the second intercolumnar space of the S. colonnade, reckoning from the Saḥn (No. 9 in the plan). I find neither inscription, nor anything calling for remark. The school had a door (now blocked up) from the outside of the Ziāda.

[2] Lane Poole, Art of the Saracens in Egypt, p. 63.

[3] Not *one* on each side, as Mr. S. Lane-Poole (probably misled by Al-Maḳrīzy) states (Art of Saracens in Egypt, p. 57).

it to his restoration or to that of Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāwūn himself, who built two small minarets at the south corners of the Mosque.[1] These features, with the general restoration of parts falling into ruin, the paving of the colonnades, and the re-plastering in whole or in part of the walls, will thus represent Lāgīn's work on the Mosque. To this we must add the beautiful mimbar, or pulpit, which still remains in its place, though but a skeleton.[2] The small minarets

[1] There are no less than four other quasi miḥrābs in the S. colonnade. Of these, two are on the two inside piers which now face the court. They are of plaster, and in a terrible state of ruin. On the right hand one, however, part of a Kūfy inscription, in letters of a much later type than those of the inscriptions contemporary with the foundation of the Mosque, is still legible, and the name and style of Al-Mustanṣir, the Fāṭimy Caliph, is clearly to be discerned. M. van Berchem reads the words "*freedman of* our Lord and Master Al-Mustanṣir billāh," and is inclined to think they may refer to the Wazīr-al-Afḍal (son of Badr-al-Gamāly). Of the left-hand miḥrāb but little is remaining; but enough to show that it was put up at the same time as the other. The second pair of Miḥrābs are on the corresponding piers, two lines further S., on each side of the dikka. They are in so bad a state that it is impossible to say much of them; but they show Kūfy letters which would seem of a later date than the foundation of the Mosque: the type of decoration which they display is of a strange and somewhat primitive nature. It is high time that some accomplished mural palæographist made a study of the whole of these remains, getting leave to remove with care the whitewash which in some cases obscures the letters, since it is possible that the first mentioned might yet yield an historical record of importance—a few years more, and there will be no chance of deciphering anything.

[2] Mr. S. Lane Poole (Art of the Saracens in Egypt, p. 58) says that "the back wall [in the S. colonnade] was once carefully decorated, though at present little remains of the original mosaic and colour which Al-Maḳrīzy says were used for its embellishment." It is true that we should expect this end of the Mosque to have some further embellishments; but I find in Al-Maḳrīzy no hint to this effect, and at present (January, 1891) *nothing* remains to show that such decoration ever existed. As to Lāgīn's restoration, the words of Al-Maḳrīzy are sufficiently explicit: "He restored the mosque, and put an end to all the ruin that was in it and paved it, and plastered it" (ii. 268). In reference to the pulpit, Mr. Lane Poole falls into a strange mistake when he tells us that "in the present day there is a very inferior pulpit there, and this must have been introduced when the fine work of which these panels [in the S. K. M.] formed part was taken away." He describes Lāgīn's pulpit from Mr. Wild's drawing, made in 1845, and his description is that of the pulpit which still stands by the side of the Miḥrāb, which has to my personal knowledge stood there for the last ten years, and which we cannot doubt has stood there since A.D. 1296. The large inscription on the lintel, to which Mr. Lane Poole refers, is still there. It reads—

امر بعمل هذا المنبر المبارک مولانا السلطان الملک
المنصور حسام الدنیا والدین لاجین المنصوری
فی العاشر من صفر سنة ست وتسعین
و ستمیّة

which stood on the two south corners of the Mosque, and of which the east one alone survives, date from the reign of Muḥammad Ibn Ḳalāwūn—that is, practically about Lāgīn's time—but from what year we are not told.[1]

After the time of Lāgīn I am not aware that the Mosque has, so to speak, any history till a comparatively late period. It must have been neglected for long years, when it was actually turned into "a workshop for the manufacture of woollen girdles, and such like,"[2] in the time of Muḥammad Bey Abu-d'-Dahab.[3] It was reserved for a later time to sound a yet greater depth of barbarism. It must have been in about 1846[4] that Muḥammad 'Aly determined to make use of this building as a poorhouse for the aged and infirm, and entrusted the carrying out of the scheme to Clot Bey—a man whose name, as the father of medical studies in Egypt, must ever be mentioned with respect, but

i.e. "This pulpit (blessings on it!) was made by order of our Lord the Sultan, the Victorious King, Sword of the State and the Church, Lāgīn, freedman of the Victorious King [Ḳalāwūn], on the 10th of Ṣafar, in the year 696." In the false spelling of the last word (ميّة for مئة or مائة), due no doubt to the artizan who executed the carving, it is interesting to observe the popular pronunciation which holds to this day.

[1] Mac. ii. 269.

[2] Aly Pasha Mubāṛak, Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Gadīda, iv. 48. Perhaps, however, this was only the case with the E. Ziāda, which has been used for some such purpose within my own recollection (within the last ten years).

[3] Muḥammad Bey Abu-d'-Dahab was a great man in Egypt during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. He died in 1775, and his biography may be read in Al-Gabarty, i. 417, *sqq.*

[4] "In the enormous quadrangle of the Mosque of Touloun, surrounded with the far-famed arcade of pointed arches, I found that many of them were in process of being walled up, to form cells for lunatic asylums."—Paton, History of Egyptian Revolution, ii. 322 (1st ed. Trübner, 1863). In the preface, the author says that his personal notes and observations were made in 1839, '40, '41, '42, '45, '46. The latest date possible is therefore 1846. Now Clot Bey, in his Aperçu de l'Egypte, published in 1840, while mentioning the Mosque, says nothing of the poorhouse: a sufficient negative proof that it did not exist. Prisse d'Avennes, to whom I owe the fixing of the crime upon Clot Bey (L'Art Arabe d'après les Monuments du Kaire, Paris, 1877, p. 95), puts the date of the poorhouse "not long before the death" of M. 'Aly, who died in '49, but had lost his reason a year before. We cannot, therefore, be far wrong in assigning 1846 as the date of the poorhouse. Nassau Senior (Conversations and Journals in Egypt and Malta, Sampson Low, 1882) must be speaking loosely when he writes, under date Feb. 24, 1856: "The Mosque of the Tooloon . . . *has just* been converted into a poorhouse: the arcades are tenanted by about 100 families." It is worth remarking that when Senior saw the Mosque, the court contained a "grove of palms and sycamores."

who is thus unfortunately connected with one of the most shocking acts of vandalism recorded in the modern history of Egypt. The arcades were built up and formed into a series of cells, and the general effect of the Mosque thus entirely lost, while its degradation in detail was rapidly progressing, under the hands of a couple of hundred of the most ignorant and filthy of the whole population, the smoke of whose fires have blackened the inside of the arcades, while their carelessness or wantonness has dirtied or destroyed most that was within the reach of their hands. This poorhouse was continued until after 1877—I fancy till 1880, but have found no exact record;—it was then closed, and the Mosque left neglected as before. One of the earliest acts of the Committee for the Preservation of the Monuments of Arab Art was to recommend the entire destruction of all walls belonging to the poorhouse;[1] but it was not until last summer (that of 1890) that this very necessary work was accomplished. Every bit of the obstructing walls has now disappeared; but the damage from smoke and ill-usage is irreparable. During the last few months some slight repairs have have been going on; it is proposed to restore all the steps of the great minaret, and the battlements which crown the walls of the Mosque are under repair. About a year ago the Committee issued special tickets at two piastres each (fivepence), with which the visitor to the Mosque must be provided;[2] and now, at

[1] This committee was established by decree of the Khedive, dated 18th December, 1881. See "Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe," Exercice, 1884: Rapports de la deuxième Commission, p. 10.

[2] It is characteristic of Egyptian ways and manners that these tickets (printed in Arabic and French) call the Mosque "Mosquée Touloun" and جامع طولون (instead of Mosquée *Ibn* Touloun, etc.), as indeed is usual amongst the people, and excusable in the ignorant—though they might as well call the Prophet "Abdallah" as call Aḥmad "Ṭūlūn." A very common form in the people's mouth is Ṭailūn (طيلون), instead of Ṭūlūn, and I remark that the name of a street in the neighbourhood of the Mosque has during the last few months actually stuck up as شارع طيلون. The Mosque is still known to the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood as "the poorhouse,"—At-Takya (التكية).

all events, the Mosque is not liable to wanton damage, as the door is kept closed, and a properly paid guardian is on the spot.

I have thus, so far as the materials have permitted, followed down to the present time the history of this Mosque, so interesting from its early date, its comparatively good preservation, its pointed arches, and its massive piers. My aim has been to set forth as clearly and accurately as possible all the pertinent facts obtainable, in the hope that some one with a wider knowledge of early Saracenic architecture may be able to correlate them with other materials drawn from examples in the lands further East and West; that we may thus arrive somewhat nearer to a definite result as to the beginnings of Saracenic architecture in general. Every fact *definitely ascertained* about any early example must lead us nearer to this desired end. Meanwhile, we can only say in the words of the Kur'ān[1]—"With Him are the keys of the hidden things: none knoweth them but He."

APPENDIX I.

Chronological Summary of the Life of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn.

	A.H.	A.D.
Birth of Aḥmad	220	835
Death of Ṭūlūn, marriage of Aḥmad, and journey to Tarsus	240	854
Aḥmad guardian of deposed Musta'īn . .	252–3	866
Aḥmad Governor of Fusṭāṭ	254	868
Aḥmad instated over whole of Egypt . .	256	870
Expedition of Abu Shaikh	258	872
The Ḳaṭā'i' begun	258	872
Aḥmad gets control of the tribute . . .	259	873
The treasure-trove	259	873

[1] vi. 59.

	A.H.	A.D.
The Māristān	259	873
Revolt of Ibn Bugha: the fort on Rōḍa .	263	876–7
The Aqueduct and Well (undated, but before Mosque).		
The Mosque and Dār al Imāra	263–5	876–8
Expedition to Syria	264	877
Rebellion of Al-'Abbās	265	878
Extinction of rebellion	268	881
Mutual depositions of Aḥmad and Al-Muwaffak	269	882
Death of Aḥmad	270	883

APPENDIX II.

The Dedicatory Inscription of Ibn Tūlūn's Mosque.

This inscription, to which reference has been made in note 1, p. 541, is apparently one of two which were formerly attached to the two middle piers on the outside line of the south colonnade, and which, though their former existence was on record, had disappeared for many years. In the summer of 1890 this interesting document was discovered in the course of pulling down the cells which had so long blocked up and disfigured the colonnades. It has been fixed up on the pier to the right of the Miḥrab, in the second (surviving) line from the court, and consists of a slab of coarse-grained white marble: but, as we shall see, a piece $\frac{4}{5}$[1] of this breadth has been cut off the whole of the left side of the slab: at top and bottom it is complete. Its reproduction cannot fail to be interesting, since

[1] Taking the first eight lines of the inscription, which are entirely Koranic, and in which we can therefore restore the missing words to a letter, we find that the surviving portion contains 200 letters, while that to be supplied contains 160, thus giving the proportion between the surviving and the missing of five to four exactly.

it is one of the oldest[1] inscriptions known in Egypt. It is in great part Koranic, but contains also an historical portion, and especially the date. I have therefore thought it worth while to transcribe and translate the whole, line for line, for convenience of comparison with the reproduction of the original, which will be found quite decipherable with the aid of a good glass. The Arabic between brackets is in each case the filling up of the Koranic passage. The blanks between brackets represent the lost part in the historical portion.

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الملك الخ[الق الله لااله الاهو الحى]

2 القيوم لاتأخذه سنة و لانوم [له مافى السماوات ومافى]

3 الارض من ذالذى يشفع عنده الا[لا باذنه يعلم مافى ايدبهم وما]

4 خلفهم ولايحيطون بشئ من علمه الا[بما شأوسع كرسيّه السمانت و]

5 الارض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلى [العظيم محمد رسول الله والذ]

6 ين معه اشدآ على الكفّار رحمأ بينهم تر[اهم ركعاً سجّداً يبتغون فضلا]

7 من الله و رضوانا سيماهم فى وجوه[هم من اثر السجود ذلك مثلهم]

8 فى التورية و ذلك مثلهم فى الانجيل كزرع [اخرج شطئهٗ فازره فاستغلظ]

[1] Indeed, it is the oldest, so far as I know, of any extent and of certain da[illegible] M. Marcel, in the elaborate essay on the Nilometer in the Expédition de l'Egypte (vol. xv. 392, *sqq.*), supposes parts of the surviving inscriptions of that monument to belong to Al-Ma'mūn, A.H. 199 (A.D. 814), and to the two restorations under Al-Mutawakkil, in A.H. 233 (A.D. 847), and A.H. 247 (A.D. 861) respectively. Of these, the last belongs to the reign of Aḥmad himself. In any case, they consist of very few words. I know of no other inscriptions of so early a date. There are early Fāṭimy inscriptions on the minarets of Al-Hākim (inside the later pylonic-looking buttresses, which belong to Baibars Gāshenkīr), and late Fāṭimy ones on the Bab an Naṣr (deciphered by Mr. Kay, Journal of Asiatic Soc. Vol. XVIII. Part 1), and on the Guyūshy Mosque (published by M. van Berchem, Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien, vol. ii.): these are of the dates of A.H. 480 (=A.D. 1087) and A.H. 498 (=A.D. 1104) respectively.

9 فاستوى على سوقه يعجب الزّراع ليغيظ[بهم الكفّار وعد الله
الذين امنوا]

10 وعملوا الصالحات منهم مغفرة وآجرا ء[ظيما كنتم خير
امة اخرجت للناس تا]

11 مرون بالمعروف وتنهون عن المنكر[و تؤمنون بالله ولوامن
اهل الكتاب]

12 لكان خيرلهم انما يعمر مساجد ال[له من امن بالله واليوم
الاخروا]

13 قام الصلوة واتى الذكوة ولم يخش [الا بالله فعسى اولئك ان
يكونوا]

14 من المهتدين امر الامير ابو العباس [,, ,, [1]ذوالنصرال]

15 مبين ادام الله له العزّ والكرامة والنع[م ,, ,,]

16 بانشاء هذا المسجد المبارك المعمو[ر ,, ,,]

17 لجماعة المسلمين ابتغاء رضوان الله و[,, ,,]

18 والفة المؤمنين ورغبة فى عماره ال [,, ,,]

19 به ومداومة ذكره اذيقول الله بقد س[فى بيوت اذن
الله ان ترفع و]

20 يذكر فيها اسمه ويسبّح له فيها بالغدوّ والا[صال رجال لا تلهيهم
تجارة ولا بيع عن]

21 ذكر الله واقام الصلوة وايتاء الزكوة يخا[فون يوما تتقلّب
فيه القلوب والابصار]

22 ليجزيهم الله احسن ماعملوا ويزيد هم من [فضله والله يرزق
من يشاء بغير حساب]

[1] These words are conjecturally supplied, to fit the first word of the next line.

23 فى شهر رمضان من سنة خمس وستين ومأتين [سبحان ربّك رب العزة عمّا يصفون و]

24 سلم على المرسلين والحمد لله رب العالمين الله [مّ صلى على محمد] .

25 وال محمد و بارك على محمد وال محمد كما [باركت على ابراهيم وال ابراهيم]

The translation of the inscription runs as follows:

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the King, the Crea[tor. God![1] There is no God but He, the Living.

2. the Self-subsistent: slumber seizeth Him not, neither sleep: [to Him belongeth what is in the heavens and what is in]

3. the earth. Who is he that intercedeth with Him, but [by His permission? He knoweth what is before them and what is]

4. behind them: and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge but [so far as pleaseth Him. His throne extendeth over the heavens and]

5. the earth, and the preservation of them both fatigueth Him not; and He is the High, [the Great. Muhammad[2] is the Apostle of God, and they]

6. who are with him are fierce against the infidels, com[passionate towards one another. Thou seest [them bowing down, prostrate, seeking favour]

7. and goodwill from God. Their signs are on their fac[es, namely, marks of prostration, This is their description]

[1] Here begins the "Throne-verse," Ḳur'ān ii. 254. (The translation of the Koranic passages is mostly from Sale.)

[2] Here begins Ḳur'ān xlviii. 29.

8. in the Pentateuch, and this is their description in the Gospel: as a seed [which putteth forth its stalk, and strengtheneth it, and swelleth in the ear,]

9. and riseth upon its stem, giving delight unto the sower: that may be indignant [against them the infidels. God has promised to such as believe]

10. of them, and do good works, pardon and a great rew[ard. Ye [1] are the best nation which has been raised up unto mankind: ye com]

11. mand that which is just and ye forbid that which is unjust, [and ye believe in God. And if the people of the book had believed,]

12. it were better for them. But [2] he shall visit the Mosques of G[od who believeth in God and the last day and is con]

13. stant in prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth not [but God alone. These perhaps may be]

14. of the rightly directed. The Prince Abu-l-'Abbās [3] commanded [. . . . . *the Lord of Victory,*[4] *the*]

15. clear; may God continue to him glory and honour and prosperi[ty . . . . .]

16. to build this Mosque, (may it be blessed, and ever visited by worshipper[s . . . . .]

17. for the assembly of the Muslims, seeking the goodwill of God and . . [. . . . .]

18. and the company of the faithful, and wishing to build it [. . . . .]

19. in it, and continuance of his commemoration, since God in His holiness saith, [In [5] the houses which God hath permitted to be raised, and]

[1] Here begins Ḳur'ān iii. 110.

[2] Here begins Ḳur'ān ix. 18.

[3] Here begins the historical part of the inscription. Aḥmad was known as Abu-l'-Abbās, "the father of al-'Abbās," after his rebellious son, of whom we have heard.

[4] The italicized words are a conjecture, founded on the first word of the next line. "Lord of clear victory" is a phrase in the style of such inscriptions, and is founded on Ḳur'ān xlviii. 1.

[5] Here begins Ḳur'ān xxiv. 36.

20. that His name be commemorated therein; men celebrate His praise in the same in the morning and the eve[ning, whom neither merchandise nor selling diverteth from]

21. the remembrance of God, and the observance of prayer, and the giving of alms: they fe[ar a day whereon men's hearts and eyes shall be troubled:]

22. that God may recompense them the best that they have wrought, and increase to them of [His grace: and God bestoweth on whom He pleaseth without measure.]

23. In the month of Ramaḍān, of the year five and sixty and two hundred.[1] [Praise[2] be unto thy Lord who is far exalted above what they affirm! and]

24. bless the Apostles, and praise be to God the Lord of the worlds. O Go[d, bless Muḥammad]

25. and the family of Muḥammad, and bestow blessing on Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad, even as [thou didst bestow blessing on Abraham and the family of Abraham!][2]

[1] Ramaḍān, A.H. 265, when the Mosque was dedicated, began on the 27th of April, A.D. 879. This inscription is therefore more than 1000 years old.

[2] Kur'ān xxxvii. 180 (down to "of the worlds.") The rest, being a fixed formula, can be safely filled up.

Art. XIV.—*Russian Central Asia.* By C. E. Biddulph M.R.A.S.

Such a cloud of mystery has from time immemorial involved the regions comprised under the somewhat vague designation of Central Asia, and so many misconceptions exist regarding that portion of them which has come under Russian rule, that it appears to me to be most desirable that any one who has visited those parts and thus had an opportunity of judging, however superficially, for himself, should do his best to convey to the public his unbiassed impressions on the subjects which have come under his notice, and this all the more that the general vagueness of the information obtainable hitherto on these points and the various misconceptions arising therefrom have formed the great obstacles to a satisfactory mutual understanding between the two great European Powers which should be working together in unison for the amelioration of the conditions of the Asiatic populations which Providence and their own individual energy and enterprise have brought under their respective rules, instead of, as has been too unfortunately the case more often hitherto, watching one another's progress with jealousy and distrust, and making use of every available opportunity of criticizing unfavourably the results, and depreciating or misrepresenting the motives of one another's policy.

There is but little doubt that the remoteness and inaccessibility of these regions has been a great temptation to the few European travellers who have succeeded in penetrating to them in past times to draw upon their imaginations a good deal in their descriptions of what they had seen on their return to their homes, and the ground has been

prepared for such exaggeration on their part by the daring hyperbolisms with which the various Oriental writers on Central Asian matters have—doubtless with a view to currying favour with the several despots at whose courts they resided—depicted the wonders and magnificence to be found there. To an Anglo-Indian, for instance, it is difficult to understand on what grounds any one of the ruined cities contained within the district of Old Merv could have been imagined to be deserving of such a superlatively pretentious title as that of "Shah-i-Jahan," or "Queen of the World"; this title is, however, only a degree more audacious in the claims which it advances than that assigned to the now existing city of Bokhara of "Al Sherif" or "the Noble." As a matter of fact, the city of Bokhara does not, in the present, constitute half as fine a town as, say, Ahmedabad, or a hundred similar cities in India, and has no traces of any pretensions to former grandeur that could bear comparison with those to be found within or in the neighbourhood of these latter, while there is nothing to be seen about the remains of the ruined cities of Merv which would lead one to suppose that those in the past were any larger or finer than the city of Bokhara is in the present time. It is, indeed, fortunate alike for the outside world and for those more immediately concerned that the mist of ages which has hitherto imparted a fictitious glamour to these regions, from the mysterious interest attaching to the vague outlines visible from time to time through it, should now be beginning to rise and dissolve in earnest, thanks to the introduction of the Railway and the Electric Light, for these prosaic and uncompromising revealers of facts have shown that, what appeared in the distance to be a mirage of Oriental splendour and luxuriance, is, in reality, nothing but a repetition of the squalor and sordidness characteristic of most Asiatic countries. In the case of the city of Bokhara the beauty of the lineaments of its outline are still, as far as the organs of sight and scent are concerned, a great deal too pronounced to suit European tastes, for a more filthy and neglected town could hardly be seen any-

where, even in a native state in India, while there is still enough remaining of the ruined cities of Merv to give an idea of how abominable must have been their condition in the past. Travellers to these parts, like those to all out-of-the-way places, have, in fact, been ashamed to come back to their homes without some wonderful tales to tell of what they had seen, and have, in consequence, been prepared to see wonders and beauties where no such existed except in their imagination. Samarcand is in reality the only city in Central Asia that has any fine remains which would bear witness to its former grandeur, and these, dilapidated as is their present condition, after the wear and tear of so many ages, are undoubtedly still most imposing in the spectacle which they present. Again, were it not that all such exaggerations are characteristic of Asiatics, it would fill one with wonder to think of the extravagance of the terms in which the old writers have described the populousness and natural resources of these supposedly favoured regions; there is nothing about the districts now comprehensively designated as Trans-Caspia, that is, the region stretching east from the banks of the Caspian Sea to the borders of China and Afghanistan, which would lead one to believe that they have ever been much more thickly inhabited than they are now; the existing villages are but few and far between, even in the most favoured portions, and there are hardly any signs that they ever could have been very much more numerous in the past; if indeed the ruined cities of Bairam Ali and Sultan Sanjar in the Merv district are to be taken as any criterion of the former populousness of these regions, then the only deduction to be drawn from a careful inspection of their sites is, that the population in the past must have been infinitely less than what it is popularly imagined to have been, for, neither of these ruined cities cover an extent of ground one-half as great as that occupied by the present city of Bokhara, and it is difficult to imagine that either of them could have contained a population exceeding at the utmost 50,000 to 60,000 persons, crowded together, as these would naturally

be, in an Asiatic town, in a way which would be impossible with Europeans. Beyond this it is obvious that to maintain such a numerous population as is supposed to have existed in this neighbourhood in bygone ages a very extensive area of cultivated land would be required, whereas, whatever may be the degree of fertility of the soil, and there is no question that this is most astonishing in places, the amount of water supply available—without which the richest soil is as valueless and incapable of supporting life as the sands of the desert—is limited in the extreme, while there is nothing to be seen which would impress one with a belief that it was ever very much more abundant in past times than it is now.

The only rivers available for irrigation are the Oxus, the Zarafshan, the Murghab and some minor streams; of these the Oxus and the Zarafshan both appear to be streams which it would be most difficult to make use of for this purpose, owing to the fact that they partake more of the nature of mountain torrents than of steadily flowing rivers: their beds are broad and shallow and choked up with the débris of sand and shingle which is carried into them by the heavy floods which periodically rush through them on the occasion of the melting of the snows at their sources amongst the highlands of the Pamir or the mountains of the Hindoo Khoosh, and which not only fill their channels but wander wildly over the country on either margin, thus making all attempts at retaining the main volume of the river within a fixed course well nigh impracticable; at other times the beds of these rivers contain an almost indefinite number of separate streams which seldom unite but wander about independently amongst a complete labyrinth of ridges and sandbanks, such as must ever effectually preclude the possibility of their waters being made use of to any practical extent for purposes of navigation. It is thus easy to see how very difficult it would be to evolve any such extensive scheme of irrigation from the waters of these rivers as would materially alter the character of the country through which their courses lie; in the case of the Oxus, it might be said

to be almost impossible to carry out an enterprise of this nature except on such a limited scale that the advantages thus to be gained from its waters would be almost infinitesimal compared with their volume, while in that of the Zarafshan, the benefits actually derived from this stream have been much exaggerated in the past, and indeed up to quite recent days. The hyperbolism implied by the epithet Zarafshan or "Gold-scatterer" is on a par with that which has been made use of in describing Bokhara as "the Noble," and Merv as "the Queen of the World;" it is thoroughly Oriental in its character, and must be taken to imply not a river that spreads any great amount of wealth over a large extent of country, but one along the banks of which a limited stretch of highly cultivated land has sprung up in an otherwise barren and desolate region; if one may compare mole-hills to mountains, the relation of the Zarafshan and the area irrigated by its waters to the deserts through which it flows, present very much the same aspect as may be seen in the case of the Indus in Sind, or in that of the Nile above Cairo in Egypt. In the same way the size of both the Oxus and the Zarafshan have been very much exaggerated, for the bed of the Oxus, though stretching over an immense breadth, did not appear to me to contain one-quarter of the volume of water of the Indus or Ganges, while the Zarafshan, at the time I saw it, near Samarcand, consisted of half a dozen distinct streams wandering through a waste of sand and shingle, none of which were more than about two or three feet in depth. Altogether the extent of land irrigated from this stream [redacted] extremely limited, in comparison with that which is [redacted]ying waste from want of irrigation, and the productive capabilities of this district seemed to me to be very much overrated, unless it were possible to find some means of very much enlarging the present area of cultivation; that this would be possible to some extent by a more careful management of the water supply is doubtless the case; but it must be taken into consideration that, even if this were done, and the difficulties resulting from the shallowness of

the channels constituting this river, and their liability to be torn up periodically by heavy floods, were overcome, the valley through which the river flows is itself limited, its area being confined on either side by highlands and mountain ranges; at the same time such area must be considerably in excess of that put down in a footnote of a recent work on Russia in Central Asia (Curzon, p. 206), where it is estimated at only 287 square miles exclusive of the province of Ferghana; for the length of the Samarcand Valley alone is upwards of fifty miles, while its average breadth must be not less than thirty miles; this would give an area of about 1500 square miles, of irrigated or irrigable land, and, as far as could be judged from such superficial observations as could be made without exploring the district, this would be about the amount actually brought under cultivation. In Bokharan territory the surface of the ground in the neighbourhood of the line of rail appeared to be suited to purposes of irrigation on a much more extensive scale, as here the mountains and highlands receded to a distance from the course of the river, leaving in their place extensive plains; but here again the supply of water was evidently far inferior to that procurable in the Samarcand, and quite insufficient for the needs of the land actually under cultivation, let alone the possibility of extending this area; this is probably owing to the fact that the Russians, being in command of the sources of the stream, naturally make every provision that the requirements of their own immediate subjects should be supplied to the full, before passing on the water required for their dependent the Amir of Bokhara.

I have dwelt upon the point of the actual and possible capabilities of these districts more particularly for two reasons: firstly, because there appear to be no grounds for believing that they ever were more productive in the past, or thus capable of supporting a larger population than is now found inhabiting them; from which it follows that the accounts of the tens and hundreds of thousands slaughtered by the Tartar and other invaders, such as Jenghiz Khan and

Tamerlane, must have been mere Oriental exaggerations; and secondly, because much stress has been laid upon the supposed abundance of the resources of all kind to be found in them, such as it was imagined would be sufficient to render Russia independent of any necessity of relying upon supplies to be procured from Europe, and thus constitute for her a fresh base upon the very borders of Afghanistan, in the event of her seriously contemplating an onward move into that country or towards India.

The amount of water available from the minor streams which flow through the several oases of Merv, Tejend, Kizil Arvat, etc., appears, as has been stated, to be very limited as compared with the vast extent of land which might be made use of for purposes of cultivation, were a more abundant supply forthcoming. The whole of the region extending from Kizil Arvat to Merv possesses soil of unquestionably the most wonderfully fertile nature, and, were the rainfall heavier, or were it traversed by larger streams, it would most probably become in course of time, as its population increased, a very exceptionally productive tract of country; but while its rainfall is insufficient and unreliable for agricultural purposes, there appears to be no possibility of procuring such a supply of water as would give a chance of a full development to the intrinsic capabilities of the soil; a more careful management of the present supply would indeed doubtless give an immense increase to the extent of land now under cultivation; still such an increase would be but small compared with what might be possible, were a sufficient volume of water available for this purpose; but, whereas it would require an Indus or a Ganges to give these regions a fair chance of showing their powers of production, the only streams existing for this purpose are the Murghab and others of a similar calibre; of which the Murghab, as seen at Merv, does not appear to contain a greater volume of water than say the Wye at Hereford. It is true that the Russians are a people that are not to be daunted by difficulties, and they have shown their determination to make the most of the resources

contained in their recent acquisitions in Central Asia by the various works of construction and engineering which they have taken in hand, and, should they succeed in rendering the whole volume of the water of this river available for purposes of irrigation, according to their present schemes, a very large increase of cultivation will ensue in the Merv Oasis at any rate; but even then, this extent would be but a drop in the ocean, compared with the thousands of square miles of rich soil stretching thence towards the Caspian, of which, as far as one may judge, it will never be possible to render but a comparatively small portion of any practical use for the support of human life. While on this subject, it may be mentioned that the term oasis is somewhat of a misnomer as applied to the several cultivated tracts distinguished as Merv, Tejend, Akhal Teppe, Kizil Arvat, etc, as by its use it is generally implied that the tract surrounding such an oasis of more or less watered land is of the nature of sands or desert, utterly insusceptible of cultivation under the most favourable circumstances; whereas, in the case of the region extending from Kizil Arvat to Merv, the soil is throughout this extent equally remarkable for its fertility wherever water can be found, as is shown by the luxuriance of the growth of grass in places where water has accumulated; in spring, moreover, after the winter rains and the melting of the snow, it is clothed all over with dense verdure, of which the traces may still be seen even at the end of the hot season, in the débris of withered grass and dried-up stalks with which the surface of the ground is littered.

The fanatical and turbulent demeanour of the inhabitants of Central Asia, particularly of those of Bokhara, is another myth which has been entirely done away with by a more intimate acquaintance with these populations, and a more careful appreciation of the position which their European conquerors have acquired amongst them. To understand how this is the case it is necessary to notice briefly the distinctions between the several races found in these parts; these may be divided into those of Tartar and Turkish

descent. The Kirghiz constitute the Tartar element, the Tajiks that of Aryan or Persian descent, while the Usbegs are Turcomans of the same origin as the inhabitants of Merv, Tejend, Akhal Teppe, and the territory reaching to the Caspian, not to say the Turks themselves of Istambul, and the so-miscalled Mogul conquerors of India. A very short stay in Samarcand or Bokhara is sufficient to enable any one accustomed to associating with Asiatic peoples to distinguish between these races by their physical characteristics and modes of life. The Tajiks or Sarts, as they are called indifferently, constitute the town population, and all speak Persian; they appear a docile, hardworking people; the majority of those inhabiting the towns are engaged in various forms of trade and mercantile pursuits; besides those in Samarcand itself, great numbers are employed in the households of the European residents there, in every sort of work, domestic or otherwise. The servants are all Tajiks, so are the gardeners, bakers, butchers, labourers, etc., etc. The Usbegs and the Kirghiz on the other hand speak mostly only Turki and Tartar; they constitute the rural population, and seldom visit the towns except upon market days; they are of quite a different temperament to that of the Tajiks, being less commercial in their tastes, and more reserved in their demeanour towards Europeans; that they are of perfectly distinct origin is apparent from their physiognomy, the features of the Kirghiz being markedly of the Mongolian or Tartar type, while there is nothing about those of the Usbeg to distinguish him from the ordinary Turcoman or Turk; they keep completely distinct from one another moreover, living in separate villages, and do not, as I was informed, ever intermarry: how then such a meaningless term as that of Turko-Tartar as a comprehensive designation for these races ever came into existence, it is difficult to imagine: it would be almost as sensible to describe the inhabitants of the British Isles as an Anglo-Irish-Scotch-Welsh race, indeed a great deal more so, for these races do intermarry, whereas the Usbegs and Kirghiz do not.

As regards the population of Bokhara itself, it differs in

no material respect from that of Samarcand; the town population is composed mainly of Tajiks, who, as I have said, are a quiet industrious people, while the rural population is composed almost exclusively of Usbeg Turcomans, who have no more peculiar attributes of fanaticism or ferocity in their character than their fellow-countrymen in the adjacent districts directly under Russian rule. The evil character which Bokhara has gained amongst Europeans is merely owing to the fact of the former remoteness and inaccessibility of its position, and the consequent immunity which successive tyrants ruling there have enjoyed from any retribution for their atrocious treatment of such hapless European travellers as may have fallen into their hands from time to time. Now that their relative positions have been changed, and the European has become the master of the position, the whole population has apparently accepted the altered state of affairs, in the same way as would be the case with any other Asiatic people, and, while the Ruler has become a mere puppet, his subjects have every appearance of fully appreciating the benefits to be derived from the change of régime, and to be quite prepared to transfer their allegiance to the "de facto" ruling element, as soon as they may be permitted to do so; in the meantime they are contented to continue their recognition of the nominal ruler, as being the accepted medium of communication with the former. As to any patriotic wish for independence, or fanatical aversion to the Feringhi, I do not believe that such feelings exist, for to all accounts the principal ambition of the greater part is, by any pretext which can be adduced, to obtain the privilege of naturalization as Russian subjects for the sake of the benefits which it confers, while numbers of Russian tradesmen and merchants occupy houses in various parts of the town, and live amongst their Mussulman neighbours with as much apparent confidence and security as if they were in their own country. No greater proof of the absolute confidence which the Russian Government has in the demeanour of the population of Bokhara could be found than in the fact that the Political Resident there occupies quarters in

the very midst of the town with a guard of only twenty Cossacks maintained evidently more for show than for protection, as the only troops procurable, in case of any emeute or disturbance, would be from Samarcand, whence they could not be brought under a delay of at least twenty-four hours. The Bokhara of history, with its horrible associations of the sufferings endured there by our own fellow-countrymen, may thus be considered as completely a myth of the past as any Greek legend; it only existed at all in the light in which it appeared in past ages, owing to its inaccessibility and the consequent impossibility of bringing anything more than a moral influence to bear upon it, a fact which its barbarous rulers were fully aware of; now that it is traversed by roads and railways, and overawed by European troops, it is no different from any part of the India of the present, and we, of all nations, are the last that should indulge in maudlin and sentimental regrets over the barbarities and abominations of the régime which has ceased to exist; rather should we offer our hearty congratulations to the introducers of the change as benefactors to no slight extent of the human race.

The difficulties attending the construction of the line of rail from the Caspian to Samarcand, and its maintenance in efficient working order, would appear to have been alike made too much of. That it evinced a spirit of the greatest resolution and enterprise to commence a work of such a magnitude, through so barren and apparently profitless a region, is beyond question; but once that the work had been commenced, the only difficulty to be encountered was in bringing forward the materials from Europe, and, as far as the line beyond Askabad was concerned, laying them down with sufficient speed to attain the object required, which undoubtedly at the time was of a strategic nature, for the course taken as far as the Merv oasis is over country as level as the plains of the Punjaub, with the exception of the first thirty or forty miles. The only real difficulty encountered has been in the crossing the tract of country intervening between the Merv oasis and the banks of the Oxus. For the first sixty miles or so of this extent,

the sand hills of which it is composed are stationary, and evidently in the spring covered with rank vegetation, the remnants of which could be seen in the withered grass and stalks of plants with which the surface was strewn. Underneath the surface too, where it had been cut through, could be seen a layer of closely matted roots, which extended to a depth of from two or three feet in most places; the obstacle offered to the carrying of the line of rail through these sands must, to all appearance, have been trifling. After traversing these, the railway enters upon what are termed the "Moving sands," that is, those which, throughout the year, are destitute of any vegetation at all such as would bind them together, and are thus in constant motion, being wafted to and fro, according to the quarter from which the wind happens to be blowing at the time. These, in the first case, must have occasioned a great deal of trouble in the laying down of the line, but now that this has been completed, and, moreover, well ballasted throughout, they present no further obstacle to the progress of the trains, as I was assured by several Russian engineers, than does the snow in the winter in most parts of Russia. In any case, the delay resulting from an accumulation of sand upon this portion of the line, which only extends for about thirty to forty miles, would not be of more than a few hours' duration. Whatever may have been the condition of this railway a year or two ago, it is now, to all appearance, most solidly and substantially constructed throughout the whole distance. This is probably owing to the fact that the Russians have been working steadily to improve it bit by bit, ever since its first opening for traffic; it is not indeed metalled throughout, but this has been done wherever there appeared to be any urgent necessity for it, as, for instance, through the stretches of sand referred to; and, doubtless, this work will be carried out gradually through its whole extent, as quantities of material were being quarried at various places, apparently for this purpose. The weak point about the communication by rail is, as would be expected, the bridge over the Oxus, which, being constructed

entirely of wood, must necessarily be liable to break down at any time in case of a flood, or in the event of its being exposed to any abnormal strain; but such an occurrence would not break off the connection with Samarcand to any serious extent, as abundance of rolling stock and material is available on the further side of the river, and passengers and goods could easily be conveyed across by boats. In any case, the interruption to through traffic occasioned by such an occurrence would be only of a temporary character, for the very fact of the bridge being made of wood would facilitate its repair, abundant supplies of this material being kept in store for the purpose. The important part which this railway has played, independently of all other considerations, in consolidating the newly-acquired territories through which it passes, and pacifying the population contained therein, is beyond all estimation; as we have had ample experience of in India and other similar parts of our possessions, the introduction of a railway acts like magic in reducing to order the most turbulent and troublesome races, and such has been the case with the Turcoman and other inhabitants of these parts. Already cowed by sanguinary and disastrous conflicts, the civilizing influences of the railway and other innovations seem to have reduced them to a ready and willing submission to the rule of their conquerors, and completely diverted their thoughts from the old channels of rapine and bloodshed, in which they had run for centuries, to the peaceful occupations of agriculture and commerce. The trains now traverse the entire distance of nine hundred miles from Uzun Ada to Samarcand, in three days and two nights, or about sixty hours, and thus average a speed of fifteen miles an hour, including stoppages, or a running speed of about twenty miles an hour. This pace must frequently be exceeded, as the delays at the stations are very long, so that from time to time a speed of quite thirty miles must have been attained; there cannot thus be much that is faulty about the construction of a line of rail which can bear constant heavy trains running over it at this rate.

The excursion of which I was a member was conducted under the management of the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons Lits, and nothing would offer a greater contrast to the experiences of former travellers, or furnish a stronger proof of the altered condition of affairs now existing, than the ease and comfort which characterized it throughout. From the moment of leaving Paris, till that of arriving at Samarcand, the only hardship to be encountered was that of changing from one comfortable, not to say luxurious, sleeping car or saloon carriage to another, or to the saloon of a steamer. It seemed, indeed, as one passed station after station on the Trans-Caspian Railway, and alighted for a cup of tea at that of Geok Teppe, or to breakfast, lunch, or dine, as the case might be, at those of Merv, Amu Darya, and Bokhara, and found there well-built and carefully-kept stations surrounded by bright little gardens, and containing all the necessary appurtenances of waiting-rooms, refreshment-rooms, etc., hardly possible to realize the fact that but a few years had elapsed since some of these had been the scenes of the most desperate and sanguinary encounters between the introducers of all these modern innovations and the barbarous inhabitants of the country, while others had only been visited at the risk of their lives by a few daring and intrepid explorers. Such, however, is the magic influence of modern science and civilization that, like a fairy wand, it reduces in a moment, as it were, the most savage and turbulent specimens of the human race to peace and submission, and causes houses and gardens and fountains to spring out of the very sands of the desert at its touch. Comparatively little interest would be aroused in the breast of the traveller whose object it is to study the resources of the country and the social condition of its inhabitants, until he finds himself approaching the Kizil Arvat oasis, where, after traversing a weary stretch of sand and desert, such as is calculated to predispose him against the region to which he is receiving such an unpromising introduction, he makes his first acquaintance with the Trans-Caspian territory under its more favourable aspect; passing through patches

of cultivated ground, irrigated by streams of running water, he may descry far, far away in the distance, a jet rising from a fountain, which thus marks the position of the station. Here is a great railway depôt and changing station for engines, which, if the traveller's approach be made by night, he will find all lighted up by the electric light. The country through which the line of rail passes from this point onwards as far as Merv, reminds one very strongly of that traversed by the railway between Jacobabad and Sibi in Upper Sind, or Kutchi, as this particular portion is called. On one side the landscape is closed in by barren storm-swept ranges of mountains, rising almost precipitously out of the plains, absolutely destitute, as far as is discernible, of the slightest trace of vegetation, while, on the other side, a boundless expanse of level ground stretches away to the horizon, as far as ever the eye can reach, without a hillock or a tree of any dimensions to break the monotony of the view. The soil of these plains, moreover, seemed to be of a quality very similar to that of the Pat—as the vast extents of uncultivated land so familiar to the dweller in Sind are called—and, like the latter, apparently was possessed of the most extraordinary productive properties, for wherever water was available, appeared flourishing villages, surrounded by gardens and orchards, and fields covered with crops of various descriptions; while, that the rest of the land as yet lying waste was possessed of similar powers of production, was proved by the fact that in places where the water had been allowed to run to waste, or had not been made use of, sometimes at great distances from any village site, the most luxuriant stretches of grass jungle had sprung up; and, again, that, where this was not the case, and no signs of the neighbourhood of running water at any time of the year were apparent, the whole of the surface of the ground was covered with the débris of grass and plants, which bore witness to the richness of the vegetation which it produced in the spring, after the melting of the snows and the winter rains, when the whole landscape is said to be one of the most brilliant green, dotted

with flowers of every hue. That this might be the case could be easily imagined by an Anglo-Indian from the effect which may be seen to be produced upon the arid plains of Sind or the Punjaub after the bursting of the monsoon, when grass and flowers spring up like magic on all sides. It is thus, as has been pointed out, a mistake to describe this region as a "desert," by which is generally implied a tract of country devoid of any productive capabilities, even under the most favourable circumstances. It is rather like the Punjaub, one containing, to a considerable extent, an alluvial soil, of an exceptionally high degree of fertility, which only requires a sufficient supply of water to be capable of an almost unlimited degree of development;—and there of course is the difficulty—for the only streams visible as far as the Tejend and the Murghab are paltry in their volume, and quite unequal to such a task, however much the present state of things may be improved by a more careful management of their waters such as would enable the supply thus available to go much further than it does now, and perhaps extend it, by constructing artificial water-courses from the mountains to the south, in which all these streams take their source.

The analogy between the districts comprising "Trans-Caspia," that is, the extent through which the railway runs from the Caspian to the Oxus and Sind or the Punjaub, exists, as may be expected, only as far as regards appearance and physical characteristics. The climates of the two countries will, of course, bear no comparison, and there is nothing more absurd than the impressions regarding that of India, which seem to prevail amongst the majority of Russians, officers and others, with whom we were brought in contact. Being, as they are, natives of an exceptionally cold climate, with no colonies or possessions such as would give them an idea of the degree of heat of which a tropical climate is capable, it seemed beyond their powers of conception to imagine a temperature higher than that which they were liable to experience in Trans-Caspia. This of course was very high compared to that of European countries

in the same season, but still was trifling in its effects, as compared to that of India, though the thermometer stood in the train by which we were travelling, on more than one occasion, some degrees over 100° Fahrenheit; still, as every visitor to tropical countries is well aware, the actual degree of temperature is no criterion of the effects resulting from exposure to the sun; it is the directness of the rays that the European feels. As is well known, Europeans in Australia can work out of doors without any further covering to their heads than that which they would wear in Europe, in a temperature which, as registered by the thermometer, is equal to that recorded in many places in India in the hot weather; and yet, if any European were simply to walk about in India with no more protection to his head in such a temperature, let alone attempt manual labour, he would probably die in an hour or two of sunstroke. If any proof were required of the difference of the effects of the rays of the sun, even in very high temperatures in the Central Asian regions, as contrasted with those experienced in India, it might be found in the fact that, both men and officers, though clad in white, found sufficient protection was afforded to their heads by wearing a plain white linen covering completely devoid of padding over the ordinary regulation flat cap. When good-humouredly teased by our Russian companions—as was frequently the case, for they seemed to think the matter a capital joke—on the subject of our national alarms regarding an invasion of India, I used always to reply that personally I should be only too delighted to entertain the survivors if they would consent to march their forces down the Bolan Pass and across Upper Sind in the hot weather, with nothing further on their heads than they then wore. This they did not seem to believe in, and, like the majority of Englishmen who have never been in India in the hot weather—travelling M.P.s included—evidently considered my accounts of the climate of India as only travellers tales invented to impose upon them.

After Kizil Arvat, the next place of interest at which

the train stopped was Geok Teppe; the station being close by the famous enclosure, there was just time enough to run out to look at it. The walls appeared to me very much smaller in their dimensions of height and thickness than I had imagined from previous descriptions, probably owing to the fact that in India one is so accustomed to the sight of structures of this kind that they do not impress one in the same way in which they would a visitor from Europe, fresh to such scenes. In surveying the site and the neighbouring country, one could not but be struck by the unaccountable spirit of infatuation which must have impelled the Turcomans to deliberately place themselves at the mercy of their invaders, by entrenching themselves behind these walls, on a piece of level ground commanded by hills, or, at any rate, rising ground at a distance of only about one or two miles. They could not possibly have taken more certain steps to ensure their own ruin by any possible contrivance; whereas, if they had only taken to the hills, or scattered themselves over the plain, and laid in wait for convoys and detached parties, as Afghans or Beloochees would have done under similar circumstances, they might have almost indefinitely protracted the advance of the Russian troops. It could not but strike one, as one stood upon the walls of Geok Teppe, what an infinity of trouble and complications of all sorts would have been saved us upon various occasions in the course of our frontier difficulties in India, if we could only, in the first instance, now some fifty years ago, have induced 30,000 or 40,000 Afghans to shut themselves fast up there in a similar position, and wait there, till we had succeeded in annihilating the greater portion of them; for it is very much to be doubted if, half a century ago, when we were fonder of acting than of talking, and less the slaves to maudlin sentiment than we are now, we could have resisted the temptation to make the most of the opportunity thus afforded of making an impression that would have immediately secured us as firm a hold upon the country as the Russians have attained in Trans-Caspia by their stroke at Geok Teppe. That any

real cruelty is involved by such drastic measures is very much to be questioned, for Asiatics are moved by no qualms of mercy or compassion in their treatment of one another; and it is unfortunately beyond all doubt that the rules by which Europeans should be guided in their dealings with them must always be based upon essentially different lines from those on which they would conduct themselves towards one another, if they would secure a position of predominance. It might indeed be argued with considerable reason that, even if the results attained by the respective procedures were equally successful, it is more merciful in the end to strike once and for all, than to adopt a policy of half measures, and be thus compelled to repeat the blow time after time. Our frontier wars have occasioned us infinitely more loss of life and expense in comparison, than any war the Russians have undertaken in the acquisition of their Trans-Caspian provinces, and probably caused a great deal more suffering in the end to the populations against which they were conducted. If women and children were killed in the heat of conflict in considerable numbers at the taking of Geok Teppe and on other occasions, it must not be forgotten that great numbers of the same must have perished as the result of our frontier operations from hunger and exposure, in consequence of the destruction of their homes, and the devastation of their crops. The Afghans, however, have always shown themselves a great deal too cautious to fall into a trap such as that into which the Turcomans fell upon this occasion, much less construct one of the kind for themselves; and while they have always swarmed in thousands to attack us at a disadvantage, and never failed to collect to intercept a convoy or a detached body of troops whenever a favourable opportunity of doing so presented itself, we have always experienced the utmost difficulty in getting enough of them together at a time to make an impression on them when the advantage has been on our side. In fine, if it were a piece of the most inconceivable infatuation on the part of the Turcomans to devise such a scheme as the building of Geok Teppe to oppose the Russian

advance, it was nothing less than a special dispensation of Providence which impelled them to adhere to it; for the result has been that they have received such a lesson as has entirely altered the social conditions of the country; and while the difficulties and dangers under which the operations of agriculture had been carried on up till this date were amply demonstrated by the fortified condition of the villages and the numerous little mud watch towers, with which the fields were dotted, the absolute needlessness of any such precautions, under the present regime, was amply exemplified by the numbers of unarmed villagers, which could be seen moving to and fro between the villages. The peasant can thus now cultivate his ground and raise his crops in complete security from all possibility of annoyance.

There is little apparently about Askabad, the next station on the line of any consequence, that would tempt the traveller to stop there unless he have ample leisure. It is merely what would be called in India a big Military Cantonment, like Mhow, Nassurabad, or a dozen others, and is thoroughly European in character. Merv, on the contrary, further on, is full of interest to an Englishman, as having been the subject of so much discussion and inquietude. The extravagance of the hyperbolism which dignified the commonplace cities, of which the ruins are now strewn over the neighbourhood of Old Merv, with such a pretentious title as that of "the Queen of the World," may have been excusable on the part of an Oriental who cannot express himself on the commonest subjects, except in terms of the most ridiculous exaggeration, but how any native of the British Isles which contain a population that has always had the credit, amongst the nations of the continent of Europe, of being conspicuous for its coolness and moderation of expression, could ever have been found capable of applying to those plains—for not even a town or building had been existent there since the destruction of the city of Bairam Ali, until quite recently—an epithet of such absurdity in the misconceptions which it suggests, as that describing it as "the

Key of India," it is difficult to imagine. Had some rich and populous city marked the spot, and had it been the centre of a highly cultivated and flourishing district, there would have been some possible grounds for the exaggerated importance thus assigned it,—though, what with Herat, and Cabul, and Balkh, and Kashmir, so many keys of a similar description have been invented that it is difficult for any one of a practical turn of mind to understand which is the actual one that is to unlock, to an invading army, the gate into our Indian possessions. But while Old Merv consists of nothing but bare plains covered with the wrecks of ancient cities, but destitute of all signs of habitation, the pretensions to importance of New Merv are limited to the existence there of the unfinished embankment commenced by the Turcomans in 1881, to oppose the Russians, and abandoned, after the completion of only three of its sides; and the location on the banks of the Murghab, close by, of a semi-European town, which owes its existence, as much to the fact of a weekly market being held in the neighbourhood, as to its being the headquarters of the small body of troops which constitute the garrison of this district. The surrounding country is, however, fairly well populated, and several villages were visible in the distance. Most fortunately, the day we spent here happened to be market day; and we, consequently, had the opportunity of visiting a very interesting scene in the place where it was held, within Koushid Khan's enclosure. It was quite astonishing to see the dense crowd of Turcomans which collected there, in the course of the day, and equally difficult to imagine whence so great numbers could have sprung from, in the midst of such an apparently sparsely inhabited country. It is probable, however, that the scantiness of the villages here may be misleading to a visitor fresh to these parts, in the estimate which he would form therefrom of the numbers of the population, as the Kibitka is the dwelling which the Turcoman prefers to live in, even pitching these, for this purpose, round his house, in the cases in which he is the proud possessor of such a proof of an advanced civilization, as

was noticeable on more than one occasion. Wherever the throngs which crowded the market-place may have come from, however, there they were; and all the morning, till some time past noon, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood kept pouring in from all sides; many of them seemed to have come from great distances, to judge from the marks which their horses bore of dust and perspiration. They all wore the national head-dress, which of course adds very much to the apparent height of the wearer, and equally exaggerates his ferocity of appearance; the rest of their dress consists of a long, loose dressing-gown-looking sort of garment, with a band or "Kummerbund" wound round the waist. From their aspect in this costume, it was easy to imagine what a demoralizing effect a mob of such figures, with naked swords brandished in their hands, and yelling and howling, as all Asiatics do on such occasions, must have had, when charging down upon a body of opponents from among the less warlike populations in their neighbourhood. In the market, business was pretty brisk; the principal articles in demand being padded coats for the approaching cold weather, sheepskin caps, and green tea. The latter appeared to be much sought after, and was of the kind of which great quantities are to be seen for sale in the shops in Samarcand, namely, Indian green tea. Since returning, a paragraph has appeared in the papers to the effect that the Russian Finance Minister, who has recently made a tour in Trans-Caspia, proposes to raise the duty upon this article of trade. This, to my idea, will be a mistake, as this tea is much prized amongst these races, as being the only thing which a strict Muhammadan can take by way of a stimulant, and they are in consequence devoted to it beyond all measure. There is no time of the day at which they may not be seen sipping it; and no visit is made, or business transacted, without the discussion, at the same time, of a cup of tea: it holds, in fact, as strong a place in the affection of the Afghan, the Turcoman, and similar races, as does coffee in those of the Turk or Arab; any procedure, in consequence, which would increase its price very much, and thus make it

beyond their means to indulge in it as much as formerly, will be very much felt. If the same kind of tea were procurable in any part of Russian territory, the case would be a different one, for the Russian government would, of course, be quite justified in protecting its own produce by a protective duty upon imported tea; but such is not the case, for the art of manufacturing this quality of tea, especially affected by the inhabitants of Central Asia, is only properly understood by our own tea-planters in India, who have spent years in studying the method of preparing tea suited to the taste of its market.

The proceedings were marked by their orderliness throughout, there was no wrangling or disturbance, and the entire absence of the din and clamour which characterizes an Indian bazaar was quite remarkable. It was curious to observe, amongst this countless crowd of those who but a few years before had been the most desperate and fanatical opponents of their present rulers, numbers of Russian soldiers wandering about exchanging jests with those engaged in driving bargains, and yet absolutely unarmed, while not a policeman or an armed man of any description was discernible for the purpose of maintaining the peace. Indeed, to judge from appearances, such a contingency as the possibility of any kind of breach of it occurring never seemed to have been even contemplated by the authorities.

Amongst the Russians the Turcomans have a high character for a certain kind of honour, which makes it possible to trust them with any charge, while they would die sooner than break a pledge once given, and in this, they offer a marked contrast to the Afghans, who are bye words throughout the East for their treachery and duplicity. In general terms they appeared to resemble in character the Beloochees, who inhabit the mountains which border upon Upper Sind, and the Punjaub, with this distinction—that they do not seem of by any means so irreclaimably savage a type; there was a mingled frankness and wildness about their manners which very much reminded me of the bearing of these tribes upon our own frontier, but there

was none of the bluster and ferocity of the Afghans about them. As far as appearances go, they have completely changed their *rôle* since they have come within the influence of Russian civilization, and distinguished themselves by the readiness with which they have adapted themselves to the complete alteration in their circumstances and mode of life, which have been the inevitable consequence. It is not to be surprised at, therefore, that it should have become rather the fashion amongst the Russians to make a good deal of them, the more so that, like all such high-spirited races, there is little risk of any misinterpretation on their part of such conciliatory treatment at the hands of their conquerors, but rather every reason to believe that it will lead to a complete forgetfulness of any personal injuries they may have received in the past, and the springing up of probably the most cordial relations between the two races. To such a result we have two most striking analogies in our Indian possessions, in the case of the Sikhs and Ghoorkhas, whose present loyalty and devotion to our rule is precisely in proportion to the desperateness with which they opposed us in the defence of their own independence.

A visit to the Club and some of the gardens near amply repaid the trouble taken, for, by this means, it was possible to form an idea on the subject of the quality of the soil by a personal inspection of its produce. The luxuriance of the growth of the trees and other vegetation was beyond all description, and indeed such as would hardly seem credible, unless one had ocular demonstration of the fact. As Merv was only annexed in February, 1884, none of the poplars and willows planted along the avenue leading up to the Club could, in September, 1890, the time of my visit, have been more than six and a half years old, and yet their height and foliage were such that they quite shaded the road between them, while the girth of several of those which I measured was upwards of forty-five inches, girths of thirty to forty inches were very common, amongst these, many must have been planted more recently. In the

gardens the same degree of luxuriance in growth was noticeable in the case of the fruit trees, vines, etc.

As Merv proper or New Merv, as it is called, to distinguish it from Old Merv or Bairam Ali, is the great commercial centre of the oasis, where no doubt, in time, a flourishing European settlement will arise—indeed, even now, its appearance is prosperous enough to judge from the numbers of Russian and Armenian shops and houses of business to be seen there—so it is apparently intended that Bairam Ali, as the railway station is called from the adjacent ruined city of this name, should be the headquarters of the administration of the district. Here what would be called, in India, a very complete station—a term not to be confounded with a railway station, but meaning an European quarter—has been laid out, traversed by broad roads, lined with young trees, and dotted with some really fine houses or rather bungalows, which is a term that would give a better idea of their appearance and style, such as would compare favourably with most buildings of a similar description in India. These were intended for the housing of the principal officials; besides these, there were some large buildings, intended for the special accommodation of those connected with the railway, and one on quite a palatial scale in course of construction, destined for the reception of the Czar, whenever he should visit his private domains in the neighbourhood. Altogether, there were all the signs of a rising place about Bairam Ali; and, if it continues its present rate of development, quite a fine European station will be visible there in a short time. In the public gardens may be found further evidences of the wonderful fertility of the soil; it was difficult, indeed, to believe that the trees and shrubs which were to be seen here had only been planted since four or five years ago, already the poplars had attained a height of some twelve to fifteen feet, and the other species in proportion. Every variety of tree suitable to the climate was found here, and hard by was an extensive plantation or rather nursery garden, containing I am afraid to say how many trees destined to be planted out upon

suitable sites. Of the ruined cities of Merv, that of "Giaour Kile," the most ancient one, supposed to have been built by Alexander the Great in the third century before the Christian era, is the only one to which any real interest attaches. The size of its mud fortifications even now, after the lapse of so many centuries since their construction, is indeed astonishing, what then must it have been when they were new? As it is, they loom in the distant plain like low ranges of hills, and quite dwarf, by their dimensions, all other ruins in their neighbourhood. Inside these stupendous ramparts all is a dead level, not a vestige remaining of any building, except in the citadel, from the midst of which rises a great mound of earth; into this and other parts deep cuttings have been driven, but with what result in the way of discoveries there were no means of finding out. It is impossible but what these immense mounds must conceal remains of ancient buildings, which have thus lain buried for centuries upon centuries; and a more extensive and systematic attempt to unveil the secrets which they contain could not but be full of interest to the world at large. Compared with these remains, the ruined cities of Sultan Sanjur and Bairam Ali appeared hardly deserving of notice, for, in the course of a drive of ten or twenty miles out of Delhi may be seen the remains of more than one ruined city, which, in its prime, must have been infinitely grander than any that ever existed in the neighbourhood of Merv. There was one point regarding these which attracted attention, and that was the small amount of burnt bricks which appeared to have entered into the building of any portion of them; all the houses, the walls, the fortifications, etc., are made of sun-dried bricks or mud. In the city of Sultan Sanjur the only remains which had been built of burnt bricks was the tomb of the monarch from whom it takes its name; in Bairam Ali, with the exception of the Minar-i-Kalan, and a few other buildings including the Charsu; in Samarcand, again, all the great remains of the time of Tamerlane were built of the same material, covered with tiles on the outside. From

this it would appear that there never was a sufficient growth of trees in these parts, any more than in Afghanistan or other neighbouring countries, to admit of wood being used to any considerable extent for the purpose of burning bricks; this is all the more curious from the fact that, whenever any pains have been bestowed upon their cultivation, they grow, as has been remarked, with the most wonderful rapidity and luxuriance. The *reboisement* of this country would indeed be a feat worthy of the enterprizing zeal of its present rulers, and beginnings have already been made in this direction, for, not only at Bairam Ali, but at every station along the line of rail, there are extensive plantations of young trees, which will, in course of time, be distributed along the edges of the watercourses, and wherever there is a possibility of their being protected from the ravages of camels, goats, and other enemies of all first attempts at aboriculture.

Passing beyond the limits of the Merv Oasis, the line of rail enters upon the expanse of sand which stretches thence for a distance of one hundred miles to the borders of the Oxus. The first portion of this consists, as has been said, of what may be termed stationary sand hills, in order to distinguish these from the Moving Sands which follow, and which are continued beyond the Oxus, where they threaten to swallow up a great portion of the Bokharan territory. The existence of vegetation upon the stationary sands leads one to believe that there may be some truth in what is said about the latter, or "Moving Sands," to the effect that they are composed not really of sand but of detritus of soil, of a very good description, which would speedily be reduced to a stationary condition if only it could be got to stand still for a time; but this is precisely the difficulty to accomplish, for, consisting, as it does, of very finely divided particles, it is driven about like water under the influence of the wind in every direction which the latter takes. The spectacle which these sand hills presents outvies in its singularity any description which could be given of it. As far as can be seen stretch great billows of sand, rising in many cases

to a height of about thirty feet, each one of which is of almost exactly the same contour and appearance as the other; the lee side descends abruptly in a semicircular form to the bottom, while the windward side slopes gradually away: at the time that our train was crossing these hills, the wind was blowing from the north-west, and, as our way lay almost due north, nothing could be more strange than the sight they thus presented, rising as they did in this peculiar cone-like shape one behind the other to the horizon; on the one side nothing but the abrupt and semicircular lee sides met the eye, on the other only the sloping and smooth windward surfaces were visible, while, as if to carry out completely their resemblance to the storm-driven waves of a sea, a haze of particles of sand hung over their tips, just like the surf which hovers over the crest of a roller on the point of breaking.

Approaching the Oxus these sands become replaced by villages, surrounded by richly-cultivated lands, but even these had been attacked at their margins, as could be seen by the remains of houses rising from the midst of the sand; on the further side of the Oxus the encroachments of the Moving Sands become more strikingly apparent, when, after crossing a stretch of highly-cultivated land, an area is entered upon which is now visibly undergoing the process of being gradually swallowed up; here the line of rail passes for miles through what had evidently been prosperous villages, but which were now to be seen in every stage of desolation, in consequence of the steady invasion of the Moving Sands; some had been completely engulphed, so that nothing remained but the bare walls to mark their sites: everything else, trees, bushes, grass fields, being all buried under the sand; in the case of others the operation was yet in process, and a few trees with a little cultivation were still remaining, while in the case of some it appeared to have been only just commenced, and the surface of the ground was dotted with numbers of tiny little miniature sand hills in course of formation. Judging from the general appearance, one would imagine that the wind must

blow steadily for many months at the same time at any rate, from the north-west, otherwise it would be difficult to account for the steady advance of the sand from this direction, for the particles are so minute and friable that the least gust would drive them back to the same point from which they come.

After finally quitting the region of sand, the area watered by the Lower Zarafshan in Bokharan territory is entered upon. This, in its general effect, reminds one very much of the Mastoong Valley in Khelat, or the Peshin Valley: village succeeds village, each surrounded by fields of various species of grain and orchards; the supply of water, however, seems very inadequate to supply the requirements of the district, as appeared from the constant expanses of dry land where no crops had been sown, and by the stunted condition of the crops in many cases on the remainder. Such is the landscape that meets the eye for upwards of about a hundred miles, when it changes gradually to great bare plains, on which villages are to be seen only at long intervals from one another. The barrenness of these appears to be owing to the fact of the level of the ground being here too high for water to be able to find its way there for purposes of irrigation, while to judge from the paucity of wells visible, the subsoil water must be at a great depth below the surface. Not a tree or a bush is here to be seen; and the monotony of the view is only broken now and then by the mud walls and roofs of a village, themselves hardly distinguishable from the soil by which they are surrounded. This is apparently of a good quality, for in many places it had been broken up for large extents, evidently in anticipation of rain upon which to sow a crop of grain; in most parts, however, the surface was covered with camel-thorn, which the villagers were then cutting for fuel. Though very few cattle were to be seen here, their places for all purposes of agriculture being supplied by horses, the sheep were comparatively numerous and fine, though nothing to approach in numbers the vast flocks visible in Beloochistan and the neighbourhood of Quetta. After traversing these

rolling plains, the line enters almost abruptly upon the sphere of irrigation of the Upper Zarafshan in Russian territory. For some time before actually entering upon this the river itself, with its narrow fringe of cultivation on either side, is visible from the line of rail which passes along a piece of high ground above it. From the impression thus given, as well as from subsequent observations, the area cultivated from this portion of the river appeared very much more limited in its extent than that in Bokharan territory, though far more abundantly supplied with water. Altogether its productive capabilities appear to have been very much over-rated, unless it were capable of very considerable extension, which, from the nature of the river and the configuration of the ground, does not appear to be the case.

The city of Bokhara being situated at a distance of upwards of ten miles from the railway station, the only means of getting there is by country cart or by carriages provided by the Political Resident. The latter do not at all come up to the standard of a Political Officer's equipage in India; in the present instance they consisted of an antiquated brougham, and an, if possible, still more shabby and dilapidated-looking landau. Each of these was drawn by two horses, who had to carry riders in addition; the animals were of as sorry a description as the conveyances they drew, but by dint of blows and yells were kept at a fair speed all the way. The road is rather worse kept than an ordinary village road in India, being seamed with deep ruts, and covered inches deep with dust, while the streets which have to be traversed on entering Bokhara in order to reach the Residency, which lies at the extreme further end of the town, would be a reproach to the commonest village in India, such is their narrowness and filthiness. The Guest-house provided for the accommodation of visitors is of the most modest description, and consists of nothing more than a couple of rooms in a low mud building enclosing an open square; nothing, indeed, could present a greater contrast than the unpretentiousness of the

buildings of which these form a portion, and which constitute the abode of the Political Resident, as compared with those answering a similar purpose at the smallest of the native states in India. They consist simply of an ordinary native house of a trifling superior description with a few doors and windows knocked into it to make it habitable by Europeans; its approaches open immediately into a filthy alley, and at the back is an unkempt, desolate-looking piece of ground, termed by courtesy a garden.

In the city itself there is little to interest a traveller accustomed to the East beyond its associations. The only objects which strike the eye are the Minar-i-Kalan—a moderately fine tower—and the Charsu or covered bazaar, which is certainly a very extensive and well-built one. Altogether the town is an extremely disappointing one to visit, in consequence of the anticipations aroused by previous descriptions; in reality, its appearance is mean, the streets being narrow and indescribably filthy. The most remarkable feature about the place is the extreme orderliness of the population, and the little attention which the appearance of an European wandering about the bazaars by himself appears to attract on the part of those whom he encounters; as to any signs of ill-will or fanatical dislike to a "Feringhi," the most timid and unsophisticated visitor would have found it difficult so to misinterpret any words or gestures of the crowds that thronged the streets. The only thing to be complained of was that these were rather too free and easy in their demeanour, while the shopkeepers were, as might be imagined, too anxious to sell their wares at exorbitant prices; in this they failed, as nothing was visible worth buying. A certain amount of interest, of course, attaches to the prison, though nowadays there is nothing remarkable about either the building or its occupants; indeed the latter appear to be much better fed and looked after than those of many a prison in a native state in India. As there has been some discussion regarding the scene of Stoddart's sufferings, it may be as well to mention that it was in the dungeon, the entrance to which is now covered up with

a slab in the floor of the prison ; this contains the bug-pit spoken of, and not the Kana Kanch, as has been surmised by a recent writer. The Political Resident is my authority for this; the former must have allowed his imagination to run away with him a little, for, as has been said, there were no signs of the prisoners being in any way ill-treated, any more than on the occasion of the visit of the *Times* correspondent to which he refers; indeed, anything of the kind would not be tolerated by the Russian Government.

The political position of Bokhara, and the relations of the Amir and his subjects towards the Russian Government, are matters that are full of interest, and would be well worth a more lengthy study than it is possible to afford them in the course of a hurried visit. There is hardly any analogy to be found in India to the relative positions of the two parties; for, while the State of Bokhara is more absolutely under the control of the Russian Government than any one of the semi-independent native States of India, there are less outward signs of such control visible than would be seen even in such a more distinctly independent state as Cashmere; as has been said, twenty Cossacks constitute all the escort attached to the Resident, who himself lives in a house in no way distinguishable from any other in the Bazaar, and with nothing about it to denote that it is the abode of the representative of the dominant race. As to the fanatical and possibly turbulent demeanour of the Bokharan population, it is as completely a myth as many of the popular notions regarding Central Asia, for, as far as can be judged, neither the Tajik inhabitants of the town nor the Usbegs who dwell in the villages, differ in any way from their neighbours and fellow-countrymen in the Samarcand district; at any rate, the Russians do not appear to be affected with any feelings of nervousness on this score, as numbers of them are to be seen occupying native houses in different quarters of the town, where they carry on business of various descriptions.

At Samarcand, one finds oneself again in the centre of civilization with its accompanying comforts. Alighting at

a very fine station, a number of capital carriages are to be found waiting to convey one along beautiful broad roads, lined with magnificent avenues of poplars and planes, to the Russian town distant about three miles, where very clean and comfortable rooms are to be found in the several hotels. Were it not for the European shops which line the roads, this portion of Samarcand would remind one of a British Cantonment in India. The European population here is, however, ten times greater than could be seen in the biggest station up country, for the streets are filled with Russians, merchants, tradesmen, coachmen, labourers, so that the effect produced is rather that of an European town, in which the natives of the country are in a minority, and it has been correctly remarked that Samarcand is inconceivably more European in its character than any station in India.

The native town has nothing remarkable about it, except the famous ruins, which have been so frequently described by various travellers; its streets, however, are full of interest to a stranger from the crowds of every variety of Central Asian nationalities which throng them, especially on market days, when all the people from the country round pour in, mounted on horseback, with wallets to carry away their requirements in. It is astonishing to note the number of horses visible upon these occasions, for so few comparatively are to be seen as a rule that it would seem hardly credible that the neighbourhood could produce so many; this is probably owing to the fact that, like most races in the East who use horses extensively, these are kept mostly inside the villages, and only brought out when some longer distance than usual is to be traversed, donkeys or small ponies being made use of for ordinary work such as visiting the fields, or going from one village to another. On market days, however, they are to be seen in hundreds, one might almost say thousands, for the torrent through the streets all day is incessant. It was surprising to observe that not a single Russian soldier or policeman was to be seen on duty in the whole town; the people seemed to be left entirely to their

own ways, so different from what is the case in a town in India, where a certain number of policemen are always on duty, and if it be situated upon the frontier, one or two military picquets as well; altogether the complete absence of any outward signs of force in these parts is very striking. There must of course be a considerable amount of troops somewhere or other; but they are certainly not kept "en evidence"; all that is to be seen of them, in an ordinary way, are a few soldiers wandering about with only their side-arms on. Probably the policy is to give the offenders such a lesson if a disturbance or unpleasant episode of any kind does occur, as to make its repetition a matter for very serious consideration; at any rate, Europeans and natives alike walk about the streets of the Bazaar, with as much apparent security as if they were in the West End of London, and without any sign of the requirement of the presence of a policeman or other guardian of the peace.

From a hill on the edge of the Zarafshan, about three or four miles out of Samarcand, on the road to Tashkent, an excellent view is obtained of the valley of the Upper Zarafshan; looking down upon it from this height, the impression given of its fertility is greater than that derived from passing through that portion of it which is traversed by rail; the view thus obtained is most effective; the whole expanse at one's feet looks one mass of the most brilliant verdure, not the least noticeable feature in the landscape being the abundance of fine trees such as poplars and planes which were visible in every direction. Standing thus due north of the city, the valley appears to be shut in on the east and west at distances of about four and eight miles respectively by high ground and mountains, amongst the latter towards the east can be discerned the snowy peaks of the Hissar Ranges; towards the south and south-west, the valley widens out as far as the eye can reach to a distance of about thirty to forty miles; but in the extreme distance, can be distinguished, looming through the haze, the outlines of further ranges of mountains. The luxuriance of the vegetation does not appear to be entirely due to

cultivation, but rather, in many places, to a rank growth of grass and trees, for a great portion of the water seems to be allowed to run to waste, owing to a deficient system of irrigation. This is a defect which, as it may be imagined, it would involve great difficulties and immense expenditure to rectify in any way; for this river, like the Oxus, does not appear to have made for itself any regular channel within which it could be retained by embankments, but to wander along on its course in the most erratic manner; though exceptionally low at the time I visited it, it stretched at intervals over upwards of a mile of country, and consisted of about six or eight different streams, which, if they could all have been contained within one bed, would have made a good-sized river; as it was, none of them appeared to be more than about two feet to three feet deep. It is said that after the melting of the snow on the mountains, or after heavy rains, the whole of this extent is covered with a rushing flood of water, which sometimes spreads even far over the margins on either side; this peculiarity of the shallowness of the beds of these rivers detracts, as has been said, considerably from their value for purposes of irrigation, while it renders any schemes for remedying this defect extremely difficult in execution. Before coming to the banks of the Zarafshan itself, a number of channels are crossed of the Siob (as it is called, "Siah ab" or "black water" being its proper name), a branch of the Zarafshan deriving its name from the colour of its water, which is dark, and apparently laden with particles of soil. It is said to possess peculiarly fertilizing properties much superior to those of the main stream of the river, which is extremely clear; it appears also to contain minerals in solution as well as particles of soil in suspension, as it is not considered fit for drinking purposes on account of its disagreeable effects upon the system.

ART. XV.—*The Cātaka.* By Professor COWELL, M.R.A.S.

THE bird called Cātaka (*Coccystes melanoleucos*) is well known to naturalists in India, as well as to students of native folk-lore and poetry; and I cannot introduce my remarks on its twofold character more appropriately than by quoting the following extract from a letter from Mrs. Mullens, the eminent Zenana missionary in Bengal.[1]

"The other day I heard the shrill cry of a bird say distinctly *Sphotik jol*, i.e. the Bengali for crystal water. 'What is that?' I said. 'Oh,' replied one of the school-girls, 'that is the chatakee bird; have you never heard it before?' I had always till now thought it a fabulous or poetical bird; but it seems it is not, though there is some mystery about it, for the girl added, 'no one has ever seen it,—it is only heard;' and that same day I met with the following lines in Southey,

> 'that strange Indian bird,
> Who never dips in earthly streams her bill,
> But when the sound of coming showers is heard,
> Looks up and from the cloud receives her fill.'"

There is an interesting note (on p. 36, l. 7) in Çaṃkar P. Pandit's edition of Vikramorvaçīyam, which gives the present folk-lore legend about the bird—that it was once a cruel mother-in-law who would not allow her daughter-in-law, however thirsty, to drink water; among other barbarities, she made her daughter give water to the cattle with the wooden trough, but she was not to quench her own thirst. The cruel mother-in-law was metamorphosed into

[1] See her Memoir.

a cātaka, and the trough became the crest on its head, which is popularly supposed to prevent it from touching the water. It is interesting to notice the various interpretations which the popular imagination gives to the bird's inarticulate cry; Mrs. Mullens and her school-girls heard in it the Bengali *Sphaṭik jal*; Çaṃkar Pandit describes its note as "a shrill but not unpleasant cry which resembles the Marāthī words *Pāwasā go*, 'O rain, O rain;'" we shall see presently that other ears detect other words in the same monotonous sound, just as in the old classical legends about the nightingale and its note.[1]

No allusion to the Cātaka is found in any Vedic text, but it is frequently referred to in Kālidāça's works, as the Raghuvaṃça, Ṛitusaṃhāra, Meghadūta, and the drama of Çakuntalā; it is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Amarakosha. It has naturally become a commonplace in the vernacular poetry; thus we find in the early Bengali poem, Caṇḍī, the line (105, 1)—

চৈত্রতে চাতক জল মাগে জলধরে।

"In the month Caitra the cātaka begs the cloud for water."

There are two anonymous mediæval poems, each containing eight çlokas, which are well known in India, and verses from which are included in most current anthologies. These have been printed in Häberlin's Anthology (Calcutta, 1847), and ten çlokas were edited by Ewald with a translation from a Tübingen MS. in the fourth volume of the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenländes; most of the verses have been reprinted separately in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. I subjoin a translation of both these poems, as they express in a pleasing form the popular fancies which have become associated with the bird; and I shall add at the end the substratum of fact which science concedes to the vagaries of folk-lore.

[1] Cf. the American "whip-poor-will" and "Katy-did."

The First Cātakāshṭaka.

i.

Shake him with thy winds, terrify him by thy awful thunderings,
Or, if thou wilt, beat him to pieces by thy vollies of hail;
But his life depends on the drops of thy water,
And the cātaka has no other refuge than thee, O cloud!

ii.

The thirsty cātaka begs from the cloud three or four drops of water;
And it satisfies him with an abundant stream; wonderful indeed is the generosity of the great!

iii.

One can live in a manner by any kind of livelihood;
But the idea of breaking one's hereditary custom is indeed hard to bear!

iv.

Thou thunderest, O cloud! but thou givest no water,
I, the bird cātaka, am sorely distressed;
If the south wind [1] were by chance to blow here,
Where would'st thou be? where I? and where any hope of rain?

v.

A pond is a very small piece of water, a lake is poisonous and a place where vile persons bathe,
But the great ocean is the vilest of all, a mere handful wherewith to wash a saint's mouth; [2]

[1] Sc. the hot months would dry up the cloud. "During the hot weather the prevailing breeze in Hindustan is from the south."—Wilson, Hindu Drama, i. 211.

[2] An allusion to Agastya, who drank up the ocean, in order that the gods might slay the demons who had hidden in it. See Mahābh. iii. § 105.

The rivers, Ganges and the rest, all flow into the sea;
therefore, leaving them all behind,
The cātaka, jealous of its honour, desires the water of the
clouds from above!

vi.

The seeds sprout, the rivers rise, the ants burst out (with
their wings),[1]
The trees put forth their buds, and men rejoice, when the
cloud rains;
O brother Cātaka, we know of no fault in thee at all,
That two or three drops should not fall into that open beak
of thine!

vii.

The other birds drink water from rivers or from lakes,
But thou, O cloud, art the one resource of the Cātaka!

viii.

He has been waiting a long time in the sky which gives
no resting-place,
With his beak stretched open, ceaselessly turned towards thee;
O cloud, let the thought of rain-streams be laid aside for
the while,
But the cātaka has not even heard thy pleasant sound!

[1] This alludes to the ants becoming winged just as the rainy season begins. Cf. the Urdu proverb, "when the ants are about to die, their wings come forth." (There is a similar proverb in Don Quixote, part ii. ch. 53, "por su mal nacieron alas á la hormiga.")

The Second Cātakāshṭaka.

i.

O friend,[1] let thy stores of water be day by day pure or not,
Let thy water, O cloud, be much or little, give it or withhold it, as thou wilt;
Let his life go in the extremity of his thirst, let it go away or stay,
But the hope of this young Cātaka still rests only on thee!

ii.

When one takes water[2] in pools or rivers or the low streams of earth,
Fie on it! one must bow one's head to them, and what is more to be shunned by the proud?
So reflecting, the young cātaka, relinquishing all longing for them, in his earnest thought
With upstretched neck keeps his gaze fixed on thee, O rain-streaming cloud!

iii.

What collections of water on the earth are not crowned with lotuses and garlanded with lines of wild geese?
But what reward can the cātaka expect, when he follows eagerly the new rain-stream from the sky with its attendant thunderbolts?

iv.

O cloud, this entire earth which was dried up by the fiercely hot outpourings of the sun's rays,
Thou hast filled abundantly with thy continual streams of water;
[illegible]inking of thee with his whole soul, so that thou passest into his very being,[3]
[illegible] even though oppressed with thirst, the cātaka [illegible]an still rejoice.

[1] I take *saumya* as a vocative; it is so used of the cloud in Meghad. 113.
[2] *Niragraham* seems to me a rare form of namul, cf. the old form *Keçagrāham*. *Amantravarjam* occurs in Kumāra-s. vii. 72.
[3] Böhtlingk takes *antaragatam* as "die entfernte."

v.

The ocean may dry itself up, or overflow the world with its waves;
But there is no loss or gain thereby to the cātaka who lives on the cloud.

vi.

O cloud, whether thou givest water or not, this cātaka has his thoughts fixed only on thee;
He would rather die of intense thirst than even at the worst pay court to another.

vii.

Although the cātaka bird sorely feels the want of the cloud in the cloudless season,[1]
Still he is not angry with the cloud, for he has no other refuge.

viii.

Long live the cātaka, the one jewel[2] among birds;
He either dies of thirst or asks Indra himself for water.

It is interesting to turn from these poetical pictures to the naturalist's description of the actual bird. Jerdon writes thus in his "Birds of India," vol. i. p. 340:

"The pied crested cuckoo (*Coccystes melanoleucos*).

"*Descr.* Above uniform black, with a greenish shine; bases of the primaries white, forming a conspicuous wing spot; all the tail-feathers tipped white, broadly, except the central pair, which are very narrowly tipped; under parts dull white; in some, especially the females, slightly with fulvescent.

[1] This is the explanation given under *kshap* in the St. Petersb. Lexicon. Böhtlingk in Ind. Sprüche gives another reading, *jalado* for *jalade*, "though he curses the cloud, still the cloud is not angry with him."

[2] Another reading is *khago māni* "the one truly proud bird."

"This pied cuckoo is found over all India, being rare on the Malabar coast, common in the Carnatic, and not uncommon through Central India to Bengal, where it is only at all common in the *rains*. It is more abundant in Upper Pegu than anywhere else that I have observed it. It frequents jungles, groves, gardens, hedges and avenues, generally alone, sometimes in pairs or small parties. At the breeding season it is very noisy, two or three males (apparently) often following a female, uttering their loud peculiar call, which is a high-pitched wild metallic note. It utters this very constantly during its flight, which is not rapid, from one tree to another, and occasionally at a considerable height. As Mr. Blyth has remarked, it does not at all affect concealment, perching often on a bare branch or on the top of a bush, and not unfrequently alighting on the ground. It feeds on insects, chiefly mantides, grasshoppers, caterpillars, etc. The female lays her eggs usually in the nest of the Malacoecerci.

"This bird, remarks Mr. Phillips, makes a great figure in Hindu poetry, under the name of *Chatak*."

Professor Newton has kindly furnished me with the following extract from Colonel S. R. Tickell's *Indian Ornithology* (MS. *penes Soc. Zool. Lond.* vol. iii. tab. 38) :—

"*Coccystes melanoleucos* (Gmelin); The Poppeea. ♀ Pooralia, Bengal. [Sept. 30, 1846.] *Poppeeya* (Hind.), *Koolooboolbool* (Beng.), *Gollikokila* (Teloogoo), *Tangada garanka* (Ibid.).

"This is a tolerably common bird throughout Bengal and Central India, frequenting gardens, mango groves, and the vicinity of well-wooded villages in cultivated country, which resounds at times with its incessant cry which much resembles that of the koïl, but is scarcely so loud. The notes resemble the syllables '*poppeea*,' '*poppeea*,' etc., whence its common Bengali name; at other times, seated near the summit of some tall bamboo, it goes on repeating a monotonous call of '*poolk, poolk, poolk*.' Like the Koïl, it is often caged by the natives, who admire its loud whistling notes; but it is by no means so common as that bird, nor is it ever seen but singly. Its habits appear to be partially

migratory, for during the hot season it disappears from the plains, and is then, according to Hutton, found in the hills or in the Deyradhoon . . . . . Besides the notes above mentioned, the Poppeeya has another call of '*Golly, golly, golly,*' very like the cry of the Koïl."

XVI.—*The Lycian Language.* By Major C. R. Conder, D.C.L., LL.D., R.E.

I. Introductory Remarks.

The subject of the Lycian inscriptions appears to have been first brought prominently to notice by Sir Charles Fellows half a century ago. The first texts in this character were copied by Cockerell, and published in Walpole's travels. These were commented on, in 1821, by M. Saint Martin, who, judging from the bilingual in Greek and Lycian from Limyra, supposed the native version of the text to be comparable with the Syriac and Phœnician. Ten years later, in 1831, Dr. Grotefende communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society a paper, published in the third volume of the Transactions, treating of the five Lycian texts then known, and he concluded from the declension of the verb that the Lycian must have belonged to the Aryan family of speech, and that it possessed long and short vowels as in Persian. In 1838–9 Sir C. Fellows collected copies of twenty-four Lycian inscriptions, including the great obelisk of Xanthus, on which are inscribed, in letters one and half inches long, no less than 246 lines of Lycian writing, and twelve lines of Greek hexameters. A certain number of coins of Lycian cities, with Lycian inscriptions, were also recovered, and the results published in 1840 in the volume called "Lycia." The copy of the great Xanthus text was however imperfect, and to this, as the most important of the Lycian monuments, Sir Charles Fellows devoted further attention, and in 1842 published a larger and very careful reproduction of the monument.

The materials so collected were studied by Mr. Daniel Sharpe, whose monograph on the Lycian character and language appears at the end of Sir C. Fellows' first volume.

His remarks on the result of his studies are important: he says, "I began with the impression that the language was derived from Phœnician, but was soon staggered in this opinion by the abundance of vowels in Lycian, of which there are ten, nearly corresponding to the long and short vowels of the Persian and Indian languages. The manner of declension of the pronouns and nouns, and of the conjugation of the verbs, soon convinced me, while working on the forms of words of which the meaning was quite unknown, that Lycian was one of that large family of languages to which the German philologists have given the name of Indo-Germanic. The abundance of vowels then suggested a comparison with the Zend language: the result was the conviction that Lycian has a greater resemblance to Zend than to any other language, but that it differs too much to be considered as a dialect of Zend, and must rank as a separate language. Of the few words which are determined with some approach to certainty several resemble Sanskrit more nearly than Zend." He adds later, in a reference to the Persian cuneiform, which was only just beginning to be studied, that "The principal inscriptions which have as yet been translated are of the reigns of Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes. As these are nearly of the period to which I refer the monuments of Lycia, their comparison is of great interest, but there are only a few sentences yet translated."

It is remarkable that while proceeding on such a sound method, both as regards grammatical study and also as regards attempted comparison with known languages of about the same antiquity, Dr. Sharpe nevertheless was tempted to derive many of the words from a Semitic source, and even to assert that some words "are certainly of a Semitic origin." It is true that modern Persian is full of Arabic words, like modern Turkish, and that the Pehlevi of the Sassanian period also contains a large infusion of Aramaic words, just as Georgian borrows from Armenian or Armenian from Turkish; but when we turn to the Zend vocabularies, and to the ancient Persian of the monuments,

we find no such mixture. It was not until the Asiatic Aryans had dwelt for many centuries in countries filled with Semitic populations that such mixture began to find its way into their literature and their speech. But in spite of such shortcoming it can hardly be claimed that later students of Lycian have done much to advance the question beyond the stage to which Dr. Sharpe had brought it, while as regards the careful use of a true comparative method they have often fallen far behind him. Grotefende and Sharpe established the syntax of the Lycian from the only known bilingual, and showed by this means, as well as by their observation of the vowel sounds, that the language could be neither Semitic nor Turanian, but must belong to the Aryan family.

The next work of importance in this connexion was the publication, in 1869, of the "Neue Lykische Studien" by Moriz Schmidt, including a new fragment of a Greco-Lycian bilingual. Although the German scholar made little advance on the translations of Sharpe, he provided, with a patience perhaps only to be expected in Germany, a very complete lexicon of Lycian words, arranged not only according to their commencements, but also according to their terminations; thus rendering it easy for his successors to study the inflexions of the language more completely than before. He also determined the genitive in *h*, and no doubt correctly derived the word *lade* for 'wife,' from the Aryan root *la* 'to love.'

Since this time the study of Lycian seems to have been mainly prosecuted in Germany. In 1874 J. Savelsburg, five years before his death, again wrote on the supposition that Lycian is to be regarded as an Iranian language. This was controverted by Hubschmann in 1879, his chief argument being apparently that Lycian words of known meaning did not resemble Aryan terms of the same value. Dr. Deecke, in 1888, also treated the language, but appears to have given arbitrary values to the inflexions without attempting to prove his case by comparative study. The Lycian coins have been further studied by Six, and quite

recently several papers have been published by M. J. Imbert in France, which show great knowledge of the Lycian itself, but which cast little light on its relation to other languages. In fact, of late comparative study has been discouraged, and Lycian has even been supposed to belong to some mysterious group of languages independent of those with which we are acquainted in Asia or in Europe. It has also, I believe, been supposed to be Turanian, the argument put forward in support of such a view being that a vowel harmony exists, such as is characteristic of Turanian speech.

As regards these recent proposals it is to be noted that while a Semitic origin is rendered impossible by the alphabet, which is not Semitic, but one specially fitted to distinguish the long and short vowel sounds on which Aryan speech lays such stress, it is, on the other hand, equally impossible to regard the Lycian as Turanian. The syntax has been established, and it is the syntax of an Aryan language: the position of the verb in the sentence, and the use of prepositions, in Lycian, are irreconcileable with the structure of Turanian languages, and are reconcileable with the common structure of Aryan languages. There is, it is true, a certain law as to vowel harmony in Lycian, but it is not more marked than it is in the ordinary rules of pronunciation in Zend grammar. The Lycian genitive ending is Aryan (strictly speaking Iranian), and differs entirely from the genitive termination common to a large group of Turanian languages of Western and Central Asia. I was first attracted in 1888 to the study of Lycian, under the idea that it might prove to be one of the ancient Turanian languages, of which we now know at least three in Western Asia; but a very short study of the work done by Sharpe and Schmidt showed me that such a position could not be maintained, while the forms of some of the known words suggested that a comparison with ancient Persian was possible. Even as regards the alphabet, the remarks of Dr. Deecke as to the peculiar Lycian letters which are followed by N M and T showed that we have to deal with

the nasalized vowels which occur in Zend, but which do not belong to the early Aryan languages of Europe, thus serving to establish yet more clearly the original contention of the two scholars who founded the study of this interesting language.

As regards the value of comparative study I may perhaps be permitted to make a few remarks, which apply not only to Lycian, but also to other unknown tongues. It is, no doubt, of primary importance that the student should make an *internal* comparative study of the forms of the language under consideration; and without a thorough examination of the occurrence of these forms he is unable to make progress. But when he has done this he has accomplished only half his task. He can never hope to carry conviction —especially if he has few bilinguals on which to rely— if he proposes arbitrary values for words and forms, and is unable to show that his results agree with what is known of the laws of other languages. He must determine the genus before he proceeds to the species, and show that his proposed language is not a *lusus naturæ*. Egyptian would never have been known without the aid of Coptic, or ancient Persian without Zend, or Assyrian without Aramaïc and Hebrew, or Akkadian without Mongol and Turkic speech; and no language in Western Asia has yet been found, either in ancient or in modern times, which cannot be classed under one of the three great heads, as either Turanian, Semitic, or Aryan.

Not only is such comparative study an absolute necessity, but it is also necessary, as Sharpe well knew, that the languages compared should as nearly as possible be of the same historic age, and of the same stage of development. T[illegible]pt to study Lycian by the aid of modern Persian [illegible] like comparing Vannic with Georgian, or Hittite [illegible]sque or with modern Chinese; such methods are [illegible]lly vicious, because all languages are subject to [illegible]e and decay. Modern Persian, while absorbing a [illegible]ge foreign vocabulary, has also lost the genders and many of the inflexions of the old Persian of the monuments, just

as English has lost those of the Anglo-Saxon. Sanskrit, it is unnecessary to remind my audience, would not be understood by means of English, nor would Lycian be properly comprehended did we not possess, on the monuments and in the Zend Avesta and in pure Sanskrit, languages sufficiently ancient to be used, in a legitimate manner, for comparison. For the last five years my spare time has been mainly devoted to the study of Turanian languages ancient and modern, and having started with the hypothesis that Lycian may have been Turanian, I may claim not to have neglected such a possibility.

Having followed out the Lycian for its own sake, and with advantages which were not at the command of Grotefende and Sharpe, I have I hope been able to establish their contention more completely, by a comparative study of the vocabulary and of the grammar. My attempts will, no doubt, be open to criticism, and may be much improved upon by scholars having a better acquaintance than I can claim with Zend and Sanskrit; but it seems to me that any who will study in detail the results which I have offered with diffidence to the judgment of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, will be led to agree with the general principles and results of my work. It appears to me easy to show that the cases of the Lycian nouns in singular and plural, are the same which Bopp showed to be coextensive with the Aryan families of speech. The vocabulary has borrowed much, perhaps, from Greek, especially as regards words denoting civilization; and this we should naturally expect, because on the one hand Greek stands nearer than any other European language to the Iranian languages, and because on the other the writers of Lycian, whoever they were, lived in the fifth century B.C. in a count[illegible]h had a large Greek population. The style of their [illegible] approached the Greek, and many of the subjects, [illegible] Hercules and the Lion, Bellerophon, the Harpie[illegible] indicate an acquaintance with Greek mythology. While Greek influence on the language is clearly shown [illegible] several bilinguals, it is equally certain that a much larger

proportion of the words, together with the inflexions and the vowels, are not Greek, but are closely comparable to ancient Iranian words, forms, and letters. On one of the coins we find the word *Pañs* for "five," which is nearer to Sanskrit than to Greek, and numerals always hold a very high position in comparisons of languages, since they seem to have differed more easily than most words, and are often of late origin. It is by the higher numerals that Zend and Sanskrit are united together in the Iranian group, as distinct from the European family of speech.

One of the interesting results of such study seems to me to be the light thereby thrown on the imperfectly understood language spoken by tribes round Lake Van in the ninth century B C. To this I have devoted a section of the paper which I have laid before the Council. Dr. Mordtmann has called the Vannic an Aryan language, following Dr. Hincks, who pronounced it inflexional. Dr. Sayce, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of the dialect, has denied this comparison, and has started the theory of an "Alarodian group," as he calls it, which he supposes to have included Vannic, Hittite and Georgian; but the celebrated scholar Lenormant, who was the first to propose a study of Georgian, has denied that such a group exists, nor is there any reason to regard Georgian as a language which must stand alone in Asia. It is an inflexional modern language, which has freely borrowed from many others—from Armenian on the one hand and from Turkic speech on the other. Its literature only goes back to the Middle Ages, and it is one of a large group of dialects of the Caucasus, which have suffered greatly from the mixture of broken tribes—Aryan, Turanian and Semitic—which have fr[illegible]time to time fled to the Caucasus for refuge. Judging [illegible]cases of the noun it appears to me that the basis [illegible] Georgian must be recognized as Aryan, but that [illegible]cabulary is too mixed to be of any value for com-[illegible]ve purposes.

[illegible] regards the Vannic, the best established words and [illegible]ns in that dialect are easily comparable with those proper

to Iranian speech. It possesses the Aryan reduplicated perfect tense, it has at least one Aryan preposition, and its syntax is also Aryan, and similar to that of the Ancient Persian. The genitive is the same as in Armenian, and so are some of the pronouns. That the Vannic should not be generally accepted as Aryan seems to me due to want of comparative study. As regards its affinity to Lycian, this can be traced, not only in vocabulary, but also in its possessing the letter *l*, which occurs in Lycian as in Sanskrit, but which does not occur in Zend, or in ancient Persian. When more is known of both Lycian and Vannic, it seems to me that they will prove to be dialects closely connected with each other.

The subject-matter of Lycian texts is not of very great interest, but the study is mainly important in connexion with the ethnology and the history of Western Asia, and its interest lies also in its being one of the few linguistic questions in this part of Asia still under discussion. The Xanthus stele appears to me to be clearly funerary in character, although M. Imbert and others have been of late seeking to interpret it as historic. The date is fixed, to a certain degree, by the quotation of Simonides in the Greek text, referring to an event which occurred in 470 B.C. It appears, therefore, that the Lycian alphabet and language, as found on the monuments, are known not earlier than the fifth century B.C., that is to say, after the conquest of Xanthus by Harpagus, and while it was under the rule of the Persian rulers. The notice of "Satraps" and of the "family of Hystaspes" on the monument agrees with this date, which was, I believe, first proposed by Col. Leake. The Lycians, therefore, would be the "New Lycians" of Herodotus, and not the ancient race of the Tramiles or Termiles, which was nearly annihilated at the time of the conquest of Xanthus by Harpagus in [redacted]. It is also apparent that Greek influence was strong [redacted] at the time when Greco-Lycian bilinguals were rega[redacted] necessary, and this influence first began to spread [redacted] Persian provinces of the West after the repulse of X[redacted] in 480 B.C.

The details of the comparative study of Lycian which I have attempted are given fully in the paper laid before the Council. Briefly summarized, I believe the monument to have been destroyed by an earthquake, and restored, when additional inscriptions were added, the Greek text being the original legend with the Lycian beneath it, which seems to paraphrase the Greek. A certain Cissaphernes, a Persian governor, caused the restoration, and the monument belonged to a Persian family, one of whose member was a Tissaphernes, perhaps the celebrated satrap so named in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon about 405 B.C. The reading of his name we owe I believe to Dr. Deecke. It was pointed out to me by M. Imbert. The names of Darius and Artaxerxes also occur on the monument, as Dr. Deecke has shown; and, if I am correct, Artaxerxes III. is specified, which would make the inscription in Lycian as late at least as 359 B.C., while the Darius in question would be Darius II. in 425 B.C., giving the date of the earlier inscription. It seems to me that the sculptures of the tomb are described, and that the description tallies in a very remarkable manner with actual decorations of a tomb discovered by Sir C. Fellows in fragments at Xanthus. I think also that the monument is stated to have been placed "over against the Harpy monument," and as Sir C. Fellows' picture shows, the stele stood within sight of the very remarkable Harpy tomb of Xanthus, of which he has given excellent representations.

The early history of Asia Minor is still imperfectly known, though the recent publications of Prof. Ramsay have done much to restore it. Its interest to me lies in its connexion with that of Northern Syria, for there is abundant evidence that at least as early as 1400 B.C. the aboriginal civilized race of southern Asia Minor was the same as that of northern Syria. The so-called "Hittite" hieroglyphics are found in both regions, and it is now generally admitted that the syllabary used in Cyprus, and derived from these hieroglyphics, was the source whence the peculiar letters of the Lycian, Carian and Phrygian alphabets were derived. That this aboriginal race was Mongolic seems to me to be

indicated by certain known Lydian and Carian words, which do not lend themselves to interpretation by aid of Aryan languages, but which are easily explained as Mongolic. From this region also the Etruscans went to Italy, and their language also has been identified as Mongolic by Dr. Isaac Taylor.

On the other hand, all the known Phrygian words are Aryan and apparently European, and the Phrygian inscriptions seem also to be explicable as Aryan, though the language was quite distinct from Lycian. Professor Ramsay places these as early as 800 B.C., so that it would seem that in the ninth century B.C, the Aryans were already entering Asia Minor both from the west and also from the east, being established at Lake Van and in Phrygia. The Carian texts about 600 B.C. found at Abu Simbel also appear to be Aryan, as is the curious inscription incorrectly styled Etruscan, found in the Island of Lemnos. These two streams flowed to meet each other, the European or Phrygian element passing along on the north to Armenia. For the Armenians were Phrygian colonists according to Herodotus, and Armenian, which is closely connected with Slavonic speech, may thus perhaps be the survival of Phrygian. The Iranian element, on the other hand, followed the great highway along the southern shores, and the Lycian speech was not the pure Persian of the rulers, but a native dialect which I have suggested may be that of the Aryan Medes, whom the Assyrians met as early as 663 B.C. There were no doubt Turanians or Mongols in Media whose language we know from the great trilinguals of Darius, but the early kings of the Medes had Aryan names, as had many other chiefs whom the Assyrians encountered.

If then the Aryan invasion of Asia Minor may be carried back to the ninth century B.C., there is nothing improbable in its having already occurred as early as the fourteenth century B.C. The accounts which we have of the invasion of Egypt by hordes from Asia Minor appear to me to refer clearly to Aryans. The Greeks are mentioned among them, and the Egyptian pictures represent blue-eyed fair-haired races. Some of these fair men came, however,

from Libya, where the race is still represented by the Kabyles; but it has been suggested that these Libyans were also Aryans—either Celts or Slavs—coming by sea from Greece or from Italy. The whole of the monumental evidence seems to me to show an early diffusion of Aryan races in Asia Minor belonging to both the European and the Asiatic branches of the race, such tribes being neither Greek nor Persian, but precursors of both, and of Slav and Iranian origin. It is in connexion with this problem that the study of Lycian, Lydian, Carian, and Phrygian is of interest, and of Lycian we are able to learn more than of the other dialects on account of the greater number of the monuments. My first suggestions as to Lycian were published in the *Academy*, January 16th, 1890. They follow the lines laid down by Grotefende and Sharpe, but as no one has yet attempted to translate the Xanthus stele. The present paper will, I trust, be found to be an advance towards the final understanding of the subject.

II. The Inscriptions.

When the Lycian inscriptions were brought forward by Sir C. Fellows, more than half a century ago, they were pronounced by Grotefende, in 1831, to be written in an Aryan language (Journal R. A. S. Vol. III.), and in 1840 Daniel Sharpe proposed to compare them with the ancient Persian and the Zend: He gave a translation of the bilingual tomb-text, in Greek and Lycian, from which the following Lycian words are ascertainable:

abañia	"this"
aravaziea	"monument"
mãe	"here"
Frãnavatü	"prepared"
Dhedaeme	"son"
atle	"for himself"
ewbe	"for his"
Lade	"for wife"
sa	"and."

In treating the other tomb-texts, he found one or two other words, and compared some of them with Zend, but was unable to read the great Xanthus text, in 244 lines, which is the chief Lycian monument found by Sir C. Fellows.

Since the paper which Sharpe contributed to Sir C. Fellows' "Lycia" was published, very little advance has been made. Savelsburg, I believe, in 1874 took the same view as to the language, and Lassen also wrote on the subject. Six, in the *Revue Numismatique*, has treated the Lycian coins which Sharpe deciphered. Hubschmann in 1879 controverted Savelsburg, and Schonborn; while Dr. Deecke, and M. J. Imbert, have also written on the subject, the first of these two last having discovered a personal name, besides the names of Darius and Artaxerxes, on the Xanthus monument. But none of these scholars have advanced the subject much further than Sharpe. In 1869, however, M. Schmidt published a valuable and exhaustive index of Lycian words, and succeeded in fixing the genitive singular in *h*, and some of the cases of the noun *Lada*. None of these scholars, however, have attempted to carry out fully the comparative study, of which Sharpe appears to have laid the basis.[1]

[1] To avoid repetition of authorities I here give the references to the various works cited in this paper—

(Schmidt) *Neue Lykische Studien*. M. Schmidt. Jena, 1869.
(Sharpe) *Lycia*. Sir C. Fellows. London, 1841.
(Deecke) *Lykische Studien Berlinier Phil Wochen*, June, 1888.
(Hubschmann) *Janaer Literaturzeitung*, Feb. 1879.
(Imbert) *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vols. iii. p. 259, iv. p. 153, v. pp. 105, 142.
(M. Müller) *Sanskrit Grammar*. London, 1870.
(Haug) *Essays on Sacred Language of Parsees*. M. Haug. Bombay, 1862.
(Spiegel) *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*. F. Spiegel. Leipzig, 1881.
(Bopp) *Comparative Grammar*. English translation. London, 1845.
(Schrader) *Prehistoric Antiquities Aryan Peoples*. English translation. London, 1890.

To which I may add many interesting private letters from M. J. Imbert, to whom I am much indebted.

The Alphabet.

Much of the difficulty which attends the subject lies in correctly determining the sounds of the letters, on which study depends the correct attribution to roots. It may be taken as proven that we have to deal with an inflected speech, which presents affinities to Iranian languages on the one side, and to Greek on the other—Greek being now generally allowed to stand in closer relation to Iranian speech than any ancient Aryan language of Europe. The following are the indications we possess as to the sounds:

 Long *â*. Perhaps sometimes aspirated. Occurs in the name of Harpagus.

 Short *a*. May also have been aspirated. It forms diphthongs with *e*, *o*, *b* following it. M. Imbert renders it *e*.

 Short *e* or *i*. It answers to the Greek *i* in the name of *Iktas*. It forms also the long vowel sound *eiâ*, which appears to answer to the Sanskrit *ya* and Greek *ei*.

 Guttural *ã*. It is only used before *f*, *m*, and *wa*, and this serves to show the Iranian affinity of the language (see Haug, p. 53).

 The Iranian *añ*. It occurs only before *t* and *n*, and so resembles the Zend guttural *e* before *t*. It also forms the ends of words. (The Sanskrit *anusvâra*.)

 Long *i*. Answers to the Greek long *i*. In some cases this sign seems to divide clauses, as is common in the Early Greek and other Aryan texts of Asia Minor.

Short *o*. It answers to the Greek *u* in the name *Urtios*, and seems sometimes to answer to *ă*.

 Long *ô*. This is the Cypriote *o* or *ho*, and answers to the Greek *Omega* in the name of *Ionia*.

 Short *ü*. There is no comparison which gives a very certain knowledge of the sound. It appears to resemble the French *u* or *eu*. M. Imbert renders it *o*.

)(Apparently *w*. It is the Cypriote *va*, and is followed by *â*, *ă*, *e*, *añ*, *o*, and *ü*; also by *l*. M. Imbert has recently supposed it to be a consonant *g*, which seems to me improbable; other students have always regarded it as a vowel.

+ Aspirated *h*. Is followed by vowels.

F The digamma *v*. Occurs in the name *Vishtasp*.

B Semivowel *b* or *v*. It is at times used as a vowel; at times as a consonant (*b*, *v*, or *m*), which in early Asiatic speech, of all classes, were sounds little distinguished. In Zend the weakening of *bh* into *v* frequently occurs (see Bopp, Comp. Grammar, p. 42).

Δ Clearly *d*.

ΔΔ Another *d*. The sound is usually, but not always, followed by *ă*, and represents a distinction, which, though common in Iranian speech, is not observed in Greek.

I Clearly *z*. It appears to answer to the Zend *ç* and the Sanskrit *ś*, which are connected often with roots represented by *k* in other Aryan languages.

II which rarely occurs, appears to be the true *z* or the *zh* sound.

S Clearly *s*.

SS Apparently *sh*.

K Clearly *k*.

Λ Clearly *l*. In Lycian speech it seems to stand for the *m* or *n* of words as occurring in other Aryan languages, but not when it begins a word.

M Clearly *m*.

ⱷ Apparently soft *ch*. It has been variously explained, but Dr. Deecke's explanation seems the best, and the sign is the same as the Cypriote *se*.[1] It may be the Old Persian *c* or *j*.

[1] The connexion of the Lycian extra letters with the Cypriote character is generally agreed to. Sir C. Fellows discovered a short text in Greek and Cypriote, in Lycia itself, which was put down as "Phœnician"—the Cypriote character being then unknown. It is imperfectly copied, but the syllables *te*, *no*, *a*, *se*, and perhaps *le*, are distinct, and can belong to no other known script. The Greek is imperfect, but clearly funerary.

N Clearly *n*.

ᑭ For *ph* (or *f*). It answers to the Greek *phi* and the Sanskrit *Bh*, and this distinction is of great importance in reading.

ᑭᑭ For *p*. This is made clear in several cases, and distinguishes the sound of *pi* and *phi* or *f*.

ᑭ Used on some texts for *p* instead of the preceding.

P Clearly *r*.

T For *dh* or soft *t*. It stands for *d* in the name of Darius, and answers to the Sanskrit *dh* and to the Greek *theta*.

TT For *t*. This is shown in the words *statte* and *sttala*, and is important in reading.

⋎ For *ch* or *kh*. Its sound, like that of the Italian *c*, may depend on the vowel that follows. It answers to the Greek *ksi* in the name of *Pixodarus*. It also stands for *kh* and *g*. It is doubtful if the ordinary *Gamma* was used, though there are one or two possible instances.

< Somewhat doubtfully found on certain texts. Appears to be *g* or *gamma*.

Y Apparently long *û*. It is followed sometimes by *w*, and seems to sound *uw* in these cases.

ↃC Is *th*, distinguished in Iranian speech from the soft *t* or *dh* already mentioned. It occurs, for instance, in the name of *Mithra*.[1]

: Is the division between words.

❩ Indicates the end of a clause in the texts.

Numerals.

The numerals are as yet not certainly understood. They appear to have included I, II, III and IIII; C for "five," with O perhaps for "ten." Also ∋ ≥.

[1] It should be noted that the alphabet so explained answers exactly to that of the old Persian texts deciphered from the Cuneiform character by Sir H. Rawlinson.

Known Words.

Some of the known Lycian words compare with Greek, and some with Iranian speech. In the former case the words are apparently mainly "culture words," which may have come into the Lycian language through the proximity to Greek settlers. As above noted, the distinctions of vowel sounds in Lycian are more complete than in Greek, and serve to show an Iranian affinity, especially in the distinction of *dh*, *t*, and *th*, and in the vowels *ã* (or *añ*), and *ẽ* (or *eñ*), as well as in the consonant—the soft *ch* or *c*.

The following words, including proper names, indicate Greek influence:

Âpholanidâ, on bilingual tomb. Gr. *Ἀπολλωνίδης*.
Laphar, on bilingual. For *Λαπαρας*.
Eiathroghla. For Greek *Ἰητροκλῆς*, p.n.
Eiônesañ. For Greek *Ἰώνες*.
Akâtâmlâ. For Greek *Ἑκατόμνας* on a bilingual.
Arekla. For *Heraclea* on coins.
Harekla. For *Hercules* on the Xanthus stone.
Kophrene. Apparently the Greek *Κυβερνάω*.
Latüna. Supposed to be *Latona* by M. Imbert.
Parekla. For *Pericles* on coins.
Sedareia. For *Σιδάριος* on the bilingual tomb. It appears to be for *Σιδηρεύς* "smith."
Sttâlâ, for "stone" or "stele." The Doric *Στάλα* for *Στήλη* is nearest. In Zend *çtunem* is a "pillar."
Sttate "stands." Is found not only in Greek, but in Iranian speech.
Trãmele "Lycian." The Greek *Τρεμίλης*. It is, however, no doubt a native word.

To this list other examples may be added, but the comparison does not materially advance our knowledge of the language.

The connexion with Persia is indicated by another class of known words.

Âŕpâghos, the well-known Medo-Persian Harpagus, whether the later or the earlier of the name,

Ddarshâmâ. Apparently the Persian *Darshama* "daring." A proper name.

Vezttâspazan. The Persian *Vistaspa* "Hystaspes."

Artâghsherâza. Persian *Artakhshatra* "Artaxerxes." So Fellows' *Lycian Coins*, 1885, p. 16.

Kezzâprãnnâ for *Cissaphernes*. See Deecke.

Meththrâphâtâ, for *Mithra-pata* "Protected by Mithra."

Phârzzâ, for "Persian." The *Pârsa* of the monuments.

Spârtâzãn, for *Sparda* of the monuments. Apparently not Sparta, but a region in Asia Minor. (Oppert and Spiegel.)

Ghshâdrâfâ. Persian *Khshatrapâva* "Satrap." The Lycian is much nearer than the Greek to the Persian title.

From these words, to which others might be added, we may gather that the ancient Iranian languages, with Greek, are likely to throw light on the Lycian. There remain a few native words, of which the meaning is generally agreed to, which require special notice.

Âŕâvâzeiâ answers to the Greek *Μνῆμα*. It appears to include the Iranian root *vas* "to dwell."

Arẽna. For Xanthus. The native name "sandy," as compared with the later "yellow" (sands).

Atle "himself," has been compared with the Sanskrit *âtmâ* "self." It frequently occurs in various cases.

De, found as an enclitic, like the Greek δε or the Persian affix *di* "this." It also stands as a single word.

Depa. Deecke has compared with the Persian *Dipă* "inscription," derived from the Medic *duppa* and Akkadian *dub, dim* "tablet," not an Aryan root.

Ena "one," on coins and tombs. Like the Sanskrit *ena* "this," Greek *hen* "one."

Zzemâze. Some female relative—daughter or sister. It may compare with the Sanskrit *svasa*, Lett. *sesa* "sister."

Aba or *ava* "this." The old Persian *ava* "that one." It is common in various cases and genders.

Ahbe or *ahve* "his." Seems to be a compound, viz. *a-hvo* "to himself," the Zend *hvo* "self." This is also declinable.

Hrpe answers to ἔπι on the bilingual according to one transliteration, and has not been compared in any very satisfactory manner.

Lâdâ "wife." Schmidt is no doubt right in deriving from the Aryan root *la* "to love" or "desire," as meaning "beloved" or "his love."

Maete. Answers to the Greek τοδε on the bilingual tomb. It also occurs as *Mate*, which seems to be the same. It appears to be the ablative of *ma*, the Aryan *ma* "this" meaning "in this" or "here."

Añtada and *Añtavü* frequently occur in context which suggests that the word means "a memorial." The latter recalls the Greek *ἀνθήμα* "a dedication."

Pomãza, a man's name, perhaps an adjective from *Pums* "man" in Sanskrit.

Sa "and." The old Persian *ça.*

Tedaeme "son," may be derived from the Aryan root *dha*, Greek *θάω* "to suckle," from which *filius* in Latin is also derived (see Skeat).[1]

Gbeda means some dignitary, a "prince" or "ruler," according to context. It suggests the Greek *Κηδέυω* "I take charge," from the Aryan root *Kudh* "to protect," whence the Latin *custos.*

Ghofa "tomb," is commonly found. Probably from the Aryan root *Kubh* "to lie down," "to be hollow."

There is much, therefore, even in these peculiar words, which agrees with a comparison with Iranian speech; and the pronouns and particles are nearer to the Old Persian

[1] The references to Skeat are to the list of 461 Aryan roots in Skeat's "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language" (Oxford, 1888), which are translated from Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, 3rd edition, Göttingen, 1874, and Curtius' *Greek Etymology*, English edition.

than to any other language. A comparison with Armenian shows this, and excludes the use of that modern language as likely to mislead.

The Terminations.

Moriz Schmidt gave careful study to the inflexion of the Lycian words, but without any attempt at comparative treatment. For such treatment we may rely on the Ancient Persian, and on Bopp's famous comparative study of Aryan noun cases. The word *Lâdâ*, for instance, serves as a good sample of a known noun in various cases, viz. *Lâdâ*, nom. *Lâdô*, acc. *Lâde*, an oblique case. It is also certain that the genitives of Lycian nouns end in *h*, *ha* and *heia*, being thus comparable with Zend and Persian rather than with Greek. The coin[1] which bears the word *Trbbüneme*, "of the Trojans" (or Tlossians) also suggests *neme* as the genitive plural, like the Old Persian *-nama*; and in some cases, where the termination in *-ha* cannot be made to agree with the genitive, it appears to be the nominative plural, as in the Old Persian *-aha*. Masculine nouns (especially proper names) end in *-s* in Lycian, like Greek or Latin, or the Old Persian *-sa* for the nominative singular. We have other nouns in *a*; and may reasonably suppose, from some of the texts where a neuter noun makes its accusative also in *â*, that there were three genders in Lycian; but, as in Ancient Persian, the distinction of the genders is not always indicated by the vowels.

So far, therefore, the inflections present a language much nearer to Iranian speech than to Greek, agreeing with the words of grammatical importance already discussed, and with the alphabet itself.

Some of the most important terminations may now be dered, which have not been determined by any scholar, comparative basis.

forms the nominative of some nouns, and possibly some cases the locative of nouns in *a*, being the Old Persian locative in *aya*, and *āyā*.

[1] See Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 458.

-eia is the plural of nouns in *e*. Old Persian *-aya* (nom.).

-ka is adjectival, as in Old Persian, and also gentilic (like the Vannic *ke*, the Latin *-cus*). It seems also to be an enclitic pronoun *-ka* "his."

-mla (in accusative *mlô*), we see from the word for Hecatomb, already mentioned, to answer to the Greek *mnas*. In Zend (see Haug, p. 84) the ending *-mena*, *-mna*, forms the present participle of the middle and passive voice, and *mnâi* or *mna* is also used for the infinitive. It is a common Aryan form.

-ma forms the accusative singular, and the ordinal, as in Old Persian, and other Aryan speech. It also forms the abstract (see Spiegel, Alt. Persisch. Keil, p. 170).

-na. The abstract ending in Old Persian is *nâ*, and adjectives also end in *na* (in the nominative): it may also form the past participle.

-ta and *-tta* appear, as in Old Persian, to be adverbial, and to form the past participle passive (singular).

-vata, like the Zend *-vat*, Latin *-vatus*, appears to be a past participle ending, passive, nom. sing.

-vota is a similar ending.

-e is a dative singular of nouns in *a*. In Sanskrit this dative is used as an infinitive, according to Prof. Max Müller. Some nouns end in *e* in the nom. sing.

-be or *-ve* appears to be the nominative plural of nouns in *o* or *u*, like the Old Persian *-va*.

-ade. An ancient dative in *ada* occurs in Sanskrit, and is used as an infinitive. The Zend infinitive (Haug, p. 35) may be compared, and the termination has also an adverbial sense.

-tade compares with the Old Persian *tâda* for the loc[illegible] singular.

-de appears to be used sometimes as an enclitic.

-mãde would, as in the case of the Zend *-madi*, be 1st person plural of the imperfect middle voice.

-ve, a nominative plural, see *-vâ* and *-va*.

-ahe, the nominative plural of *-a*, Old Persian *-aha*.

-le appears to be the participial ending in the singular, or may at times be adverbial (English *-ly*). The Lycian differs from Zend and Old Persian in using the letter *l*, which those languages do not possess. In this respect it is comparable with Sanskrit, as well as with Greek. *le* is also the participle ending in Vannic : Armenian *-al.*

-nämă and *-neme*, the genitive plural, as in Old Persian. The termination in *-ãma* may be another form, as in Old Persian. In this case we are remote from the forms, of contracted character, occurring in the European languages.

-ra, an adjective ending, as in Old Persian.

-dra apparently a possessive form, as in Sanskrit.

-ne is connected with *-na.*

-tüne appears to answer to the abstract termination Latin *-tium*, Armenian *-thium*, Sk. *-tvam*, Greek *-tion.*

-re is probably the dative of *-ra.*

-ase appears to be a dative, as in Sanskrit, which may therefore be used as an infinitive, as Prof. Max Müller has explained.

-te is the 2rd person singular (Zend *ti*) of the present tense active voice.

-vate, -vatê are cases of *-vata.*

-ôe forms the locative singular, the Old Persian *-auva.*

-zôe may be the locative plural, Old Persian *-sauva.*

-az, -ez appears to be the accusative plural, like the Sanskrit *-as.*

-dă or *-adă* should be an ablative singular, as in the Ancient Persian.

-h and *-ha* form the genitive singular already noticed.

-eiă, already noticed under *-eiâ.* The distinction is not very clear, and, indeed, in Lycian there is a certain looseness in the writing of *â* and *ă*, also noticed in Ancient Persian.

-kă appears to be at times the enclitic, as in Old Persian—the Latin *-que* (see *kâ*).

-teiă, apparently the verbal adjective *-tya*, as in Sanskrit, and may form an infinitive (Zend *dyâi*).

-añte. The 3rd person plural present tense of the intransitive voice. Zend *-nti.*

-fa rarely occurs, and seems, like the Greek *phi*, to form an adverb of place.

-ñ, the nominative of personal names in the singular, as in Old Persian, according to Spiegel (p. 168).

-zãn, *-zü* and *-sãn* are apparently personal terminations, like the Greek *-iza*, *-izôn* and the Zend *-za*, meaning "the offspring of," hence used with both personal and gentile nouns.

-o and *-ô* form the accusative singular of nouns in *-a*. The sound answers to the Sanskrit *a*, *â*, and some Greek names in *a* seem to become *o* in Lycian.

-âs, *-ãs*, *-es* form accusative plurals, as is shown very clearly by tomb texts (compare *-az*, *-ez*). There is a certain looseness in writing *-s* or *-z* in Lycian, as we may gather from the name of Hystaspes.

-hes is an accusative plural according to Schmidt, but the *h* may belong to the root.

-bü or *-vü* is perhaps best explained by the Sanskrit gerund ending in *-vâ*. The same applies to *-vü* written with the *digamma*.

-mü appears to be the 1st person singular, present tense, transitive, of the verb—the Old Persian *-miya* and Zend *-mi*. This seems to countenance the view that *ü* is properly *eü*, or even *-ea*, being the only very doubtful sound in Lycian.

-nü appears to be the accusative singular of the neuter gender.

-vatü. See *-vata*, of which it may be a case—probably the accusative singular.

-tü stands in a similar relation to *-ta*.

-vaña appears to be the Old Persian *-van*, with the meaning "the condition of."

-añ, Old Persian *-âma* (Zend). The 1st person plural of the imperative active.

These are the principal terminations. A few others may be specially considered in the texts.

Prefixes.

The prefixes appear to be those which are usual in Aryan speech. It is not always easy to distinguish them from compound elements in the words, or from the roots; but the following seem clear:

alb- or *alv-* appears to answer to *anuv-* "near" in the Old Persian; but the Sanskrit *anu-* "after," or the Greek *ana-*, must not be forgotten.

ala- appears to answer to *-ana.*

â- The negative. Also the augment of the imperfect, in cases where the root begins with a vowel.

ă-. The augment when the root begins with a consonant, following the rule in Sanskrit.

añ-. The negative "not."

añtha- "over against," the Greek *anth-*, *ant-*.

añthē-. Greek *ante* of time.

mă-. The causative prefix of verbs.

mâ-. The negative or prohibitive prefix.

ă. Standing alone. The genitive or possessive prefix.

ad-. Old Persian *hadû* "with," Latin *ad.*

hü "well." The Greek *eu-*, and Old Persian *u*, Zend *hu*, Sanskrit *su.*

fddô- may be compared with *paiti* "in," and has been thought to be for the Greek *meta* (the Eolian *πέδα*), but its existence is not very certain as a prefix.

Numerals.

The Cardinals are as a rule written in cyphers, so that their sound is not known. They have been supposed to include *ena* "one," and *tve* "two," *tre* "three," *settere*? "four," with others. They are not very important for our present purpose.

Of the Ordinals we may suppose that they would end in *ma*, but I am inclined to suppose that we find *threda* for "third" and *dovatare* (the Greek *deuteros*) for "second" or "other," while *pañs* on coins may mean "five" (Sanskrit *pançh*).

The Bilingual Tomb.

This text, published by Sir C. Fellows in 1841 (Lycia, pl. 36), was the original basis of decipherment and study of the language, and gives the following:

ᛏBᛏꟻIᚴ : ᛏ ᚴPᚴFᚴꟻEIᚴ : MᛏTE :
ᚴPꟻNᚴFᚴTᛉ : SEΔᛏPEIᚴ : ᚴᛏ . . . .
Nᛏ : TEΔᛏEME : ᚴᚴᚴE ᛏTΛE ᛏ)I(BE
ΛᚴΔE : ᛏ+BE : Sᛏ TEΔᛏEME)I()I(Eᛏ
Λᛏ|ᛏ TO MNHMᚴ TOΔE . . . . .
OIHΣATO ΣIΔAPIOΣITAᚴA . .
NIOΣ YIOΣ AYTΩI KAI THI ΓY . .
IKI KAI YIΩI ΓYBIAΛH

"This tomb Sedarios son of (Pannios?) made for himself, his wife, and his son Pubiale." The Lycian reads:

abañia a ârâvâzeia mate frãnavatü Sedareia pa . . na
This a monument here is made by Sedarios of Pan . . ios

tedaeme appe atle awabe Lade ahbe sa tedaeme wawealaia.[1]
son over self him wife his and son Vavealea.

A large number of other tomb texts were partially explained by this one. Many contain an additional clause, to the effect that any person who buries in them, without leave, is consigned to the furies (Latona in one case apparently) and is to be fined by the State. This custom obtained late in Asia Minor, as we know from many Greek inscriptions. These short texts have been roughly explained by Sharpe, and by others, but they do not pres[illegible] the same advantages for study as does the great Xanthus

[1] M. Imbert has disputed Sharpe's transliteration of the last word. The latest copy appears to read *Fobealaea* (Bab. Rec. vol. v. p. 106). This does not, however, seem to me sufficient ground for rejecting the value *w* for the Lycian sign which resembles the Cypriote *va*.

monument, the subject of them being so restricted. In the latter case the large number of words, and their repetition with various contexts, and varying cases and moods, form a great check on the interpretation of the common words. Yet this monument has remained unread for some sixty years.

The Xanthus Monument.

The preceding considerations preface the way for an attempt to translate this lengthy text. The copies of Sir C. Fellows (that published in 1842 is the best) and of M. Schmidt are substantially in accord, and the differences are only in broken fragments. The great letters are each one and three-quarter inches in height, very carefully cut, each under the other in vertical line: so that we can judge in broken parts of the text how many letters are missing. On the north side is a Greek text in twelve lines, and above it are twenty lines of Lycian. A large ancient fissure in the stone here existed when the Lycian was written, so that the twenty lines are more complete than they appear to be. Below the Greek in smaller writing is a text complete in itself, consisting of thirty-four lines, the last having only ten letters of the last words, while the complete line consists of forty-two letters. These two texts are independent of each other.

On the south side is a Lycian text of fifty-five lines: the first fifteen much injured, and the injury extending more than half-way down the monument. The full line includes thirty-one letters, and the last line twenty-four, so that this text also ends at the bottom of the stone.

The text on the east side is of sixty-four lines of twenty-nine letters each, and it ends with an incomplete word.

The west side, which is a good deal crowded at the bottom, begins with the end of a word, which, according to the context, may very well be the end of the unfinished word at the bottom of the east side. This text has also suffered at the top, and has for the most part thirty-one letters in the line. It ends with a verb in the 3rd person

plural, and so completes the text on the sides, which text was made at a later time than the Greek.

It seems from inspection, indeed, that the monument originally had only the Greek on it, but was repaired at a later period, and the Lycian texts then added. It is possible, however, that the text on the south side was written before the great crack, and it may be as old as the Greek.

In the Lycian there are several words, such as *Aravazeia Tedaeme*, etc., which occur also on tombs, and this suggests that the text is mortuary. But there is so large a vocabulary of different words that there must be considerable range of subject in the text.

It is evidently first important to know what is said in the Greek; and to note that the Greek text opens with a quotation of an epigram of Simonides (Anthol. Brunck. i. p. 134), referring originally to a battle with the Phœnicians off Cyprus. The battle occurred in 470 B.C., so that the Greek text must be later, and the Lycian consequently still later, probably about 400 B.C.

The line in question runs thus:

Ἐξ οὗτ' Ἐυρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμεν.

"Never since the sea separated Asia from Europe."

The rest of the text I take from the published translation by M. C. Imbert, who has kindly sent me his papers on Lycian.

—"did any former Lycian ever erect such a *stela*, before the twelve gods, in the purified enclosure of the agora—an imperishable monument of conquest and war. Kreis, son of Harpagus, was superior to all the Lycian youths then flourishing in all things, in striving with his hands. He it is who, Athene the city taker beside him, took many acropoles, giving to his relatives a portion of the empire. They did not forget to show due gratitude to the immortals. He it is who, in a single day, slew seven *Hoplites*, Arcadians. Ah, truly of all mortals he has raised before Zeus the most

numerous trophies! Ah, truly he has crowned the Caric race with very fair crowns!"

It remains to be seen whether this has anything to do with the Lycian. The name of Harpagus has long since been recognized in the Lycian. It occurs below the Greek on the north side and elsewhere, and it is usual to suppose that the later general of the name is intended, on account of the date of the Greek.

Certain names were noted also by Sharpe, including the city of Arena (Xanthus), with Patara and the Ionians, and Troes (or Tlos people), as well as the Tramiles or Lycians themselves. To Dr. Deecke, I believe, we owe the name of Cissaphernes, which he supposes to be that of the Satrap of Lower Asia called Tissaphernes by the Greeks (414–401 B.C.), and to M. Imbert that of his father Hydarnes. The name of Hystaspes was also early recognized with those of Darius and Artaxerxes. It is not unnatural to look to Ancient Persian as a basis of comparison, when the personages mentioned on the monument are Persians. Yet the language is not Ancient Persian, for it includes the letter *l*, which is foreign to Zend and to monumental Persian. I venture to think, from the notice of the Medes (*Madoneme*) on the text, to be hereafter considered, that the dialect so much used in Lycia was that of the Medes. Herodotus says that the Lycians of his own time were strangers, the earlier inhabitants having been nearly exterminated when the first Harpagus took Xanthus, in 545 B.C. (Herod. i. 176). Even as late as the time of Pausanias Magian priests were found in Lydia (v. 27, 3), which leads us to suppose there may have been a Medo-Persian population in this region, so early conquered by the general of Cyrus. If, as I am inclined to suppose, the Lycian texts were added by Cissaphernes in honour of a predecessor Kissaphernes (for both names occur), we get a limit of age for the Greek of the monument between 470 and 401 B.C.

The test of such a system of interpretation seems to lie in the possibility of translating the Xanthus text, without

torturing the words, in strict accordance with the inflections above noticed, and with the vocabulary of the Iranian languages. In accordance also with the rules of their syntax and grammatical construction.

Without entering into any lengthy grammatical disquisition, it may be sufficient to note that I have relied on Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar, on that of Haug for the Zend, and on Spiegel's work (which is only a consolidation of the discoveries of Sir H. Rawlinson) for the Ancient Persian. It appears that the correct pronunciation of the letters, especially of the Lycian T, as contrasted with Δ, ΔΔ, TT and ↄC, and of the ᒥ as distinct from ᒥᒥ, is very important. So also is the correct understanding of the very Iranian letters X and ⋿, and the fact that (as in Vannic speech) B may be a dialectic change from *m*. The distinction the long and short vowels is also most important, and so are the reduplications which, as in the languages compared, mark the intensitive, desiderative, and perfect forms, with the inserted vowels of the passive mood, and the augment of the past tense. The vocabulary has also been regulated by Skeat's list of the 461 Aryan roots.

Free Translations.

It appears to me that the following is the general sense of the various texts on the Xanthus stone. The exact explanation may perhaps be modified by further study, as the whole is of necessity tentative; but exact rules have been followed, both phonetically and grammatically, and there seems to me no possible doubt as to the character of the language.

On the north side, above the Greek, the text was inscribed, as Schmidt observed, after the monument had been injured; and it is therefore less incomplete than it appears to be, although further injury was caused by the second fall. The text is purely funerary and commemorative.

". . . . . Cissaphernes the son of . . . and a Persian governor . . . . . O citizens, let this . . stone erected by

me be (his?) memorial, visibly maintaining his honour. For the pillar stands restored, and having bound up its fissure with a bond of brass, I erect the pillar. For O (local?) people, and citizens, and my warriors, having directed this to be inscribed, I set the pillar here perfected: it is this day cleaned by me and consecrated, and inscribed, (Here) I have gathered to his ancestor, Kessaphernes the son of (Hydarnes?) by his own desire . . . . . For the hero Xanthus has given a choice memorial—he having been born there—and Persia. In this place he lies enclosed, and opposite to Kessaphernes is laid the body of his excellent son, who had perished. Much lamenting let us mourn his corpse . . . . God rest him in Xanthus . . . . "

Under the Greek is a text, also perhaps late, and fairly complete, which Sharpe regarded as a royal decree. It appears to refer generally to the Greek text in the following manner.

"That here contained is recorded to complete the memorial text, saying thus, the . . . proclaiming to preserve, thus, inscribed as before, has it now been made, being done into Lycian. Being famed for his deeds, and excelling in contest, he is honoured in being borne in memory; and perceiving what is demanded, it is done into Lycian, thus maintaining his greatness well perceived. And lest it be demanded, by the Caric race, why (?); the ruler of Lycia is pleased to make certainly known, (condescending?) on being asked by those who do not know. Having (ordered?) these things to be done, by proclamation, we will . . . (God willing?). Thus the record is (?), being written and inscribed. To a certain dead man, who was called Kreis, lamented having been (prematurely?) snatched away, the memorial is consecrated, as now we inscribe, in Lycian pronouncing the word. He having been called by the name mentioned in the (contents?) as gathered, and it being demanded why a notice exists on the memorial, it is to be explained as said. Since it does not please the governor, that the honorary text is not read, he orders this to be put up, to be regarded as done in the name of the family of Hystaspes. Hear ye this word! These

things he certifies, addressing by this (notice?) in memory of what is demanded, being willing that the desire for the praise of the Caric name should be satisfied. . . . I beg you (confidently?) to read forth the speech, so doing that . . . the Trameles may be gratified, having been informed of the deeds (proclaimed?).

"His whole family attained to eminence, and this done they were grateful to heaven. So it is said . . . . . .

"Having well gathered (or sought) and wishing to divulge the memorial, and a faithful rendering being offered Harpagus is (honoured?) because he was victorious. Wherefore striving clearly to explain and the name being made to be pronounced? . . . . . it is to be read. Since I have not failed to notify in Lycian writing. Let all men know hereby the purpose for which it was made (or cut), and remember also, having heard it, that his ghost is gladdened seeing that he is maintained in loving memory; lest it should be questioned, on account of the obscurity of the writing, thus wishing to complete (it?). Bear in your mind these deeds, immortalizing him by preserving the tomb."

This is perhaps a somewhat rough rendering. But it will be observed that the principal clauses of the Greek are thus paraphrased, and the reason given that the Greek was not understood by the Trameles, or aboriginal population of Lycia, who were supposed to be interested in the history of the Caric family, or race, to which, as we learn from the Greek, Harpagus and his son Kries belonged.

The text on the south side, or back of the monument, if the preceding forms the front, seems to have been carved before the great crack, when the pillar first fell. It is consequently much injured, and gives no consecutive rendering for the first third or more of the text. No one conversant with the Lycian tomb-texts can, however, doubt that it is purely a funerary inscription, and the expression "they shall become immortal in memory" agrees with this subject as well as the expression "a memorial bearing his (name) . . . a memorial greatly honouring him." We then

find reference to "the son of Harpagus," who was the original subject of the Greek funerary text. In line thirty begins what appears to me to be a further account of the tomb and its dedication.

"The Lycian (assembly?) having caused a (procession?) to be made in order to . . . the tomb, by propitious consecration by the Trameles, with harmony and pleasant rejoicing, they (Harpagus and his son) shall become lamented (or mentioned) both by the Lycian . . . and by the Medes, and . . . by the Medes both, they shall become (or obtain) and having been equally honoured . . . . May heaven grant that this be fulfilled, a satisfaction also to the rest of the family, a satisfaction also to the manes of the house. Moreover, possessing sculptures, gifts of the people of Tlos, and carved by Melosander the Bithynian also. Persons assembled for sacrifice, performing the worship of (the Medes?) (outside the city?). A heroic stripling also, and Medes assembled bearing gifts, carried in procession, for these with him are seven in all. And opposite are carved by hand, the strong man Hercules holding a certain lion, and (Achilles?) as a prince on horseback, and a Greek in a bronze helmet holding a shield . . . . Moreover there was fashioned a wall, supporting a beam, and . . . . supporting also a shield."

If I have understood this passage aright, the description *exactly* applies to the bas-reliefs of a tomb at Xanthus, described and drawn by Sir C. Fellows. The procession of a youth and seven companions bearing animals for sacrifice, and various other articles, occupies a long frieze. On the other side are Hercules and the lion, a mounted figure (with an attendant), a soldier with helmet and shield, and by him another shield hung on the wall.

The east side is also very much injured for more than a third of its height, and does not allow of a continuous rendering. It appears to me to refer to the restoration of the monument, with various wishes for the prosperity of those concerned, and especially of the person who caused it to be rebuilt. The passage referring to this personage seems to run somewhat as follows.

"And having attained the honour of Satrap of the Trameles of Ionia of . . . and of Sparda may he be given lawful . . . at Xanthus . . . may he be allowed to flourish to old age, and . . . . to eternity, and to him who is borne to him, remaining for ever . . . . by a monument for these deeds giving praise to a famous hero (who possesses a funeral eulogy?). Thus have they said, these things having been engraved in addition. And so . . . at the monument of his forefathers, and in the property of his forefathers, having been given in charge as a mortuary of the family, to receive the collected ashes, having been gathered and commingled, may he be taken with honour into the vault belonging to him, may his corpse . . . having been enclosed with care . . . and built up to remain for ever, and may (let) his monument be opposite to that of the Harpies . . . . in the month of December established indestructible (which) men having destroyed, and greatly having been destroyed by the . . . damage of the earthquake at Xanthus, the work of the family is made good, standing firm and perfect, being made (with care) and greatly cherished. Their wish, which they wished, having been known, it has been decreed in charge to his family, by sure right by Xanthus, and the vault made thereto, and the monument also, the preparation and the arrangement being executed, and the broken pieces having been bound together, and being appropriated to the . . . and the clan, and inscribed in the days of Darius and of Artaxerxes the Third. We, the chiefs governing the Tramelian land, gave of good will, and without command, to this man voluntarily the dedication inscribed, inscribed as a record, both this and, to complete the dedication, this also an additional inscription."

If this inscription has been rightly understood, two points of interest may be noted. First, that the monument is described as being opposite to that adorned with sculptures of Harpies. The well-known Harpy monument is, as shown in Sir C. Fellows' picture, within sight of that of the family of Harpagus, which countenances the proposed rendering.

Secondly, the date of the original text, and of the additions is given as "in the days of Darius and of Artaxerxes the Third," which, if we are to understand Darius the Third, would make the date 359–336 B.C.—a generation or more after the original text. The mention of Mithra on this side of the monument is also of interest, as showing the religion of the country.

The inscription on the west side appears to continue the same text, as already noted, and is also very much injured in the upper part. It contains more lines than any other side, apparently in order to finish what it was desired to say, within the limits of the stone, which was now covered all over with writing. The consecutive reading is difficult, on account of the injuries, and because of a number of words not found on the other sides, and which are difficult to compare, besides being in many cases variously transcribed in the different copies. It seems, however, that this text is purely funerary, referring to the re-consecration of the stone, and to the virtues of the deceased.

If I have understood this part of the text rightly, it appears that the restoration was intended to pacify the demands of the Caric family. It is remarkable that one passage (29–30 and 30–31) is repeated apparently by an error of the scribe. "Wherefore to record the glories of the dead, rendering his deeds illustrious by a memorial . . . it is made. Well wishing to the honour of the dead, dumb and forgotten, it is spoken in Lycian." Further on (line 45) the sense appears to be "to satisfy the wish of the Caric family burning with anger because the text before time broken, lies. . ."

Again, in line 53, if rightly understood, we find a pious expression in full accord with the beliefs of the ancients, "Never therefore let God, thus exalted and revered, be vexed, angry with us and estranged having heard . . . . done. No longer wroth with the Trameles, he calms his fury, and heaven denies not its mercies, a vault having been carved for the dead, lovingly remembered . . . So obtaining

clear manifestation, that which is mentioned in the record, having been recently cleansed, which, before the recent purification, was obscure, showing dimly."

The final clauses appear to refer to the appropriation of the site.

"The place . . a cemetery of this dead person, and his family, gathered to God; the vault is made to honour (them) serving to . . . the inscriptions (or sculptures). These shall henceforth . . . admiration to the dead man . . . , explaining the life he lived, and (proclaimed?) each year . . . . . and these . . the Lycian . . having carved, they make an end" (or "complete").

I do not venture to suppose that such translations are final. They may be modified by further research on the same lines. But it appears to me that no doubt can well exist as to the affinities of the Lycian language—a subject of much more general interest and importance. The comparisons on which these renderings are founded are given, with the interlinear rendering of each text.

Comparison with Vannic.

The language spoken by the tribes round Lake Van, in the ninth century B.C., is as yet imperfectly known, and has not been subjected to any very complete comparative treatment. Dr. Hincks in 1848 pointed out that the Vannic dialect was inflected, and Dr. Mordtmann in 1872 stated it to be Aryan, and proposed a comparison with Armenian, which has, however, found little favour in the eyes of other scholars, on account of the modern and decayed character of the Armenian vocabulary. F. Lenormant, followed by Dr. Sayce, has proposed a comparison with Georgian, which is open to the same objection, and these scholars have not succeeded in establishing any connexion of vocabulary, except in some terminations not very distinctive. The nouns and verbs, in Georgian and Vannic, present little or no resemblance.

The Vannic dialect is still only tentatively explained, though its grammar is known, and something of its vocabulary. Taking the words which Dr. Sayce regards as best established (R.A.S. Journal, 1882), with his subsequent corrections, it appears to me that the Vannic, if not identical with the Lycian dialect, is at least very closely connected with it, and is most certainly to be attributed to the Iranian family of languages. It appears, like the Lycian, to substitute *b* for *m*, and *l* for *n*, and the terminations often appear to be the same in both languages. The Vannic preposition *pari* is, by itself, very distinctive of Iranian speech, and the following instances may be sufficient to show a very close connexion with Lycian and with Sanskrit.

Nouns:

Vannic *esi.* Sanskrit *yos.* Latin *jus*, "law."

Vannic *asi* "cavalry." Old Persian *aça.* Sanskrit *asva.* Armenian *tsi* "horse."

Vannic *a* "sacrifice." Old Persian *aya* "sacrifice."

Vannic *tumeni* "villages." Lycian *tomena* "house."

Vannic *nribi* "dead." Sanskrit *mri.* Lycian *mra* and *mera* "to die."

Vannic *euris* "Lord." Lycian *awru.* Old Persian *aura.*

Vannic *asis* "house." Sanskrit *vesas* "dwelling."

Vannic *alkhi* "inhabitants." Armenian *elk* "race."

Vannic *sal* "year." Old Persian *sal.* Lycian *shal.*

Vannic *-khinie* "family." Lycian *ghaña.* Latin *gens.*

Vannic *are* "men." Lycian *are* "man," "chief." Armenian *ayr* "man."

Vannic *ip* "inundation." Old Persian *api* "water."

Vannic *vedia* "women." Sanskrit *vedha* "woman," "wife."

Vannic *sardis* "year." Zend *çareda* "year."

Vannic *Bag* "God." Old Persian *baga.* Phrygian *Bagaios.* Lycian *phaga.* Slav. *bogu* "God."

Vannic *auis* "water." Zend *awi.* Latin *aqua* "water."

Verbs:

Vannic *a* "to say." Greek ἄιω.

Vannic *zad* "to build" (or "make"). Zend *zad* "to build."

Vannic *par* "to carry." Sanskrit *bhri*. Lycian *far*. Latin *fero* "to carry."

Vannic *gu* (reduplicated perfect 1st sing. *kugubi*) "to write." Sanskrit *cho* "to cut." The writing being on rock.

Vannic *di* "to call." Sanskrit *da* "to speak."

Pronouns, Prepositions, and Particles:

Vannic *ui* "and." Old Persian *va*. Armenian *yev*.

Vannic *ini* "this." Old Persian *anya* and *ima*.

Vannic *isti* "this." Latin *iste*.

Vannic *mes* (gen. *mani*, dative *mei*, locative *meda*) "this" or "he." Lycian *ma* "this," from the common Aryan demonstrative root *ma*.

Vannic *pari* (preposition) "out of." Old Persian *para* "away." Greek πάρος.

Vannic *eha* "this." Zend *hya* "this."

Vannic *ies* "who." Zend *yo* "who."

The Vannic grammar, both as regards inflexions and also as regards syntax, compares with the Iranian languages. The nom. sing. masc. is in *-s*, as in Old Persian, Lycian, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, etc. The accusative in *ni* (sing.) is probably dialectic for *ma*; for, if correctly deciphered, the *n* in Vannic (as in Greek) often takes the place of the Iranian *m*. The 1st person sing. *bi* for the verb is the Lycian *mü*, and Dr. Sayce has himself pointed out the *b* is probably used dialectically for *m* in this The genitive singular is *-i*: the old Persian *â* an The present participle is *-li*, as in Lycian; and in Armen it is *-al*. The locative singular in *d* is the Latin *-d* for the locative, the Old Persian ablative in *ada*. The possessive

in *-si* is the Old Persian genitive *-sa*. Other terminations might be added.

As regards syntax the comparison is equally striking. The verb, which possesses the augment for the imperfect, and the reduplication for the perfect, as in Iranian speech, may precede its nominative, which is impossible in Turanian speech. The adjective follows the noun, as in Lycian, Persian, etc., etc. The copula and enclitic are rarely used, which also applies to Persian and Lycian. At least one preposition appears, and prepositions are not characteristic of Turanian speech, but very much so of Aryan languages. The genitive may precede the nominative, as in Lycian, Old Persian, etc., etc. Collective nouns are used as plurals, just as in the Old Persian. Grammar, syntax, and vocabulary thus alike connect the Vannic with Lycian, and with Iranian speech.

For such reasons it appears incorrect to seek for a close connexion between Vannic speech and the Old Turanian languages of Western Asia. Nor will it be found possible to compare their vocabularies. It appears also gratuitous to suppose that a group of languages existed, which comprised Georgian (a mixed language, with a vocabulary and grammar closely connected with Armenian, and with Iranian speech) and Vannic, which may also so easily be compared with the older Iranian languages. Such a group has been called "Alarodian," but its existence is unproven, and the theory rests on imperfect comparison of the West Asiatic languages.

There are many reasons for supposing that the Assyrians encountered Aryan tribes as early as the ninth century B.C., in Armenia, and near the Caspian. The Medes are very early mentioned among these. The Phrygians—Aryans from Europe—had yet earlier invaded Western Asia Minor. The [illegible]al conclusion appears to me to be that the Vannic and [illegible]n dialects mark the presence of some Aryan people—[illegible]obably the Medes—akin to the Persians, and to other Iranian peoples.

General Deductious.

Although like other Lycian texts, and like the majority of the yet later Greek inscriptions found in Lycia, the Xanthus monument appears to be little more than a funerary and honorific inscription, yet some indications of the character of the people, and of their beliefs and institutions, may thence be gathered.

It appears that the lower class, or aboriginal Trameles, had no knowledge of Greek, but understood Lycian. That the population was ruled by Satraps, under the Persian kings—as indeed was already well known. That the upper classes buried the dead in sculptured tombs, with inscriptions recording the name and descent of the dead: and that the violation of these tombs, or illicit burial therein by strangers, was punished by a fine. The gods worshipped included the Persian deities Ormuzd and Mithra. The spirits of the dead, the ancestral *pitris*, and the sacred fire, seem to be mentioned on our monument. But Greek art had profoundly influenced this population, and the vocabulary often appears to indicate this Greek influence. The "strangers" who, in the time of Herodotus, inhabited Lycia, appear, finally, to have been an Aryan people from the East, accompanying the Medic general Harpagus, when he conquered the country for Cyrus, and not improbably themselves Medes. In an earlier age we find this same population holding its own against the Assyrians on the shores of Lake Van.

III. Transliteration and Notes.

North side. Text above the Greek.

(1) . . . . . *gtü Zesâfrãnâ* .
Cissaphernes

(2) . . . . . *ha Tedaeme sa Pârzzâ gbeda sase*
of . . . son and Persian ruler

(3) . . . . *le(i)âha Trbbe âtônâs zggôta tarañ ma*
O citizens {making / to make} honour visibly maintained this

(4) . . *amo âgâ(n)ô mârazâ ma obohôtó*
stone for his memorial by me having been made
kbei üte sa-
Let be. {For / Thus}

(5) *otônâ sttâte sttâlâ üte mâleiâhe fddôte*
restored stands the pillar. {For / Thus}, O citizens, know ye

(6) *ddavü sggâzô enaona müsavah ãme*
the two divisions by a bond? of brass (being) joined
sagbeda
together

(7) *sttatemü sttâlâ üte walâhe beiahe sa mâle-*
I place the pillar. For, O people, and citi-

(8) *iâhe sa martamahe sa gañtâvâtahe gbedüaña*
zens and my warriors this to be inscribed having been

(9) *he saddava sttatemü orobleiü maete fov-*
directed perfected I put (monument?) here it

(10) *te âzzâlô d. dao trbbaet amo asbüta gañ . .*
is day this clean made of me consecrated and

(11) *âvâtade . . . . a(ỵ)ô ãmasamü Kezzafrãnâ ve(id)*
inscribed his ancestor I gather Kesaphernes son

(12) *ãnah sae varei âmônâ talüzeiahe walôi . .*
of . . by his wish

(13) *Ârãnâs kahe gãntâ harbbade añtoba*
Xanthus of which he was born for the hero a memorial
war . . .
(choice?)

(14) *Kezzâfrãnâ a frete safârzâ) ma ãn (d) ãn.*
for Kessaphernes has offered and Persia this in place

(15) *môâva sa añtafe Kezzâfranô ttle* . . . . . .
shut up and opposite to Kesaphernes is laid

(16) . . . . *tedaeme ahbe âroSãn nanaglâ* . . . . . .
son his excellent who had perished

(17) . . . . . *ôkañ talarete teha zoañ* . . . . . .
greatly (mourning?) his corpse let us lament?

(18) . . *alü. û* . . . . . *âgô añtae t* . . . . . .

(19) *fâgâ sae ga*
god to him

(20) *añtlãma âvãnâta* (*sarozih*?)
make rest (in Arena?) [1]

The comparison of the words is as follows:

ZeSâfrânâ. This is distinct from *Kezâfrãnâ* below. Dr. Deecke recognized these personal names. Both probably are declinable. The latter has been supposed to represent Tissaphernes (Cissaphernes), but the former seems most likely. Cissaphernes was Satrap of Lower Asia in 414 B.C., and down to 400 B.C. was still in power.

Tedaeme, *Parzza*, and *gbede* have been already discussed.

Mâleiâha, plural nom. (or voc.) of *Mâleiâ*, compared with *mâniya* in Old Persian "dwelling" (Zend *nmana*), from the common Aryan root *man* (Latin *maneo*) to "dwell," Armenian *mnal* "to dwell." The Lycian constantly puts *l* for *n*, as already noted in a case made certain by the bilingual text "a hecatomb," Lycian *agatamla*. The long *â* denotes the gentilic form.

Trbbe or *truui*. Zend root *thru* "to fashion," "make."

Atônâs occurs again (East 27) where the same meaning suits. Sk. *van* "honour," the *ad* or *ath* may be the common Aryan prefix *ad*, the clause meaning "creating for (or to) honour." The common nominative ending in *s* occurs in all the early Aryan languages.

[1] M. Imbert makes only 19 lines, rearranging after line 16, but this does not affect my attempted translation.

Zggôta. Since the *z* stands for *s* in the name of Hystaspes, this may be from the root *skaw* "to perceive."

Tarañ. The Lycian *t* stands for the original Aryan *d* or *dh*. Hence the root is *dhar* "to maintain," the Old Persian *dar* "to hold," "possess," etc.

Âgânô. The Zend *asan*, Sanskrit *açman* (Spiegel, Arische Periode, p. 35), has been suggested, meaning a "stone."

Mârazâ, from the root *mar* "to recite," "record" (Zend), with the personal ending.

Obohôto. A causative from *Bhu* "to be" in the Aorist tense. This is, of course, very doubtful, as the word does not occur again.

Kbei. Compare the Zend *qyem* "let me be." The Lycian *b*, as has been observed by all who have studied the subject, constantly has the sound *u* or *v*.

üte. Has been compared to the Greek ὅτι. It may also compare with the Zend *üiti* "so."

Saotônâ. I have proposed to compare with the Ancient Persian *shiyâti* "in good health," "acceptable" (Spiegel, p. 243), Zend *shaiti*, Modern Persian *shâd*.

Fddôte or *Pddôte.* The 2nd person plural of the imperative should be *ta* or *te*. The root *Pddô* seems to be the Iranian *Bhud* "to know." The transposition of the vowel is commonly found.

Ddavô. From the common Aryan *du* "two."

Sggâzô. From the Aryan root *skad* "to cleave." The *d* is often softened in composition. The noun stands in the accusative. The Lycian *gh* stands on bilinguals for the Greek κ.

Enaone. From *yu* "to bind," with prefixed *en* "in."

Müsavah is a genitive which may be compared with the Slav *mosaz*, *mösch* "brass" (Schrader, Aryan Antiq. p. 201).

ãme. Old Persian *hama* "together."

sagrèda. From the Aryan root *sak* "to fasten."

sttatemü. The 1st person singular present indicative (transitive), from the Aryan *sta* "to stand," *stat* "to set up."

sttâlâ. The Greek *stelê*, in Doric *stala*, "a pillar." In Zend it is found as *stunem* "pillar," *stana* "stone."

walâhe. "People," plural vocative of *walô* or *wala*; the Sanskrit *vâlâ*, familiar to us as "wallah" for "a person."[1]

Beiahe. An adjective agreeing with the preceding. Perhaps taken from *vas* "to dwell," meaning "in the place."

Marta-mahe. The common Aryan *mart, mard* for a "man" or "warrior" (Persian, Armenian, etc.), with *mahi* (Latin *mei*), the plural vocative of *ma* "my."

sa "this." Sanskrit *sa* "he" and Greek ὁ come from the same pronominal base.

Gañtâvâtahe. The root *gañt*, or *gan*, is important in this text, occurring frequently. In this case it has the past part. pass. ending *vat* followed by *ahe* "being." In Sanskrit we find *kañd* "to scratch," and in Ancient Persian *kan* "to engrave," in the infinitive *kañtanaiy* (see Spiegel, Alt Persische, Keil, p. 213). This meaning answers in all cases where the word occurs. Some scholars have taken this word as an adjective, preceding the next, but in Lycian as in Old Persian, etc., the adjective appears to follow the noun.

Gbedüañahe. From the same root as *gbeda* "a governor." The termination recalls the Zend *oñhe* for the 3rd person of the past tense.

Saddave. Aryan root *sad* "to set." Sanskrit *sidh* "to perfect."

Orobleiü appears to be a noun. It occurs again (E. 55). I have conjectured some connexion with the Greek *ὄρον* a "monumental stone."

Maete "here," already known from the bilingual. From the demonstrative root *ma* "this" in the locative case.

fov(e)te. From *Bhu* (Greek *φυ*) "to be" (Latin *fui*). 3rd person singular present active intransitive.

âzzâlô. Zend *açan* "day," the *l* as usual taking the place of the *n*. In the accusative case, followed by *de* or *di* "this," the usual enclitic of Iranian speech.

daotrbbaet. From Sanskrit *dai* "to cleanse," and *thruet* past part. pass. of *thru* "to make." Followed by *a* "of"

[1] Schmidt (Neue Lykische Studien, p. 127), discussing the word *walâhe*, perceives that it is a term relating to persons, and renders it "descendants."

or "by," *mo* "me." It is certain that the two words are divided by the double dot.

asbüta or *asvüta*. This is a word which occurs several times. Sanskrit and Zend *ashu* "holy."

avô. The common Aryan root *am, av* for a progenitor. Latin *avus*.

ãmasamü. 1st person sing. present act. from *hama* "together," and *as* "to put" or "leave."

ve . . ãnah. As usual this genitive, succeeding the proper name, means "son of." There are many instances. M. Imbert reads Hydarnes.

sae varei "by his wish," from *var* "to wish." Sanskrit, Zend, etc.

Âräñâs. Nom. of the name *Arena*, which Sharpe first identified as Xanthus (see Schmidt).

Kahe "of which" or "of who," as in Iranian speech, agrees with Arenas as a masculine.

Gañta. From the root *gan* "to be born" (Latin *genitus*).

harbbade. Greek "Hero." Sanskrit *erôdê* "celebrated."

añtoba. This word has been already mentioned. It is common on tombs.

afrete. From root *bhri* "to carry," "bear," "offer," "bring." Iranian *fri*. Latin *fero*. 3rd person sing. imperf. act.

ma añ dan . . "This in place." *dan* and *danam* "place" in Zend and Sanskrit.

môâvâ. From the root *mu* "to close" (Skeat).

añtafe. From *añta* "opposite" and *afe*, Old Persian *abiy*, "to." This word occurs again and allows the same rendering.

ttle . . From the root *tal* "to carry," "lift."

ârosãn. From *âro* "brave," "noble," in Aryan speech.

nanaglâ. A past participle with the reduplication of the perfect tense from *nag*. Aryan *Nak*. Sanskrit and Zend *naç* "to perish." The nearest approach to these endings in *lâ* and *le* seems to be found in the Armenian *-il* and *-al* for the infinitive and participle. In Vannic also we have *-li* for the participle. In the Iranian languages the *l* becomes *n* as *-na* for the participle in Old Persian.

ôkañ. From the root *ug* "to be strong." It occurs again as *ôkâ* "the strong one" (Sanskrit *ojas* "strength").

talarete. Supposed to be from the root *dal* or *tal* "to suffer," whence the Latin *dolor.* Perhaps the participle plural "lamenting."

teha. In Sanskrit *dêha* means "body," "corpse."

soañ . . Imperfect word. On tombs in three cases is found *soamü.* The Lycian *s*, like its equivalent *ç* or *ś*, often represents the original Aryan *g* or *k.* The root may be *gu* "to cry aloud." The termination may be that of the 1st person plural imperative (Zend *-âma*) "lament we." It has been remarked by Schmidt that this inscription was apparently written after the stone had been damaged. The clause below the main fissure may therefore be complete and stand alone.

Fâgâ or *Phâgâ* by the law of transliteration would be the Persian *Bâgâ*, Sanskrit *Bhâgâ* "God."

sae gañtlãma Ârãnâta. The words nearly all have been explained. *gañt* may be a precative from *gan* "to produce," *lama* a noun from *la* "to rest." The reading *sarozih* is doubtful.

North side. The complete text following below the Greek.

(33) *Sberta ma zeraemâ sâbâde mrchch-*
Recorded this contents by? to complete memorial?
defa saba fâsbô . . .
-text thus says

(34) *nâtre slâte gosttade saba gañtâbo saba*
? preserved to proclaim thus inscribed as
ãntalâ . . . .
before in

(35) *chrâ troiale zâzâte nbb) Trawwaczk .*
Lycian being made is produced {now / new} By deeds?
afa madazf . . . . .
having been famed in

(36) *fle* *gegbâte* *watbalaemes* *sekatase*
effort having excelled brought to mind he is honoured?
ovadr . . . . . .
{ accomplish?
{ perceive?

(37) *a* *rüflez saba lale* *fenâte* { *mâhâse* / *mâsâse* } *toleiae* . . . .
ing wishes so well? seen { his greatness / death? } maintaining

(38) *Lâchrâ* *trbbde* *gareuâ* *ma* *gbâdez* *kode*
in Lycian made by Carici lest { demanding / demanded } why
mrchch . . . . . .
commemorated?

(39) *Kshâ* *Trañeleiâ* *ovate* *fâdchrovâsâ*
Prince Tramelian wishes certain to make known
kofila . . . . . .
condescending?

(40) *saba* *gbâdâse* *asônômlâ)* *abenoba* *kara*
so being asked by the ignorant These (things) to do
sas . . . . . .
commanded

(41) *ode* *slômâte* *zrbblô* *ãwrü* *more*
having? by word proclaiming the Lord willing?
toflalae(m)e . . . . . .
we will ———

(42) *âz* *saba* *sbertü* *fzzete* *lalabade*
Thus the record he adorns? having written
gãntabâ(d)e . . . . . .
and inscribed

(43) *ra* *neka* *vâgse* *febe* *Krasa*
? a dead (person) by name having been Kries
rañfâle *frade* *gâfâge i* . . .
lamenting too soon (taken?)

(44) *âde mrchch âsovüte saba nü lâchre*
to him the memorial? is consecrated as now in Lycian
gañtâbeme slômâ . .
we inscribe the word

(45) *zrbblô) ma ovakame(i/n)ade vâgsâde zrawwete*
proclaiming He having been called by name uttered
zeraem(â)
from contents?

(46) *ãmade gbâdâsâde kode mâvâta kllaemâ*
{to gather? / being gathered} and being asked why made the notice?
veiadre ânt .
existing on the

(47) *ovetüne fdorâde saba fâsbo) ãntane fokate*
memorial {to be told / explain} thus says Since not it pleases
gbeda
the

(48) *vãne olâgâde zrütüne sabünâre koprete*
ruler not to be read the speech honorary? he directs
torâgsh
to be

(49) *âde nâ tretemlo mâvâta vâgsâde Vezttâspâzañ)*
fixed this being regarded done? in name of Hystaspians

(50) *ükabae gosteta) m(r)uuâzãn kllaemade*
to word this listen! addressed by the notice
sbertü gbâd
remembering the

(51) *ez tove fana fâdrate garevâ*
questions these things clearly he certifies? for Caric
fagsâ morae saba zre
name willing? thus of praise

(52) *(n/u)ala naetâlo) sa dakare treso*
desire? to be satisfied? This confidently
wãnô tbeso prata . . .
{I beg / is begged} of you forth

(53) *lâgâde zrütüne saba werzü otâkeiâ Tramelez* . . . .
to read the speech? thus done to . . . the Trameles

(54) *tbef(d)ü trplü toborez fdorâde gozrovütez)*
pleased deeds to be certified? { being attentive / proclaimed

(55) *(o/a)ozbe tomenase hãntâvü kredase sabade werzü zev*
all? his family attained eminence? and so done to

(56) *e davez âsâ movat. zrütünez âde?*
heaven pious were ? speaking? herein
movelâda afãntâde
the concealed? unknown?

(57) *saba fâsbo) nafa kee eseo otato*
so says Well to collect wishing to divulge
ãnta(d)eiâ fedretü
to the memorial faithful

(58) *ne ferle morünade toborez oflazez*
explanation bringing and being... the labours?
sekatase Arp
is honoured Harp

(59) *âgos üte tamfevüte) kebao vanao fshaia*
agus because he conquered Wherefore striving clearly
wedrede lâ
to explain to be

(60) *gâde zerüfla madarüfla grâde vâgsâ troeiala mü*
read to call by name being made by

(61) *me mâvele kllaemade âlachôna lâg) keta*
me not failing to notify? { the un / by the } Lycian text Every
wla füdeo tob
man shall know by

(62) *a delabe kode fobrate fara madeiateka*
this? the purpose why { he cut / was made } bear in thy mind too
gozrãntas
having heard

(63) *ese grbblâtô trawwãntâse tâle arma dalale*
it? to be glad in his {spirit / ghost} knowing loving {thought / thinking}
toleiale
maintaining

(64) *vegsâbâlâbâ mataña gbâda lüañfa*
by binding in mind lest may be {asked / questioned} the writing?
tonavãne saba rü
obscure thus

(65) *fle sâbâkâ watbalae(n)a trawwez*
desiring? complete it {brought / bring} to mind the deeds
tbeso sareia kâbo
of you being preserved

(66) *rô sabamâsâ*
the tomb {made / making} immortal

In this rendering it is supposed that, although the lines on the right are not in all cases of equal length, still the text, as Schmidt supposes, may be complete, having been written after the edge had been injured. Several words, which re-occur elsewhere, appear to require no additional letters between those at the end of one line and those at the beginning of the next.

The following are the comparisons for the words which have not been previously explained:

sberta or *sverta*. Sanskrit *smri* "remember," "record," *svara* "voice."

Zeraemâ. A noun ending in *ma* in an oblique case. Perhaps from the root *zar* "to hold" or "contain," but the word is doubtful.

Sâbâde. Sanskrit *sam* "to complete," "perfect," [illegible]

Mrchch. A doubtful word, perhaps from *Mark* "to mark."

saba. Sanskrit *sama* "same," "thus," etc. The Lycian *b*, like the Vannic *b*, seems to stand often for the Aryan *m*.

fâsbô or *fâsvô*. From *Bhâsh* "to speak." The form seems probably to be that of the aorist.

slâte. From the root *sal* "to preserve."

gosttade. From the Zend root *gush* "to hear." In Sanskrit *gushtah* means "proclaimed," *i.e.* "made heard."

Lâchra "Lycian," an adjective in *ra*.

troiale, passive participle present from *thru* "to make."

zâzâte. From *zâzâ* "to make" or "produce" in Zend.

nbô or *nuv*. Clearly the *b* is a vowel. Aryan root *nu* "now," "new," etc.

Trawwaez, a passive derivative from *thru* "to make," or *thworez* "to create," "do."

Afamada. A very doubtful word, apparently from the root *Bha* "to appear," whence the Latin *fama* "fame."

zffle. From the root *sphal* "to struggle."

gegbate. A reduplication of the past tense. Supposed to be from *ji* in Sanskrit "to excel" or "win."

watbalaemes, and in line 65 *watbalae*$\binom{m}{n}$*a*, never occurs again. Perhaps from *wadh* "to carry off," and *bala* "the mind" or "understanding."

sekatase. Found again (line 58), apparently a verb in the 3rd person sing. present indic. It is difficult to compare. See Sanskrit *sek* "to serve."

ovadra. Occurs again (W. 34), perhaps connected with the root *vid vyadh* "to pierce," or *vid* "to observe."

gbadez or *gvadez*, several times repeated in this text, is apparently the acc. pl. supposed to be comparable with the Old Persian and Sanskrit *jad* "ask," "demand," "wish."

rufles. Compare the Sanskrit *rabh* "to desire."

lale. Compare *lal* "good" (Sanskrit).

fenâte. Compare *bin* "to see" in Zend: from the root *bhan* "to appear."

mâhâse (the *h* is doubtful), from *maha* "great," with the enclitic pronoun *sa, se*. If we should read *mâsâse*, it would come from *masa* "dying."

toleiae-. From the root *tal, dal*, or *tol* "to support" (also *dhar*).

garewâ. It has been supposed by M. Imbert that this answers to the *Carica* of the Greek: from a root *kar* or *gar*. Some have supposed the "Caric race" to be Carians.

kode, from the interrogative root *ko*: whence the Latin *quid* "why."

Ksha. Compare the Sanskrit *kshi* "to rule."

ovate. The Sanskrit *av* means "to please."

fâd chrovase. From *bâd* or *bhâd* "sure" (in Zend) and *chrova* or *çrova* from Zend *çru,* Sanskrit *śru* "to hear": whence *çrava* "to make hear," "proclaim."

kofile. A very doubtful word: from the root *kubh* "to bend."

Âsônômla, which occurs again (W. 13, 37, 64–5). From *â* "not" and the root *san* "to obtain." I have supposed it to answer to the Greek *ἀσύνετος* "void of understanding." The *mla* has been explained.

kara. From the common Aryan root *kar* "to do," "make."

sas ode. See *sase* (line 2 above the Greek). The nearest root seems to be *śas* "to command," but there is an objection as to the first *ś*, which should be *z* in Lycian.

slômâte. From the root *klu* "to hear." Compare the Slavonic *slovo* "word."

zrbblo or *zruulo.* From *çru* "to hear," *çrava* "to proclaim."

Awrü. Old Persian *Aura,* Zend *Ahura* "Lord," forms the name of Ormuzd (*Aura-maz-da*). Sharpe supposes it to mean "the Lord" or "God."

more. A difficult word. I have supposed it connected with the Sanskrit *vri* "to choose," "wish," since *m* and *v* are often interchanged.

fzzete. Supposed to be from *pik.* Sanskrit *piś* "to paint," "adorn," etc.

lalabade. A reduplication from *labh* "to write" (Sanskrit).

ra. Perhaps an interjection, "Behold."

neka, from *Nak* "to die."

Vagse. This is an important word from *vak* "to speak." Sanskrit *vaksh.* Latin *vox* "voice," *voco* "I call," "called Kreis."

febe. From the root *bhu* "to be." A participle.

krasa. I believe this has been compared by former writers with the name *Kries* in the Greek text.

rañfaie. From the root *rambh* "to make a loud noise," "to low."

frade. From *fra* "before," "out of," and *di* for "day."

gafage. From *gabh* "to seize."

ovakamenade. From *vak* "to call."

zrawate. From *çrava* "to proclaim."

mâvâta. A very doubtful word, perhaps from the root *mu.* Sanskrit *miv* "to move."

kllaema. Probably from *kal* "to call"; *clamare* in Latin, a "proclamation" or "thing said."

Veiadre. From *vayu* "existence," and *dri* "to possess," "possessing existence."

fdorâde. From the root *bhud* "to know."

añta. Compare the Greek *ενθ* "then."

fokate. Compare the Sanskrit *bhuj* "to enjoy."

gbedavane. In the dative. From *gbeda,* already noticed with the suffix *van.* Either "the one in the position of governing," or perhaps "the government," but the suffix often indicates a personality.

Olagade. Compare below *Lâgâde* and *Lâg.* Supposed to be from the root *lag* "to read," Latin *legere.* The *o* may be negative. Greek *οὐ.*

Zrütüne. An abstract noun from *śru* "to hear," or *çrava* "to proclaim."

Sabümare. An adjective, perhaps, from *sav* "to create," as in Sanskrit, and *üna* (compare *ônas,* line 2), the Sanskrit *van,* Latin *honos* "honour."

kofrete. From the root *kofr,* whence the Greek *κυβερνάω,* Latin *gubernare* "to direct," "govern," etc.

torâgshâde. From the root *dhargh* "to fasten."

tretemlo. From *dri* "to observe," or *driś* "to regard" in Sanskrit: "being observed."

ukabae. From *vak* "to call," and *avae,* dative of *ava* "this."

gosteta. Perhaps imperative from *gush* "to hear."

Mruuâzãn. The word is indistinct, but if correctly represented would come from the root *mru* "to speak" (Zend), perhaps in the passive "being spoken to."

Tove. Compared with the neuter plural of the demonstrative, Greek *toi*, Zend *tôi*.

fana. From the root *bhan*, Greek *phan* "to appear."

pâdrate. From *bhâd* "sure."

morae. A difficult word. I have supposed (as above *more*) to come from *vri* "to choose" or "wish."

zreuale. Perhaps from *śra* "praiseworthy," and *wal* "to desire," "desiring to be commended." The word does not recur.

naetâlo. Conjectured to be from the root *nad* "to be satisfied," "to profit," etc.

treso. From *darsh* "to be bold." Old Persian *darshama* "daring."

wãño. From the Sanskrit *van* "to beg."

tbeso. From *tva* "thee." The genitive is sometimes *sa* in Old Persian.

prata. From *fra* "out" and *da* "to speak," "forth speaking."

werzu. From the Zend *verez* "to work."

trplü. From *trap* "to please." Sanskrit *trip*, Greek *Threphein* (see W. 46).

toborez, acc. pl. Compare the Old Persian *duvar* "work."

gozrovütez, acc. pl. Supposed to be a reduplicated form from *zru* "to hear," "having heard," or "desiring to hear."

tomenase. The word *tomena* as a noun recurs (South 17, South 37, East 40, 49, 54). Compare the Sanskrit *dhaman* "house," "family," *domus* in Latin.

hañtâvü. Supposed to be from *san* "to obtain." The *h* often replaces the *s* in Iranian speech.

kredase. Perhaps from *kar* "to project," a common Aryan root.

Zeve, dative of *Zü*, which (see West 59) seems perhaps, like the Greek *Zeus* (from the root *Div* as usually explained) to mean "heaven." The occurrence of Greek and Persian

names for deities in one text is not impossible since it occurs in the Commagene inscriptions about 60 B.C.

davez. Sanskrit *dava* "pious."

âsâ "they were." Zend and Sanskrit root *ah, as* "to be." *âsa* "he was" in Sanskrit. It would agree with *tomena* in the singular.

âde. It is uncertain whether this should not be *âli.*

movelâdâ. Supposed to come from *mu* "to close," "be silent," etc.

afañtâde. From *a* "not" and *bhan* "to speak" or "show," "unspoken" or "unshown," "forgotten."

nafa. Old Persian *naiba* "well," "good," etc.

kee. Sanskrit *chi* "to collect."

eseo. Sanskrit *ish* "to wish."

otato. Compare Sanskrit *udayata* "he divulged."

fedretüne. Supposed to be from the roots *Bhid* "to trust" and *Rid* "to rede" or "explain" (see Skeat).

ferle, participle. Sanskrit *bhri.* Latin *fer* "to carry," "bring," "offer."

tañfevüte. Root *dam* "to subdue." The form is that of the participle, and seems to answer to the Latin *-vatus,* with *est* understood. Some students regard it, however, as only the 3rd person singular. The sense is the same in either case.

kebao seems, whenever it occurs, to mean "wherefore."

vanao. From the root *van* "to strive," "to win," etc. (Sanskrit).

fsñaia. From the root *bhas* "to shine" or "appear."

wedrede. From *vid* "to know" and *rid* "to assist" or "explain"; both Aryan roots (Skeat).

grâde. Perhaps from the root *ghar* "to call out," "sing," etc.

müme. The cases of the 1st personal pronoun are frequently found on tombs, *müne* "of me," *müte* "for me." The case in the present instance seems to be a genitive, or the accusative singular (Old Persian *-ma*). The Sanskrit genitive is *mâmâ.* The termination 1st person sing. present in *mü* has already been noted.

mâvele, from *mâ* "not," and the root *ua* "to lack," but the word does not recur, and is perhaps doubtful.

âlachôna. The adjective termination in *na,* with the prefix *â.* Perhaps "by means of Lycian script," perhaps "the un-Lycian script."

keta. Compare Sanskrit and Zend *chit* "each."

fûdeo. Root *bhud* "to know."

tobe. Perhaps a case of *to* "the," but the meaning is uncertain.

delabe agrees with the preceding, supposed to be from the root *dal* "to purpose" (Skeat).

fobrate. A reduplication from *bhar* "to cut."

fara, like the Zend *bara,* an imperative "bear thou."

madeia-te-ka. From the root *mad* "to think," with *te* "thy," and *ka* the enclitic, as in Old Persian. Latin *que.*

grbblâto or *gruulato.* Supposed to be from the root *ghar* "to rejoice" (Skeat). The transposition of the vowel in roots having *r* for the second consonant is treated by Bopp, and is usual in Sanskrit.

trawwañtase. Zend *druañt* "a ghost," *se* enclitic possessive pronoun.

tâle. Root *dal* "to consider," "see," etc. (Skeat), also *tal.*

armadalale does not occur again. From the root *ram* "to love" are obtained ἔρως "love," ἠρεμία "quiet"; *dal* means "to regard."

vegsâ bâlâbâ. From the root *vik* "to bind," and *bala* "understanding." The word does not occur again, and is doubtful.

ma tañna gbâda. In Sanskrit we have the prefix *tam* for the optative. The rest as before.

lüañfa. Supposed to be from the root *labh* "to write," already mentioned.

toneṽãne. From the root *dhu* "to be obscure." We find later *tonafãne* apparently "obscure appearance" (W. 62).

sareia. From the root *sar* "to keep" (Skeat).

kâborô, accusative singular. We find also *kabora* (W. 58, 66). I suppose it to be dialectic for *kamora.* Greek *kamera.* Latin *camera.* Phrygian *kamara* "a vault" or "vaulted chamber."

sebamasa. From *sav* "to create," *a* "not," and *mâsâ* "dying."

South side.

The inscription was written before the monument fell and is complete at the bottom of the stone. On the side opposite to the Greek, much injured at the top.

(a) *abüãne*[1] . . . . . .
This

(b) *goh ted* . . . . . .
of Harpagus son

(c) *gâhbâ â* . . . . . .

(d) *ra ahbe* . . . . . .
to his

(e) *ãnte* (*kdo*?) . . . . . .

(1) . . . . . *iua* . . . . . .

(2) . . . . . *za sana* : *tr* . . . . . .
obtaining

(3) . . . . . *aha* : *mara* : *a* . . . . . .
dying?
recording?

(4) . . . . . *avazeiahad* . . . . . .
of the monument

(5) . . . . . *eãm gareuaha* . . . . . .
The Caric people

(6) . . . . . *gâlla maete hâd* . . . . . .
here establish

(7) . . . . . *gnahârosañ tete* . . . . . .
of knowledge? excellent understand

(8) . . . . . *ãnâ saeãntünü foe* . . . . . .
to him memorial again?

[1] These five lines are not given by Fellows, but were sent to me by M. Imbert (see Bab. Rec. vol. vi. p. 147). I have retained the numbering of the lines in Fellows' text. The newly deciphered lines make a total of 244 for the whole inscription. They seem to agree with my rendering of the rest of the text, and to contain some statement to the effect "This is the tomb of the son of Harpagus."

(9) . . . . *a frãnâvô ãmaet* . . . . . .
structure together with

(10) . . . . *arãn sa etale tale* . . . . . .

(11) . . . *a kaborâ save magô a* . . . . . .
with chamber making holy?

(12) . *amarahe fona mânâde* . . . . . .
undying they shall be in memory

(13) . *saiü thortta abühü (g)ar* . . . . . .
and who attained to good

(14) . *ovatae abä ãnü nalad* . . . . . .
wishing thenceforth satisfied

(15) *Tokadre tovatare thôkor* . . . . . .
coffin? the other

(16) *aeme ârâvâzeiadė kofrl* . . . . . .
at the monument

(17) *vazeiâ frãnâvâta tome* . . . . . .
for monument prepared the family

(18) *trbbüs âtlâha ahbeia* . . . . . .
souls their

(19) *te ãntafe fovaiaha thor* . . . . . .
opposite they may be stretched

(20) *ãntavü arbbe naha taze g* . . . . . .
memorial to hero next? in honour

(21) *he sa añtavü vaththe ahbei* . . . . . .
and memorial bearing his

(22) *sa añtavü mahona nalaza* . . . . . .
and memorial greatly worshipping him

(23) *azaza mafrzzü kom . . ai* . . . . .
having ordered? to be declared? in charge

(24) *ta gestta ünahe sa gañahañ* . . . . . .
marked of . . . and of clan

(25) *he Arppagoh tedaeme gareu* . . . . . .
of Harpagus the son Caric

(26) *fralah gôhb gareuah tohas m* . . . . . .
of . . . called of Caric posterity

(27) *âzeiade üaña gestta vâvâdrâ* . . . . . .
by a monument victorious marked possessing a wreath

(28) *müzbatü maovadrage asa frzzo* . . . . . .
being declared

(29) *atahe agô ârâ nalada Arañâ*
The assembly desiring (profit?) for Xanthus
mazer . . . .

(30) *âgô Tramela ezrade fadade*
Assembly Tramelite {having made / made} to go in procession?
añta rai . . .
{in order / together}

(31) *bâsa tofâ asbade humanade trame(l)* . . .
at the tomb? by consecration propitious {of / by} Lycians

(32) *de samadazade fâdrôtâhade hawwadre* . .
with harmony and cheerfulness? pleasant?

(33) . *esa mrbbünade tofaleiô tramelas* . .
and to be lamented both Lycian . . .

(34) . . . . *mâdoneme fovaiahañ tofaleiô sa* .
of Medes they shall obtain both

(35) . . . *wa mâdoneme fovaiahañ sa ereiü añ (a)*
or of Medes they shall obtain and honour equal

(36) . . *oleiâ afeda ezrade zũ añteiâ ahbei* .
thereto having made Heaven grant its

(37) *de zauâbâ nalada hôtâha ütre tomena* .
fulfilment a satisfaction also to rest of the

(38) *he nalada hôtâha fttârâ mâleiahe*
family a satisfaction also {to the father / or genius} of the house
hôt
Moreover

(39) *âhe gbâna asa Trbbüneme tabata tarañ sa*
sculptures being of the Troes gifts holding and

(40) *Melâsôañtrô fddunaka gbô(a)eia ezrade*
Melesander the Bithynian to carve { having made / made

(41) *ahbeiade hôtâha tlôañ mada nala tarbe*
thereto also sacrifices Medic worship effected

(42) *da garüe wastteü arañ tlahañ arbbade hô*
assembled the city? outside? a youth celebrated also

(43) *tâha madbeiâha asa garüe tabata farañ-*
(Medic persons?) being assembled gifts bear-

(44) *sa vâgsha (f,)ddeme üte zahe hbôte* CII
ing { carried in a procession / making a procession } so these with him seven

ola
{ others / altogether

(45) *añtafe ô laenâ tarañ hôtâhe ôkâ*
opposite holding moreover the strong man

harekla
Hercules

(46) *sa Haglaza fabrate gbeda hre gañtâvâ*
and Achilles? mounted chief hand carved

(47) *tâhe asa tâbênâ tarañ Eiônô eiâaosâs*
being shield? holding a Greek bronze

(48) *küzzôna sa hôtâha mokâla tavüta sômâ*
helmeted and moreover

(49) *te trbbatü torâgsse zôgôna tarañ as-*
was made a wall? beam? supporting being

(50) *a homrôgô tabônâ tarañ hôtâha .*
a well (cleaned?) shield? supporting also

If this translation be correct, the latter part describes the sculptures found by Sir C. Fellows (Lycia, p. 176, plate) on a tomb at Xanthus. But the translation is only regarded as tentative.

The new words have been compared as below:

amarahe. A plural from *a* "not," *mar* "to die" (Old Persian).

mânâde. From *man* "remember," "mind."

sa, iu. From *ya, yo* "who" (Zend, etc.).

thortta. From Zend *thar* "to reach."

a-bühü. Zend *vohu* "good."

abü añü. Perhaps from Old Persian *abiy* "to" and *añuv* "after."

nalada. Probably the Sanskrit *nand* "to enjoy," "be pleased," "satisfied," etc.

Tokadre, which recurs (East, 42, 43, 55), has some connexion with the tomb or monument. I have conjectured that it is from the word *θηκα* a "box," and *dri* "possessing." In Phrygian *tegatos* appears to mean a "coffin" or "sarcophagus."

tovatare "second," Greek *deuteros.*

atlâhâ. Sanskrit *âtmâ* "soul," "self."

fovaiaha. Plural part. from *bhu* "to be."

naha. Aryan root *nah* "nigh," "near," etc.

taze. Sanskrit *daz* "to think fit," "honour," etc.

vaththe. Sanskrit *vah, vat* "carry," "bear."

mahona, from *mah* "great" (Sanskrit).

nala seems to be for *nama* "to salute," "worship" (Sanskrit).

mafrzzu. Perhaps *ma* causative and *fraç* "to ask." Greek *φράζω* "I declare."

gestta. Supposed to be from *kit* "to observe," *ketu* "a mark," etc., in Sanskrit.

gohb or *gohu.* Compare the Sanskrit *johu,* reduplicated from *hve* "to call," "having been called."

tohas. In Sanskrit *tuc* "posterity," giving *h* in composition.

üâna. Supposed to be from *van* "to win": a common Aryan root (Skeat).

vâvâdrâ, from *wa* "to weave," "possessing what is caused to be woven."

âgô. Perhaps the Greek *Ἄγων* "an assembly."

ezrade. A difficult word, perhaps from the root *kri* "to make."

fadade. Compare *fddeme* (line 44), supposed to be from the root *pad* "to step," whence the Greek *βάδην* "a pacing."

añtarai-. From *antar* "in order," or *antar* "between."

tofa. Possibly connected with *τάφος* "a tomb," and the Indian *tope*, but the word does not recur.

asbade or *ashuade*, from *asha* "pure" (Zend).

humanade. From *hu* "good" (Greek *εὐ*, Old Persian *u*, Sanskrit *su*, Zend *hu* "well") and *man* "mind." It answers to the Greek *εὐμενής* "well disposed," "favourable," "propitious."

samadazade. From *sama* "same," and *daç* "to see fit" (Sanskrit).

fâdrôtâhade. Supposed to be comparable with the Greek *φαιδρός* "joyous," "cheerful."

hawwadre. The root should be the Aryan *swad* "to be pleasant," "sweet," etc. Greek *ἡδος*.

mrbbunade. From the root *mru* "to say." Compare the Greek *μύρω* "to bewail."

tofaleiô. Perhaps from the root *du* "two." Latin *duplex*. But the meaning is very doubtful.

ereiü. From the root *ar* "noble." Greek *ἐρύω* "to hold in honour."

afeda. From *abiy* "to" and the locative *da* "there."

añteia. From the precative prefix (Sanskrit *sam*, *tam*, *am*), with *teia*, from *da* "to give" or *dai* "to protect." The word *zü* has been treated (North, line 55).

zauâbâ. Perhaps from *so* "to complete" and *âp* "to obtain," but the word is very doubtful.

ütre. From the Aryan root, whence the Latin *uter*.

fttârâ. Probably the Sanskrit *pitar* or *pitri* "father" or "paternal spirit."

gbâna. Root *cho* "to cut." Compare the Greek *ξόανον* "a carved image." The neuter plural would be in *a*. The Lycian *g* sometimes represents the Greek *ξ*, as already shown. The word *gbôzeia*, a dative infinitive, same root.

tabata or *tavata*. Root *da* "to give," "things given," a neuter plural.

asa, participle from *as* "to be" (Sanskrit, etc.).

fddunaka. If this means Bithynian, it has the proper gentilic termination in *ka*, Latin *-cus*.

hôtâha. Is a doubtful word, perhaps from *hô* "this," "the," and *ta* "second." Compare the Sanskrit *tathâhi* "thus."

tloañ. Root *tol* "to raise." Compare Greek *θύλημα* "offering."

tarbeda or *tarveda*. From *dar* "to do" (Skeat).

garüe. Compare *char* "walk" (Sk.) and *gar* "to assemble" (Skeat).

wastteuarañ. Perhaps *vastu* "city" and *arañ* "afar." Compare Sanskrit *arat* "far off." It might, however, be *va astte üarañ* "or standing round."

tlahan. I have suggested the Greek *θάλος* "a youth," "stripling."

madbeiahe from *mada* "Medic," and *beiahe* already treated (North, line 7) "dwellers in Media."

farañsa. Latin *ferentes*. Zend *barañs* "bearing."

vagsha. From *vaj*. Latin *veho* "I bear." It may, however, mean "making." See West, lines 30, 31, 56.

fddeme. See above *fadade* (line 30). Greek *βάδος* "a walk." The ending in *me* marks the abstract noun—perhaps in the dative or nom. pl.

zahe. Plural of *za*, from the root *sa* "he."

hvôte. From Zend *hvo* "self," in the ablative sing.

ola. Greek *ὅλος* "complete" or *ἄλλος* "other."

ô laena. Perhaps "a certain lion," but the word may be *glaena*. In Sanskrit *û* "a certain."

Haglaza is a name apparently. Perhaps the Lycian form of the name of Achilles.

fabrte or *favrate*. Compare Zend *barati* "he rides."

hre-gañtâvâtahe. I suppose *hre* to be the Sanskrit *hri* "to grasp." Greek *χείρ* "hand." Sanskrit *harana*. The second word has been treated (North, line 9).

tâbôna. I conjecture to mean a "shield," from the root *dhup* "to conceal" (Skeat).

eiâaosâs. Compare *ayas* "bronze," "metal" (Sk. etc.).

küzzôna. Supposed to be an adjective from *küz.* Latin *cassis* "helmet," "casque."

torâgsse. From the root *dhargh* "to make strong" (Skeat). I have supposed that, like the Greek *θώραξ*, it may mean a "strong wall."

zôgôna. From the root *zug* "to join," whence the Greek *ζυγόν* "a cross bar" or "rafter."

homrôgô, from *hu* "good," "well," and perhaps *mrij* "to clean," but the word is very doubtful. It might be from *hom* "equal," found on the tombs, and *rak* "to extend" meaning "of equal size."

East side.

(1) . . . . . *iâ froleiâ ü(t)e fddôi*
for knowing?

(2) . . . . . *aâ sai asttabale fon â*
to him establishing? they shall be not-

(3) . . . . . *a tômâda zggazeia mañt*
by earthquake split

(4) . . . . . *ü sa üaüares arezônâ tei*
and

(5) . . . . . *sa mrbbünade gbehañ hañ*
and

(6) . . . . . *dañade arosañ kbeho to*
from foundation? excellent let this be

(7) . . . . . *zze kbeho gôkbe kbeho*
let this be strong? let this be

(8) . . . . . *(añt)ara vatahe komaseiâ*
in order to being borne in charge (care)

(9) . . . . . *ade fzzeda(z/t)as âdañâhe tô*
adornment giving to building of it

(10) . . . . . *s gañtbâde karththe sateve*
with carving { work / made } complete

(11) . . . . *aeas sa warwarâhâs trbbüneme*
and of Troes

(12) . . . . . *atarañ hâtô- ae tônô eob* . .
supporting

(13) . . . . . *lüzeiaha walâüasa tral* . .

(14) . . . . . *fagbâhañ sa nâuorahe fo* . .
god praising and temple prayers an

(15) . . . . . *bbe trosañ sa toborahe stt* .
and works stable

(16) . . . . . *d trbbe üañae Methrafâtâ a* .
to make protected by Mithra

(17) . . . . . *rañ gâvâlas ddareia maia s* . .
fertile by river this

(18) . . . . . *âta arovô teiase sttrat* . . .
courage to be shown by army

(19) . . . . . *eia . ta manarbbade tobae* . . .
hero minded labouring

(20) . . . . . *a eiônô saeia monaeta fod* . . .
the Greek of it being warned to know

(21) . . . . . *eiasah sa telomâ wa utreha r* . . .
of glory and endurance? or of other

(22) . . . . . *ionâ treiarü keiazü nâuo* . . . . .
maintained peace not

(23) . . . . . *ta treiarü garüha hañta t* . . . . . .
maintained from decay? being

(24) . . . . . *arahe heiô nagô haladeia* . . . . .
may it be attained

(25) . . . . . *â mara etaha sa tavüne saia* . . . .
to { dying / death } so be it and pious

(26) . . . . . *âte sa gshâdrâfâhe tramele* . . .
and of Satrap of the Trameles

(27) . . . . . *esañ Eiônesañ spârtâzañ âtônai* .
of Ionians of Spardans the honour

(28) . . . . . *ô thorttô saañâ heiô sa tohade* . .
reached of him let be {this / and} in province

(29) . . . . . *âde saañâ heia dedda tramesoñ fo*
of him let be given {of lawful / duty ?}

(30) . . . . . *rânâ fenâna tlâvâ vddra fesbas*
at Xanthus dividing with Tlos riches?

(31) . . . . . *tadde flañadde sawa hañade fd*
to give to bloom himself in old age

(32) . . . . . *ade sarssaez eiade sa oka hazei*
to eternity and who after

(33) . . . . *a fartaesade trovafa eiade üar* C
born from him lasting to eternity

(34) . . . . *sa orobleiade fre trawwâs haôes*
and by monument? for deeds these

(35) . . . . (*am*) *azaze harbbe sttôte tale wahañ*
to hero {proclaimed / famous} giving praise

(36) . . . *maiasa tarañ fonaraba saba febara*
eulogy? possessing funereal? so they have said

(37) . . . *wa aspa âsate gañtâvâtô tove saba*
in addition? being engraved these things so

(38) . . . *nü ârâvâzeiâ añtavonamo sa gththôn*
at the tomb of forefathers? and in

(39) . . . . *â adavüamo komazae tete*
property of ancestors having been taken in charge
maravaz
a mortuary

(40) . . . *âda* *tomenahe* *mlatraza* *tegzzede*
of the family ashes collected? to receive

(41) . . . *ahamôte* *wârâzotâze* *taze* *ârorôt*
having been gathered commingled in honour to be taken

(42) . . . *tokadre* *sai* *atefovüe* *sai* *oroble*
the vault {thereto / to him} belonging? {thereto / to him} monument?

(43) . . . *da* *gorzeda* *sa* *tokadre* *âtrô* *tah lo*
at the enclosure and the vault there? the corpse

(44) . . . *de* *thrañô* *febeiate* *gorzâzô* *komaz*
securely having been enclosed {in charge / with care}

(45) . . *sna* *ohâzâtâ* *va(e)ô* *tresañe* *sa* *añtafa*
up built ever? {to maintain? / remain?} and opposite

(46) . . *zrpodaena* *ârâvazeia* *ahbeia* *kbe*
the Harpy place monument his let be

(47) . . *maemü* *Adroda-mahôe* *sadda* *âhâtâhâ*
in December month set indestructible

(48) . . *inü* *walabe* *ahatahe* *sa* *mâhôna*
now men having destroyed and greatly
ahata
having destroyed

(49) . . *âranâ* *tomenahe* *karththe* *gôkbe* *afed*
at Xanthus of the family the work mighty thereat

(50) . . *tamlüse* *tômâ* *sava nafa*
by its damage the earthquake being made good
âstta *trañ*
standing secure

(51) *es* *sadda* *tovatü* *komazeiâ* *üara üara*
perfect it is made {in charge / with care} much cherishing

(52) *trawwañte* *fddotâhe* *wanôkba* *grshüne* *ah*
being made / caused having known the wish desired by

(53) *be tâbâhâzâ komazeiâ fâdretâhe ârañ-*
it (it is) decreed? in charge of sure right by

(54) *nâ tomenâheiâ komazeiâ gokbeiâ koma*
Xanthus to his family in charge in . . . charge

(55) *zeiâ sa tokadre karththe âda orobleiü*
and the vault made thereto the monument

(56) *hôtâha tobahe frañaze sa lehbaza ahb*
also working the execution and arrangement? to

(57) *eia sa davû zggazâ saañto varehâ*
it and the splittings in two having been bound
âda sa
thereto and

(58) *gththônâ go(n/u)âhâ sa ganâhâ sa*
in possession {of children? / issue?} and of clan {and / this}
gañtârâte
inscribed (being)

(59) *âzzâlôe añ tareiaosaha sa i Artâgshe*
in the days of Darius and of Arta-

(60) *razâhe threda ârehâ tramelesa saíe ta*
xerxes third chiefs Tramelean land com-

(61) *ththevabe âdamü latthe walô masetüe ab*
manding we gave by {good / kind} will not by order? this

(62) *-eia naröe zaose antarü gañtârâte sbar*
to man freely the dedication inscribed for

(63) *ada gañtârâte tofala zeia sa antavü sog*
record inscribed both this and the dedication finish

(64) *enâia tofalazeia gañtârâteia spabi*
to make {both this with / this besides to} the inscription of additi[illegible]

The comparison of words is as follows:

sai, dative of *sa* "he," "this."

tômâde and *tômâ* (line 50). An abstract noun from *dhu* "to shake," "a shaking," perhaps, therefore, an earthquake.

añtara. Zend *antar* "in order."

vatahe. From *vah*, Latin *veho*, past part. *vata* "borne."

komazeiâ. The locative case of *komazeia*. It seems to come from the Aryan root *kam* "to care for," "love," etc. Compare the Greek κομίζω "to take care of," "provide," "convey." The word is often repeated on this text.

â dañâhe. From the Aryan root *dam* "to found," "build."

karththe. From the root *kar* "to do," "make," etc. A participial form.

fagbâhañ. Perhaps from *Baga* "god," and *vah* "to praise."

Nâuorâhe. Perhaps from *Nâu*, Greek *νάος* "shrine," and the root found in Greek *ἀρα*, Latin *orare* "to pray."

gârâlas. Root *ghal* "to be bright," "green," etc. Sanskrit *jvâl* "shine."

ddareia maia. Old Persian *daraya* "river." Still in use in Central Asia (Amudaria, etc.)

ârovôteiase. From *ar* "noble," "brave," etc., and *di* "to observe,"—an infinitive in *ase*.

sttrat . . Apparently Στρατός "army."

manarbbade. From *man* "mind," and *arbbu* already noticed "of mind heroic."

monaeta. Root *man*. Whence Latin *moneo* "to warn."

eiasah. Gen. sing. Compare Sanskrit *yasas* "glory."

telomâ. An abstract noun. The root would be *dal*, Greek θελ "will," "purpose," etc.

treiarü. Root *dri* "to maintain."

keiazü. Root *ki*, Sanskrit *śi*, Zend *çi* "to lie quiet," Latin *quies*.

garuha. Apparently the root *gar* "to decay," "crumble," whence the Sanskrit *jara* "old age."

ñadde. From *dad* "to give" (Sanskrit, etc.).

flañadde. From the root *Bhla* "to bloom."

hañade. Zend *hana* "old."

eiade. From the root *ya* "to go," Zend *yava* "ever."

oka, "the one who"?

hazei. Zend *hacha,* "after."

farta. Zend *barta* "born," "borne."

trov afa. From the root *thrw* "to create," and *aba* "to."

fre. Apparently a preposition. Sanskrit *pra,* Zend *fra,* Greek and Latin *pro* "for."

haĉes. Old Persian *hauva* "this." Supposed to be acc. pl.

sttôte, from *stu* "to proclaim." Past part. pass.

dah. Present part. from *dâ* "to give," or *da* "to say."

wahañ. From *vah* "to praise."

maiasa. Perhaps *ma* "to make," and *yasas* "glory," a "glorification" or "eulogy," but the word is doubtful as three letters are missing before it.

fonaraba. Root *bhan* "to slay," whence the Greek *φονος,* and Latin *funus.* The *r* belongs to the adjectival form.

febara, 3rd person pl. reduplicated perfect from *bha* "to speak clearly" (Skeat).

aspaâsate. From the root *spa* "to extend." Sanskrit *sphay.*

añtavonamo. Supposed to be a gen. pl. from *añt* "before," and *avo* (see North, 11) "ancestor."

gththôna (compare line 58). Compare the Old Persian *gaithâ* "possession."

adavüamo. Supposed to be also a gen. pl. from *ada,* usually *atta* "ancestor." Common also to Turanian speech in the form *ad, ada.*

maravaz. From *mar* "to die" (Zend), and *vaś* "to dwell," "an abode of death," or cemetery?

mlatraza. From the Aryan root *mal* "to grind," whence *mrita* "calcined," and our English *mould.* The second part is the root *dhar* "to hold" (Sanskrit *dhri*) in a participial form.

tegzzedi. From the root *dak* "to take hold of." See Greek δέχομαι, Ionic δέκομαι "I receive."

ahamôte. Root *ham,* Sanskrit *sam* "to collect." It bears the augment and is a past part. passive.

wâraâzotâze. Supposed to be from the root *war, wal* "to roll" or "turn here and there" (Skeat), and root *yu* "to

mix," which becomes ζω in Greek. The Lycian seems to approach the Greek in many such words beginning in z. The compound seems to mean "mix by mingling."

arovôt . . I have supposed to be from the root *rabh* "to take," but perhaps a better explanation may be possible.

atefoviie. The root *bhu* in Sanskrit "to become," "grow," "be," has also, according to Prof. Max Müller, the meaning "to obtain." If *ate* be the common Aryan prefix *ad* "to," the compound may bear the meaning "obtained to" or "belonging."

gorzede. Compare *gorzâzô.* A participle (line 40). May be from the root *ghar* "to hold" (Skeat), whence words signifying "enclosure," such as χόρτος a "court" or "enclosure," and the English *yard.*

âtrô. Compare *atra* "there," Sanskrit. Zend *athra.*

thramẽô. Compare Sanskrit *driñh* "secure," "strong."

ohâzâtâ. From *oh,* Greek *νσ* "up," and *zad* "to build," in Zend.

tresane. From the root *dar,* Sanskrit *dra* "to sleep," or from the root *dhargh* "to hold."

zarpodaena. From the root *sarp* "to snatch," whence the Greek Harpy; and *dana* "a place."

Adroda-mahoe. The month of December. *Adur* in Modern Parsee. *Atriyadiya* in Old Persian, *Atrade* or *Athra* in the Cappadocian calendar of Papias. The second word is the Iranian *mah* for "month" or "moon." The *oe* is the Old Persian locative *auva.*

âhâtâhâ. From *a* "not" and *had* "to destroy."

tamluse. From the root *dam,* whence Latin *damno.* The *n* being as usual replaced by *l* in Lycian.

trañes. From *driñh* "strong," "secure," in Sanskrit.

üara üara, a reduplication representing the intensitive from the root *war* "to guard" (Skeat).

wanokba. From the root *wansk* "to wish," Sanskrit *vañchh.*

grshüne. From the root *ghar* "to yearn" (Skeat).

tâbâhâzâ. I have suggested the root *dha,* whence the Greek θεμις "law," and *haz* compared with *śas* "to order," but the latter may perhaps be doubtful.

âda. From *â* "towards," and *da*, the locative ending.

frañaze. Apparently a noun from *fran*, which in Lycian answers to the Greek "to prepare," as already noticed.

lehbaza, also a noun. Compare the Greek λοχος "an arrangement," from a root meaning "to produce" or "arrange," the Aryan *las* "to collect" (Skeat).

sañtovareha. Perhaps from *sna* "to bind" and *vri* "to be."

gouâhâ. A genitive singular. The stone is defective and the *u* might be *n*. The first reading would seem to recur (West side, line 67), and may be from the root *ghu* "to pour forth," meaning "issue." The latter would compare with the Greek γόνος "offspring."

ganâhâ. From the root *gan* "to produce," Latin *gens*. It occurs on a tomb with the same possible meaning.

ârehâ. Supposed to be a nom. pl. from the root *ar*, whence many words meaning "noble," e.g. Aryan.

sate. Compare *shiti* "land," and *satana* "place" (Zend).

taththerave. Old Persian *thah* "to say," Greek ταθθω "to order."

laththewalô. From *las* "to be kind" and *wal* "to wish."

ma setüe. From *ma* "not" and *sidh* "to order."

naroe. Zend *nari.* Sanskrit *nri* "man."

zaose. Zend *zaôsha* "voluntarily."

soganeia. Supposed to be from *so* "to finish" and *gan* "to produce" (Sanskrit *so* and *jan*).

spabt. An incomplete word from the root *spa* "to increase," as already explained. Some read *spart*, but Fellows gives a very clear *b*. As regards the region *Sparda*, already mentioned (line 27), if it referred to Sparta, it would probably be written in Lycian *Sppartta.* The region *Sparda* is mentioned at Behistun in both the Aryan and Turanian copies of the text (see Oppert and Spiegel), and has been compared with סְפָרַד (Obadiah 20).

West side.

(1) . . *kh ad awrü atxawxe toveiü* . . . . . .
to god at fire smoking

(2) . *eraemade saba lüaü slüt* . . . . . .
we ? so

(3) *elade ale kamlü merakaml* . . . . . .

(4) *vesede frovâ) âlbrônâkam* . . . . . .

(5) *âsâ waretofa tolesalei(a)* . . . . . .
cherished these ?

(6) *zrpado nekawazañe var* . . . . . .
apprehending the desire of the dead

(7) *âbô ovate sokrü) albmobü* . . . . . .
desires

(8) *azete wañotbâ gozrañtâ ga* . . . . . .
what was begged having heard

(9) . *âlâ fâlârâemâ sâfâleta* . . . . . .
a manifestation distinct

(10) *o(v)ômô tavata âramfô) atle* . . . . . .
by speech striving To self

(11) . . . *adole sa tramela kofe* . . . . . .
and Tramelian

(12) . . . *bede orto mrshgô trawwa* . . . . . .
right enduring making

(13) . . . *ba seka losase asü(n)a* . . . . . .
serving { to enlighten ? / endear ? } the not born ?

(14) . . . *awwaez sa bovadre(n/z) mlat* . . . . . .
and honourable let remain

(15) . . . . *anao zene ladabade fla* . . . . . .
{ lest ? / if not ? } forgotten

(16) . . . . . *ônô kofre(n)e (r)zzete or* . . . . . .
a guide ? extends

(17) . . . . . *âdâ a(r)(e/a) klaba trawwañte r* . . . . . .
noble celebration they make

(18) . . . . . *a(s/ʃ) ddeteo añtâdâ gañeia* . . . . . .
ordained by a memorial to the clan

(19) . . . *fvare gareuâ añü zosaddôoi* . . . . . .
they had been? of Carus after living?

(20) . . . *esa kato avü(n/ŋ)azose zbalet* . . . . . .
accompanied / following } ancestral life? rivalling

(21) . . . *tbeso tostte ârañfemade wag* . . . . . .
imperfectly? let us { strive / attempt

(22) . *otdada añta tarüe keta vü añtonaeañ wa* . . .
each helping? to { have / take

(23) *a ai afañ(t/z)ara kara sgâ eiâkote (r/ʃ)shâ* . . .
to the shade departed

(24) *zâiâlâ matana nrs(o/ŋ)âte ortovôz mar* . .
efficiently contriving to make to endure right recital

(25) *trañelaba takara traegâlefesa qor* . .
Trameles sure making by making announce

(26) *(s/w)arbble maei albômâ fshase slâmâkar* . .
lament making

(27) *üfreiâsggâ mone trbbde tâ sañtovâde* . .
over this shade minding to do this

(28) *müm . azañ trpâle matonao freialeia de*
to satisfy learning by heart

(29) *keba marade nekâwremez añtovetüne or*
wherefore to record the glories of the dead on a memorial

(30) *dasez fâgshâde [keba marade nekâwre*
illustrious to make wherefore to recite the glories of

(31) . . *mez añtovetüne ordasez fâgshâde] tob*
the dead on a memorial illustrious to make the

(32) . . *orez ükadafañ frade zâzâte zreuâle*
deeds it is made well wishing

(33) . . *neka daze motâlâ afañtâde tabate*
to honour the dead dumb and forgotten it is spoken

(34) . . *lachrâ) mamone trbbde tove*
in Lycian { resolving / being resolved? } to do these things
ovâdrâ mat
having accomplished

(35) . . *o(r)ana tasüne wañta freialeiâ madato*
by heart learned

(36) . . *gazañ gbadâsâ âlâse dâdofa*
let us declare being asked not desiring speech doubtful
saba fâsb
so to

(37) . . *ase asünümlâ) fasia fü feiate elüna*
speak by ignorance

(38) . . . *wazañe makadefa waledale albôfa*

(39) *kofttla mogsha feialo mlañ añtamla*
now before remaining

(40) . . . *se mera ledaba lbeiüe tralavañe)*
perishing forgotten the written dirge

(41) . . . . *gañtâbofa kañtra alovefa bosâvvañ*
carved them in midst?

(42) . . . . . *aâ traleia beiadreba albagô*
being lamented life done having returned
awar
to god

(43) . . . . . *aema molünefa zple ütraba asô*
in contest in effort by other not

(44) . . . . . *e . . fâlâmoeâ) ôzzôtô fa trawceañ r .*
of strength then making

(45) . . . *nela . zañfda asate gareuâzañ afa ware .*
of Caric family to desire

(46) *trpâlâo refshade frllade ka defa añt .*
satisfying with anger burning because the text before

(47) *nü afreka zete kalo) asôtoneo want*$(^{e}_{b})$*ü .*
now broken lies consecrated ?

(48) *ovâgâ mlâte vzzaeiase mavalfome mrch .*
let it remain all time to elapsing ? a memorial

(49) *defitteleka gostteka wedrâdâ kafan . .*
by text read and proclaimed interpreting ?

(50) *zeoso krade keba fasbo) ortto waled . .*
wherefore said

(51) *le keba emae farafaña stta mlate gba . .*
wherefore to this bearing evidence standing let it remain

(52) *sez tovamade leiandvaz movagô frs . . .*

(53) *ze keba frogshe rbbenazes) magare . . .*
wherefore never

(54) $(z^{a\tilde{n}}_{e})$ *awarü saba fekâsâ sa bovadre orasl . .*
therefore { god / lord } thus exalted and honoured

(55) *mana- ova- lôta refshaümo ma ovaδze*
of mind self separated angry with us let not be vexed ?
$(^{fsa}_{sha})$ . .

(56) *gozrovôtâ aeañ vâgsha) âtlâse naborüne . .*
having heard done His spirit not wroth (with)

(57) *trañelei üte refshü tañfavüte saba eta .*
Tramelian for anger he subdues ? so here

(58) *Süküna mômra kabora madato losaleiâ*
having been cut for dead a vault remembering lovingly

(59) *zü na nonete grovâzaz) mawaleio gofaleio*
heaven not denies ? favours not failing expression ?

(60) *saba leiaez ddalo falez neova louôto*
so gaining? clear manifestation newly being cleaned
sañ
that which

(61) *müta kllaemawa añte* ($\frac{n}{e}$)*eova fllove*
is signalized on the notice before recent purification
mloggôt
obscured

(62) *e tonefane) mavünü trañeleiâ kañâsâde*
dimly seen

(63) *slâdefa walaleia onetüfa ortoz mârôz*
text without doubt true recitals

(64) *trbbünete na kañüte fonômâdade asônôm*
made so not desiring to be reported? ignorant

(65) *lâ) gomâlâ danü neiate masggañteia wazza*
by The ground place beneath to a cemetery

(66) *merü aña genâseka sase aware kabora sabô*
dead this and his family gathered? to god the vault is

(67) *na seka tada seka gouâse gañtâvâzâ) mera*($\frac{i}{k}$)
made to honour? serving to . . inscriptions To dead

(68) *a deia wañtra elünadeia tãwares añta*
henceforth admiration? these shall make before
masggañ
the cemetery

(69) *gofdedo waewalüne rade traegâle ket shal*
life lived to explain proclaiming every year

(70) . . *añ treso varaseia zgedrâsâde) naezka tovez*
works and . . . these

(71) *trañela-sokre gañtabato tlova trawwañte* .
Tramelian . . . carved being an end they make

The words compared on this side of the monument are as follows:

athrawwe. Locative sing. from *athra* "fire." Zend *atars* becoming *athra* in other cases of the noun.

toveiü. From the root *dhu* "to smoke" (Skeat).

zarpado. From the root *ghar* "to hold," whence the Greek *Ἁρπάζω* "to seize" and "to apprehend."

nekawazañe. From *neka* "a dead person," as before (N. 43), and *vaś* "to desire" in Sanskrit.

fâlâraemâ. From the root *bhan* "to show," whence the Greek *φανερός* "manifest."

sâfâleta. Compare the Greek *Σαφηνής* "distinct." In these two words the Lycian *l* stands for *n* as usual.

tavata. From *dav* Zend, *da* Sanskrit "to speak."

âraññfo, and in line 21 *âraññfamade,* from the Aryan root *arbh* "to toil."

orto. Compare the Greek *ὀρθός* "straight," "correct."

mrshgü, and in line 24 *mrshgâte,* from the root *mṛsh.* Sanskrit *mrish* "to endure."

seka. Sanskrit *sek* "to serve."

losase. Perhaps from the root *lus* "to shine." Armenian *los.* Latin *lux.* Perhaps from *las* "to love," "desire" (see line 58 *losaleia*).

bovadre "honour possessing," from *bhava* "honour" and *dri* "to possess," as in Sanskrit (see line 54).

rzzete. From the root *rag* "to stretch out," but the word is doubtfully transcribed.

araklaba. From *ara* "noble" and *kla* or *klu,* the Aryan root for "proclamation" (Skeat).

zosaddô, and in line 20 *zose,* perhaps comparable with the Sanskrit *śvas* "to breathe," or the Greek *ζών* "living."

zbalet . . Compare the Greek *ζηλόω* "to rival." This part of the text seems possibly to exhort to a following of the example of those honoured in the text.

sakato. From *sach* "to follow" in Zend.

tostte. Perhaps to be compared with the Sanskrit *dushtu* "ill," "badly."

ketavũ. From *chit* "each" and *av* "to help" in Sanskrit.

aṁtonae. From the root *am* "to take" (Skeat).

sgâ eiâkote. From *śkâ* "shade." Sanskrit *chaya* and *yak* "to go," "send away" (see Skeat).

zâiâla. Compare the Greek ζάω "to be efficient."

matana. From the root *mad* "to think," "teach," etc. (Skeat). See *matonao*, line 28.

mârôz, acc. pl. from *mar* "to recite" in Zend (see also line 63).

traigalefesa seems, perhaps, to be an ablative pl. The roots would be *dra* "to do" and *gal* or *kal* "to call" or "proclaim." See line 69, *traegâla.*

slâmâkara. From the root *kla* "to call out." The meaning is controlled by the next.

ufri ia sggâ "over this shade." Sanskrit *upari* "over" governs genitive and accusative; *ia* or *hia* the Zend *hya* "this": *sggâ* as before *sgâ.*

tâ, neuter sing. Zend *tâo.* Greek τώ.

trapâle. See N. 54, from *trap* "to please," "satisfy."

freiaieia. Compare the Greek φρήν "heart," "mind."

nekãɯremez. From *neka* "dead" and the root *aur* "glorious" (Zend *havareno* "glory") in the accusative pl. It is, however, doubtfully transcribed in both lines.

zrewâle. From *çri* "happy," "lucky" and the root *wal* "to wish."

mamone. From *man* "to think." Like the Greek μεμονα "to strive."

dâdofa. From *da* "to speak" and *dup* "to be obscure," but this is a doubtful explanation.

mogsha. Zend *moshu* "soon." Latin *mox* "now."

ledaba (see line 15 *ladabade*). From the root *ladh* "to leave," whence the Greek λήθη "oblivion."

lbeiũ. Perhaps from *labh* "to write" (see North, 42).

tralavañe, and line 42 *traleia*, would be from the root *dhran* "to sound," whence the Greek θρῆνος "a dirge."

kantra. Latin *centrum* might be suggested.

veiadreba. From *vayu* "life," as in Zend, and *dra* "to perform."

albagô. From *an* "back," and *bhaj* "to turn," as in Sanskrit.

molünefa. The only similar word I have found is the Greek μῶλος "toil," "contest."

fâlâmoea. Perhaps connected with the Sanskrit *balavan* "strong," "mighty."

refshade, abl. sing. from *refsh,* from the root *rabh* "to rage" (Skeat).

frllade, in the same case, from *bhur* "to burn" (Skeat).

ka. Latin *quia* "because."

afreka. From the root *bhrag* "to break" (Skeat).

zeto. From *çi* "to lie" (Zend, Sanskrit, etc.)

vzzaciase. From *visva* "all," as in Zend, and *ya* "to go," whence *yatu* "time" in Sanskrit.

mavalfume, from *miv* "to move," and *labh* "to slip" (Latin *lapsus*). The word never appears again, and the explanation is doubtful.

widrâdâ, from *vid* "to know" and *radh* "to assist," "interpret," etc. (Skeat). It may, however be *widrâla.*

farafaña, from *bara* "bearing," and *bhan* "to show."

magare. Perhaps a commencement like the Greek *Μη γαρ.*

mana-ovo-lôta. From *man* "mind," *ova,* Old Persian *hva* "self," and *lu* "to separate" (see Skeat).

ovaôze. The root *wagh* includes the meaning "to vex," but the word is difficult to understand.

na borüne. From *na* "not," and *bhuranya* "raging."

süküna. A perfect form from *kü,* Sanskrit *cho* "to cut."

momra, also a perfect from *mri* "to die," like the Sanskrit *mumur* from *mri.*

nonete "denies," supposed to be from the root *nu* "not."

grovazas. From the root *ghar* "to be glad" (Skeat), χάρις "favour." Compare *grshüne,* on the East side, line 52.

gofaleio. Probably from *gub* "to speak."

leiaes. From the root *lu,* whence the Greek λεια "acquisition" (Skeat).

ddalo falez. From *dal* "to see," and *fal* as before (line 9). This is, however, very doubtful.

neova. From the root *nu*, whence all words for "new" (see Skeat).

louôto. From the root *lu* "to wash" (Skeat).

samüta. From *sam* "to gather," or perhaps like the Greek *σημα, σαμα* "to show."

flove. From the root *plu*, whence *πλύνειν* "to wash," and words for "flow," "rain," etc. (Skeat).

mloggôt . . I have supposed to come from a root meaning "black," like the Greek *μελας*.

tonefañe. Compare *tonevañe* (North, 64); the second element is *bhan* "to appear," "shine," etc.

onetüfa. From *una* "lacking" (Sanskrit), and the root *dhup* "to be dark," "doubtful," etc.

gomâlâ danü. From *gham* "earth," Lett. *zemlia*; and *dan* "place."

neiate. From *ni* "down."

masggañteia. Perhaps from *masa* "dying," and *ghama* "ground," "earth."

merü and *merai* (line 67), from *mri* "to die," "a dead person." The noun being constantly so formed in Zend.

sase. Perhaps from the root *gas* "to gather" (Skeat). A plural in *i*.

adeia. "Henceforth" or perhaps "to-day." Sanskrit *adya*.

wantra. From *van* "to honour."

tãwarez. In Zend the termination *rez* belongs to the 3rd person plural of the future in some cases. The root in this case would be *du* "to make," "work," etc.

waewalüne. From *vayu* "life," and *val* "to live."

rade. From *rad* "to explain" (Skeat).

shal . . Old Persian and Vannic *sal* "year."

varazeia. Compare the Zend *vareza* "work."

tlova. Compare the Greek *τέλος* "completion," "end," "accomplishment."

All such analysis is but tentative, although the recurrence of the commoner words in varied context appears to show that a signification generally suitable has been obtained.

The cases of the noun seem to be as follows in Lycian, agreeing exactly with those of Iranian speech.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nominative	â, a, e, s, ü.	ahe, i, va.
Genitive	h, ha, heia, â.	neme, nama, 'añe.
Dative	e, ade, ase, eiya.	
Accusative	ô, â, ma.	az, ez, as, es.
Ablative	ada, ata.	fesa ?
Instrumental	â.	
Locative	oi.	zoi ?

The terminations of the various persons of the verb have been treated in detail, with the augment reduplication and prefix of the optative mood.

It seems to me impossible to doubt that we have to deal with an early Iranian language, influenced, perhaps, in some cases, by contact with Greek.

Southampton, 20th Nov. 1890.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Short Notice on Three Dated Nepalese MSS.

Sir,—The MSS. under notice belong to the collection of the late Professor Minayef. I wish here to draw attention only to their dates, as a description of the whole collection will be given elsewhere. These dates will be, I expect, a small but welcome contribution to the chronology of Nepalese kings, which was so successfully treated in Prof. C. Bendall's Catalogue of the Cambridge Collection [1] and in the account of his journey to Nepal.

1. *Sekaniradeçapāñjikā*, by *Rāmapāla*; probably a commantary on the work of Nāgārjuna-Caturmudrānvya; date: caturmāsādhikaçatadvaye samvatsare çubhe || rājñaḥ çrīmad-Vāmadevavijaye. The date 1081 A.D. is very plausible and permits us to fix more approximatively the date of Vāmadeva's reign. The MS. is a modern paper transcript from a palm-leaf original, as may be seen from a postscript: jīrṇībhūta-tālapatrapustake dṛṣṭvā bhisāriteyaṃ pustakaṃ.

2. *Kriyāsaṃgrahapāñjikā*, by *Kuladatta*; date: rajādhi-rājaparameçvaraçrīmad Abhayamalladevasya vijayarāj[y]e

[1] May I be permitted here to correct some few misprints in this excellent book: p. 106, 12 and 21, read Çāntideva for Jayadeva. p. 129, 9, read according to the MS. babhuvuḥ for vastuvuḥ (?); the *çambūkāvadāna* is one of the many versions of the *Saptakumārikāvadāna*; the quotation from a Saptakum. av. in *Kramadīçvara* (Zachariae, Th., Citate in Kramadīçvara's Saṃkshiptāra. Bezz. Beitr. v. 59 (1879), and *Rāyamukuṭa maṇi* (Aufrecht, Th., Zur Handschriftenkunde, Z.D.M.G. 28, 117, 119 (1874),) is from the work of Gopadatta, as may be seen from the Paris MS. D. 105. Gopadatta seems to have lived before the eleventh century, as a Gopadatta author of Jātakas is mentioned by Kṣemendra in his Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (A.D. 1052), cf. Bendall, Cat. p. 20. Index iii. read Çikṣāsamuccaya, 106. Çiṣyalekhadharmakāvya, 31 (now edited by Prof. Minayef). Sumāgadhāvadāna, add. 134 (read here Sumāgadh- instead of Subāghad-). Of this avadāna and on the different versions of the Saptakumārikāvadāna, I am shortly giving a detailed account.

likhanasamāptitṛtam iti || saṃvat 373 Mārgaçirṣaçukla dvitīyāyāṃ çukravāsare svātinakṣatre. This date, A.D. 1253, seems also very probable. The MS. is again a modern transcript (Devanāgarī). The original may be the palm-leaf MS. in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. As the Catalogue of this collection seems not to have been very carefully revised,[1] it would be of some use if a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Nepalese MSS. would go through the whole collection once more (query—where is now the collection mentioned in W. W. Hunter's Catalogue, pp. 19–20, as belonging to the library of the College of Fort William ?).

3. *Nāmasaṃgrahaṇighaṇṭu* (palm-leaf); date: rajādhirājap[a] rameśvarap[a]ramabhaṭ[ṭ]ārakasya çrīçrī Jayajyotimal[l]adevasya vijayarājye. Saṃvat 547 (A.D. 1427). This must be the last, or last but one, year of the reign of Jayajyotirmalla, as the Cambridge MS. Add. 1703, bearing the date 549 (1429 A.D.), (486 on p. 197, l. 16 must be a misprint ?) is from the reign of the following king Lakṣamalla. The Cambridge and the St. Petersburg MSS. seem to be written by the same scribe—the Chikṣu Jivayībhadra.

SERGIUS D'OLDENBURG.

St. Petersburg.

[1] I will give here only one instance of misrepresentation of the texts: Nep. Sanscr. Buddh. Lit. p. 300. XIX. Story of Śrīmatī. King Bimbisāra had once given a handsome palace, named Jyotishka, to one of his sons, whereupon another, named Ajātasātru, etc. This is partly an account of the story of Jyotiṣka found in a somewhat different shape in the Divyāvadāna, in the Sumāgadhāvadāna, and probably in other avadānas. Jyotiṣka is the name of a man, and in the passage in question the text (sufficiently clear) runs as follows (we quote from the Paris MS. D. 124, fol. 167ᵇ):

"Yadā rājā mahīpālo Bimbisāro nṛpottamaḥ | Jyotiṣkāya dadau prītyā divyaçrīsaṃyutaṃ gṛham tadaivājātaçatruḥ sa dṛṣṭvairerṣyā samanvitaḥ | hā dhig mām iti niçvasya tasthau duḥkhārttamānasaḥ āḥ katham nāma tātasya mahārājasya me pituḥ | evaṃ vyānishitā buddhiḥ svatmaje pi sute mayi yat svaputrāya me dātvā sarvasādhāraṇaṃçriyam | sarvalokānubhūtāṃ ca rājalakṣmīm nṛpaḥ pitā *Jyotiṣkāyānyaputrāya* duṣprāpyāṃ yām surair api | pradadāti mahālakṣmīm divyaçriyaṃ pitā mama."

We would doubt the reading Nandīçvarācārya, pp. 17 and 40, as the two Cambridge MSS., the London, and the Paris one, read something like *than-*, but clearly no *n*. On p. 57 we find *curious* bibliographical facts.

2. The New Sanskrit MS. from Mingai.[1]

Vienna, 10th August, 1891.

Sir,—At the monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on November 5, 1890, Colonel Waterhouse exhibited a birchbark MS., obtained by Lieut. Bower from the ruins of the ancient underground city of Mingai, near Kuchar, in Kashgaria. According to the notes in the *Proceedings* (No. ix. of 1890, p. 223), the MS. consists of 56 leaves, most of which are written on with black ink on both sides. A string runs through the middle of the leaves, and two boards protect the volume. According to the same authority, the MS. was made over for deciphering to Babu Sarat Chandra Das, who, however, as well as Lama Phantshog, failed to make out its contents. The notice concludes with the remark that, as the MS. appears to be particularly rare and interesting, heliogravures of two leaves are published in the Plate III., added to the number of the *Proceedings*, "in the hope that some of the members may be able to decipher it."

As the photo-etchings, which give the *sânkaprishthas* of fols. 3 and 9, are very good, and as the MS. really possesses a very great interest for all Sanskritists, I subjoin my reading and translation of the piece on fol. 3, together with some remarks on the alphabet, language, and contents of both the pieces.

By the shape of its leaves the Mingai MS. differs from all other birchbark MSS. known to me. All those which I have seen in Kashmir, as well as the Bakhshali MS., consist of sheets of quarto size. The leaves of the Mingai MS., on the other hand, are narrow, long strips, cut according to the usual size of the palm-leaves. Like the palm-leaf MSS., they are held together by a string, which is not used for any other birchbark volume, because the brittle nature of the material would make such a proceeding dangerous for its preservation.

[1] This paper has already appeared—with the original Sanskrit of the passages here given only in translation, and also accompanied by notes—in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. v. No. 2.

The writing on fol. 3, which is very large and clear, exhibits the type of the characters of the Gupta period. There are only two letters which slightly differ from those used in the Gupta inscriptions. The initial *a* (see *anavatap-tena*, l. 5) shows a peculiar form in which the upper half of the left limb, represented by a curve open to the left, has been placed in front of the lower half, and has been connected with it by a short stroke. Further, the left limb of *sa* shows mostly a wedge (as in the Horiuzi palm-leaf) instead of a small circle.

The writing on fol. 9 shows in general the same type as that of fol. 3. But it is very much smaller, and there are a few more advanced cursive forms. The initial *a* looks exactly like the *a* of the Horiuzi palm-leaf. For the *ya* we find, besides the old tripartite form, a peculiar looped one, and the form of the Horiuzi palm-leaf. In the letter *śa* the continuity of the top line is mostly broken. There are also several instances of a *sa* with an open wedge in the syllable *sya*. Among the numerals the figure 3 shows the ancient Gupta form, consisting of three horizontal lines one above the other. The figure 9 resembles those occurring on the Valabhî plates and in the Śâradâ MSS. In fol. 3 two different signs of interpunction are used. Between words to be taken separately, and at the end of half verses and verses occurs a short horizontal stroke or a small curve, open to the left. Once, in l. 2 after *svâhâ*, we have two upright strokes with hooks at the top.

Babu Sarat Chandra Das is no doubt right, when he says (*Proceedings*, *loc. cit.*) that the Mingai MS. appears to have been written by different hands. The volume may even be made up of different pieces, written at different times. The parts resembling fol. 3 belong, to judge from the characters, to the fourth or to the fifth century A.D. Those resembling fol. 9 may be somewhat later. But it is not impossible that the cursive forms already existed during the earlier period named, and that the exclusive use of more antiquated signs on some sheets is owing to individual idiosyncrasies of the writers. These questions can only be settled when the whole

MS. has been thoroughly examined. For the present, this much only appears certain: (1) that the MS. contains a page showing the same characters as the Gupta inscriptions; (2) that both the leaves, published in facsimile, look older than the Horiuzi palm-leaf; and (3) that the Mingai MS. has, therefore, a claim to be considered the oldest Sanskrit MS. hitherto found.

As regards the contents of the MS., fol. 3 apparently contains a charm which is intended to force the Nâgas or snake-deities to send rain. The mutilated line 1 enumerates, it would seem, various plants which are to be used as ingredients for an oblation. L. 2 gives the Mantra for the oblation, which ends with the word *svâhâ*. The latter word, as is well known, always indicates the moment of the *tyâga*, when an oblation is thrown into the fire. The Mantra probably consisted originally of an entire Anushṭubh Śloka, the first half of which may have begun with the mutilated word *madana* (?) in line 1, and which certainly ended with the syllables *kta me* in line 2. The end of line 2 and the following lines down to the end of the page contain the so-called *Anumantrana*, a further invocation of the snake-deities, intended to propitiate them by a declaration of the worshipper's friendly relations with various individual Nâgas. This snake-charm, which appears to be Buddhistic, was probably composed in Southern India. For it mentions "the district on the banks of the Golâ," *i.e.* the Godâvarî, which, rising near Nasik, flows through the whole Dekhan until it reaches the Bay of Bengal in the Madras Presidency.

The language of this piece is the incorrect Sanskrit, mixed with Prakrit forms, which is common in the Buddhist works of the early centuries of our era, as well as in the Buddhist and Jaina inscriptions of the same period, and is found also in the mathematical Bakhshali MS. In line 2 we have the faulty Sandhi *devo samaṁtena*; in line 3 the faulty compound *nâgarâjñâ*; in line 4 the insertion of a meaningless *m* between *vâsukinâ-m-api*, which in Pali is commonly used in order to obviate a hiatus, and the faulty compound *nando-panando*; in line 5 the Prakritic form *pi* for the particle *api*.

It is also possible that *parivelâya* in line 2 may be a Prakritic locative for *parivelâyâm*.

The metrical portion consists of exceedingly irregular Anushṭubh Ślokas. The Mantra ought to end in *samantataḥ* instead of in *samaṁtena*, and has one syllable in excess. The last three verses of the Anumantraṇa have also more syllables than they ought to have. It is noteworthy that this small piece contains a dozen words and meanings not traceable in the dictionaries.

Translation of Folio 3.

. . . "Dundubhî, Gârjanî, Varshaṇî, cucumber, Patanî, Terminalia Chebula, Hâriṇî, Kampana. . . .

. . . May the god send rain for the district on the banks of the Golâ all around; Ilikisi Svâhâ!

I keep friendship with the Dhṛitarâshṭras, and friendship with the Nairâvaṇas. I keep friendship with the Virûpâkshas and with Krishṇa and the Gautamakas. I keep friendship with the king of snakes Maṇi, also with Vâsuki, with the Daṇḍapâdas, with . . . , and ever with the Pûrṇabhadras. Nanda and Upananda, [as well as those] snakes of [beautiful] colour, of [great] fame and great power, who take part even in the fight of the gods and the demons—[with all these], with Anavatapta, with Varuṇa and with Saṁhâraka I keep friendship. I keep friendship with Takshaka, likewise with Ananta and with Vâsumukha, with Aparâjita and with the son of Chhibba I keep friendship; likewise always with great Manasvin."

The contents of fol. 9 seem to be different. All the portions which are legible in the facsimile contain medical prescriptions for the cure of disease and for giving to sickly children vigour and health. In line three we have at the end of a prescription which is not entirely decipherable:

"[This is a medicine] which increases the body of a lean boy or of one who is in a decline."

Immediately after these words follows another prescription:

"I will declare the most effective prescription [which gives] strength and a [healthy] complexion. Kuśa-grass, Moringa pterygosperma, the root of Andropogon muricatus, grapes. . . . A decoction of these, [mixed] with sugar, must be given to a lean person; or let him smear on Ghî, boiled with those [above-mentioned ingredients] and with *Jîvantya*."

Again I read in lines 10–11:

"Schreberia Swietenioides, Curcuma longa, Rubia Munjista, pepper and Pinus Deodaru—clarified butter mixed with a powder of these [ingredients], also (?) white Moringa pterygosperma (?), Clitoria ternatea and pomegranates, mixed with water, one shall prescribe for a child, that is suffering from thirst, looks ill and is in a decline. Pounding Aglaia odorata, or also Cyperus into a paste, one shall give it, together with rice-water and mixed with honey."

These specimens are amply sufficient in order to establish the character of the contents of the second page. Possibly they may have been extracted from the chapter of a medical work on *bâlachikitsâ*. I may add that the whole page will become probably legible, if the leaf is well soaked in water and afterwards dried, as the Kashmirians invariably do with old birchbark MSS.

Lieutenant Bower believes the ruins of Mingai and the MS. to be Buddhistic. The latter conjecture is, as already stated, probably correct. For, verse 101 of the Khandavatta Jâtaka (Fausböll, *Jâtakas*, vol. ii. p. 145),

Virûpakkhehi me mettam Erâpathehi me |
Chhabbyâputtehi me mettam [mettam] Kanhâgotamakehi châ ti ||

corresponds with portions of the first and last verses of the *Anumantrana* on fol 3. This agreement shows at all events that similar verses occurred in Buddhist literature.

I trust that Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, the able and learned secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, will take the

volume in hand, and give us a full account of its contents. If the society wishes to render a real and great service to the students of Indian palæography, it will publish photo-etchings of the whole volume. Every line of the MS. is of the highest importance.

G. BÜHLER.

3. THE NEW SANSKRIT MS. FROM MINGAI.

Dedham, Essex, Aug. 17, 1891.

SIR,—The "Rain-charm," translated by Prof. Bühler (*Academy*, August 15, 1891, pp. 138, 139), is certainly Buddhistic, but appears to conform, for the most part, to the North Buddhist type. The Mantra l. 1 contains a list of words which the translator thinks are the names of various plants to be used as ingredients for an oblation; but the Buddhists did not offer sacrifices and oblations.[1] These terms, therefore, may be merely magical or talismanic words, such as we often find in North Buddhist sûtras (see Lotus, ch. xxvi. Kern's Translation S.B.E., pp. 434–5), and are probably epithets of "Çiva's female counterpart Durgâ." In the usual invocations we find these magical terms in the vocative case; and perhaps *Dundubhî*, etc. are Prâkrit vocatives for *Dundubhi*, etc. See Megha-sûtra in J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. Pt. 2, p. 301 (1880).

Dundubhî, Garjanî (thundering), Varshanî (raining), Hârinî (? Harinî), are the feminines of epithets that could well be applied to Çiva as the representative of Rudra; and Durgâ in the Mantra may be regarded as the devî causing thunder, lightning, and rain. Compare the use of *jvalâ*, *ukkâ*, etc., as applied to the goddess Durgâ in the Lotus, ch. xxi. (Kern's Translation, p. 372).

What "cucumber" is I cannot tell, as I have not the Sanskrit text before me; probably *jâlî*, which is a Prâkrit form of an original **jvâlî*, "flame," or *jyotsnî*.

[1] In the Tantra ceremonies flesh and even ordure were thrown into the sacred fire.

Svâhâ = "Durgâ," is the usual ending of a N. Buddhist dhâranî. *ilikisi* = "ilikêsi," is perhaps the vocative of a Prâkrit *ilikâ* + *îçî* = "the earth-goddess."

The Anumantraṇa contains a list of the *Ahirâjakulas* and *Nâga-râjas*,[1] which are those usually met with in North-Buddhist works. We may compare this list with that in the *Vardha-varsha*-sûtra, entitled in Chinese "The Great Cloud-wheel Rain-asking-sutra" (Beal's Catena, p. 420), the Lotus, etc.:

Mingai MS.	*Chinese Sutra.*	*Lotus.*	*Southern Buddhist.*
Dhritarâshtra	Dhritarâshtra	Dhritarâshtra	Dhatarattha
Nairâvana	—	—	Erâvana (?)
Virûpâksha	Virûpâksha	Virûpâksha	Virûpakkha
Krishna }	—	—	{ Kanhâ-
Gautamaka }	—	—	{ Gautamaka
Mani	—	—	Mani-akkhi (?)
Vasuki	Vâsuki	Vâsuki	—
Dandapâda	—	—	—
Pûrnabhadra	—	—	—
Nanda	Nanda	Nanda	Nanda
Upananda	Upananda	Upananda	Upananda
Anavatapta	Anavatapta	Anavatapta	Anotatta*
Varuna	Varuna	—	—
Samhâraka	Sâgara	Sâgara	—
Takshaka	Takshaka	Takshaka	Tacchaka
Ananta	—	—	—
Vâsumukha	—	—	—
Aparâjita	—	—	—
Chibbâ-putra	—	—	Chabbyâputta
Manasvin	Manasvin	—	—
—	Mucalinda	—	Mucalinda*
—	Elapatra (Elapana)	—	Erâpatha
—	Pindara	—	—
—	Tejasvin	—	—

1. *Dhritarâstha* = the regent of the East; also a Nâgarâja.

2. *Nairâvana* = Vaiçravana (Pâli Vessavana = Kuvera), regent of the North (?). It may be a misreading for Airâvana.

3. *Virûpâksha* = the regent of the West, and also a Nâgarâja. Virûdhaka = the regent of the South, is left out, because he was not regarded as a snake-king. *Erâpatha* is also omitted, though mentioned in the Chinese Sûtra and the Pâli Jâtaka, etc.

[1] In N. Buddhist Sanskrit writers we find about 80 nâgarâjas; the Chinese sutras have over 200.

4. *Nanda* and *Upananda* are mentioned in Hardy's M. B., second edition, p. 313. These Nâgarâjas assisted the Devas in a struggle with the Asuras (see Jât. I., p. 204; Beal's Catena, pp. 52–55).

5. *Anavatapta* is not mentioned as a Nâgarâja in Southern Buddhist works; but he was doubtless the guardian of the Anotatta daha (lake), just as *Mucalinda* was the Nâga king that guarded the Mandâkinî waters. For *Mucalinda*, the seven-headed snake, see Udâna, p. 10.

6. *Samhâraka* is evidently a misreading for *Sâmgara* = *Sâgara*.

7. *Chibba* = Pâli Chabyâ or Chabbyâ, seems to point to an original *chavikâ (see Cullavagga, v. 6).

8. *Pûrna-bhadra* and *Aparâjita* occur in the Mahâbhârata; *Vâsumukha* = Sumukha (?). Of *Dandapâda* the legends are silent.

9. *Krishna* and *Gautamaka* are mentioned in the Divyâvadâna as *two* snake-kings.

R. Morris.

4. Ceylon Coins.

Sir,—Robert Knox tells us that, besides Larins and "Pounams" (fanams), there were in circulation other pieces of (silver) money coined by the Portuguese; the King's arms on one side and the image of a friar on the other, and by the Chingulays called tangom massa. The value of one is ninepence English; poddi tangom, or the small tangom, is half as much. The "Chingulay" *massa* is here, doubtless, the well-known Indian weight, the *māsha* (or seed of the *Phaseolus vulgaris*; see Thomas' "Ancient Indian Weights" in Numismata Orientalia, 1874), which was the quarter of the Sanskrit *ṭaṅka*. One meaning of *ṭaṅka* was a "stamped coin," whilst in another sense it was equal to the *śataraktika*, or weight of 100 ratis (175 grains), forming the early standard of the rupee. A derivative indeed of the Sanskrit *ṭaṅka* is the Bengal *ṭākā* (whence

the Anglo-Indian "tuck") commonly used by the Bengalis for a rupee. Consequently, Robert Knox is describing a (Portuguese) quarter-rupee, as also appears from his (somewhat liberal) sterling rating of the coin. According to Linschoten's "Itinerarie Voyage" (1596), tangas were the money of account of Goa in 1598, but were then no longer coined.

R. CHALMERS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1891.)

I. Obituary Notices.

Colonel George Edward Fryer, of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose decease we notice in the present issue of our Journal, was the eldest son of the late Colonel George Fryer, for several years Military Secretary to the Government of Fort Saint George. He was born on the 25th of November, 1832, and received his education at Rugby. Shortly after attaining the age of twenty, young Fryer entered the Military Service of the Honourable East India Company, his first commission as Ensign bearing date the 20th of January, 1853. After spending about eight years and a half with his regiment, the 21st M.N.I., he was attached for a short time to the Police Department in the District of Canara; subsequently to the Department of Public Works in Arcot; and finally, in January, 1864, was sent over to British Burma, where he worked, first, for about a year, as a District Police Officer, being afterwards transferred to the British Burma Commission, at about the time when he got his Captaincy in the Madras Staff Corps. Colonel Fryer, thereafter, by seniority, rose to the grade of Deputy Commissioner, performing civil and Judicial duties, until, retiring from active employment, he returned on permanent furlough to England, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his life. Preferring literary pursuits to the other more ordinarily followed ways of relaxation in India, Colonel Fryer devoted

his leisure time chiefly to the acquisition of Oriental languages. Besides Hindoostanee and Burmese, of which he had a competent knowledge, he applied himself to Pāli, which he studied critically, contributing several articles on the same to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; such as: (i.) Pāli Studies, No. 1. Analysis and Pāli Text of the Subodhalankara, or "Easy Rhetoric," by Sangharakkhita Thera (Journ. xliv. part i. p. 91). (ii.) Pāli Studies, No. 2. Vuttodaya, "Exposition of Metre," by Sanghrakkhita Thera, edited with translation and notes (Journ. xlvi. part i. p. 369). (iii.) Letter on the Tradition as to Pāli being the Original Language (Proc. 1879, p. 155). (iv.) Letter forwarding copies of two Buddhist Inscriptions, in Old Sanskrit characters, found in the Sandoway District, Arakan (Proc. 1879, p. 201). (v.) Note on the Pāli Grammarian Kaccāyana (Proc. 1882, p. 119). (vi.) Note on a Burmese copy of the Kalāpa Grammar (Proc. 1885). In respect to the above, it may here be noticed that Colonel Fryer left behind him a select collection of Pāli palm-leaf books very methodically arranged. That his reading was extensive and varied is shown by the following other papers on more general subjects which were also the product of his pen. (1.) A Contribution to our Knowledge of Pelagic Mollusca (Journ. xxxviii. part ii. p. 259). (2.) On Burmese Celts (Proc. 1872, p. 96). (3.) Note on an Arrakanese Coin (Journ. xli. p. 201). (4.) On the Khyeng people of the Sandoway District, Arakan (Journ. xliv. part i. p. 39). These latter were also sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

For the Royal Asiatic Society he wrote, "A few Words concerning the Hill People inhabiting the Forests of the Cochin State" (Journ. Vol. III. Part II. New Series, Art. XII. p. 478). Colonel Fryer brought out besides, in 1866 and 1867, two useful compilations, viz. (1) a Handbook of British Burma; and (2) Questions and Answers on Police Duties (English and Burmese). As a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society he was one of those who were deputed, the year before last, to attend the Oriental Congress held

in Sweden. Colonel Fryer's death was sudden and unexpected. His decease was greatly regretted by those who knew him as not only a man of varied talents, but also of kindly disposition and courteous manners. He was married in December, 1857, to Georgina Katherine Phelan, who survives him, as do also two sons, who, following their father's footsteps, are officers in the Indian Staff Corps; and two daughters, one married to Captain Claude Tennant, likewise of the Indian Staff Corps.

R. D. ARDAGH.

Ahmed Vefik Pasha, an Honorary Member of the Society, died in April. He was for many years a prominent statesman, patriot, and scholar. His literary labours were extensive in a variety of lines, but it would be difficult to furnish anything like a complete list of his works, as many were written anonymously. His most important work is a Dictionary of the words of Turanian origin used in the Turkish language. It is called "Lehjet-ul-Lughat," and is a work of very considerable value, and has been used by M. Barbier de Meynard as the basis for his "Supplément aux Dictionnaires Turcs."

Vefik Pasha also wrote a short history of Turkey, and translated a number of Molière's plays into Turkish. He occupied a position by himself in the Turkish literary world, holding aloof alike from the reactionary party who oppose all change, and from the revolutionary school, which, headed by Kemāl Bey and by Hāmid Bey, is endeavouring to introduce Western modes of thought and expression into Turkish literature. This modern school has now practically won the day.

II. Notices of Books.

Notes on Gulistan, Chapter III. By Munshi Shaikh Sardar, Persian Teacher, High School, Poona. (Bombay Education Society's Press, Byculla, 1891.)

Here, in about one hundred closely-printed pages, we have a continuation of good work already done by the same intelligent annotator, for the first chapter of S'adi's ever-popular "Rose Garden." The little book may be safely recommended to the English student of Persian as containing much useful information, not only bearing upon the text to which it directly refers, but of a more general character. Perhaps we are inclined to cavil at the Munshi's views in respect to the word *bandah* "slave," when used in place of the first personal pronoun. He says (p. 15) that "in modern times," on occasions such as this, "the first personal termination م *mím* is added to the verb, e.g.:

بنده غیرِل جناب امده بودم اما از ملاقات مشرف نشدم

Rendered in French, for the sake of due illustration, this would be "Votre serviteur *m'étais* rendu chez Votre Excellence, mais *n'eus* pas l'honneur d'une entrevue."[1] We find it hard to accept such ruling as a grammatical fact, or indeed as anything but an unauthorized Indianism. That the anomaly does occur in writing we are aware, but it seems to us to imply nothing more than the ignorance of an illiterate scribe. When بنده is used for من the verb should surely be in the third person singular, in "modern" as in olden times.

There are several misprints and a little confusion of expression in one or more passages (excusable in a native of India writing in English), and there is a complete want of any critical scholarship in such matters of history as are referred to in the poems. These, however, are few in number, and as a philological commentary the learner will find the notes useful.

[1] An English equivalent illustration would be "Your servant *am* in attendance."

III. Magazines.

In *The Atlantic Monthly* for September, Mr. John Fiske sketches the history of the intercourse between Europe and Asia from early times to the Fall of Constantinople, under the title "Europe and Cathay."

Blackwood for July contains a review of the Life of Lawrence Oliphant.

To *The Century* for July John LaFargue sends an article "Tao: the Way. An Artist's Letters from Japan."

Under the title "A Month in Southern India" Sir M. E. Grant Duff, in the *Contemporary* for September, prints the very interesting lecture he delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society in the Geological Museum on "A Tour in Southern India."

To the August number Prof. Max Müller contributes "The Story of an Indian Child Wife." Apropos of the Age of Consent Bill, the Professor narrates the touching story of the life of Srimati Soudamini Ray, who at the age of nine married Babu Kedar Nath Ray.

In the *Cornhill* for September is an article on "Advertising in China," which justifies the writer in saying "The Chinese advertiser does not lack imagination: in picturesqueness he can give points to his western rivals."

Prof. Ch. de Harlez, of Louvain, a member of this Society, sends to the *Dublin Review* for July a review of "Les Résultats de l'Exégèse Biblique," par M. Vernes, under the title "The Age of the Psalms."

The *Edinburgh* for July gives a lengthy notice of Canon Rawlinson's "History of Phœnicia," and also of Mr. Kipling's "Anglo-Indian Tales."

The *English Illustrated Magazine* for September has an illustrated article "Turkish Girlhood," by Fatima.

Mr. E. E. Oliver in the *Fortnightly* for July writes on "Punitive Expeditions on the North-West Indian Frontier," and concludes by expressing the opinion that these Border Tribes should be converted into good soldiers and loyal subjects.

Harper's Magazine for September has an article by Frederick Boyle on "Chinese Secret Societies." Dr. Milne, in 1825, published "Some Account of a Secret Society in China," which attracted the notice of G. Schlegel, who, in 1866, published "The Thian-Ti Hwey, or Hung League." In this work he was aided by the use of documents impounded at Padang by the police, who, when searching the house of a Chinaman accused of theft, found books and papers showing that a lodge of the Society, with 200 members, was established at Padang. At a later date Mr. Pickering, at Singapore, won such confidence among the leaders that he was admitted to the meetings. Other secret societies are the *Wu-Wei Keäou* and the *Ko-Lao Hwey*. The semi-secret associations for good works are legion.

The Library of this Society possesses Mr. Stewart Culin's booklets on this interesting study, which the author has kindly presented.

Miss Gordon Cumming sends to the *National Review* for July a descriptive article on "Police Work in Ceylon."

The *National Review* for August urges the need of more nurses and hospital accommodation in India. There are many schemes of relief for the women of India, but there is danger of taking the words "Women of India" to mean native women only, whereas in charity the author pleads for the European and the Eurasian. Mr. Pincott writes in this same Review on the "Age of Consent Bill," and thinks that the circular issued regarding the operation of the Act "admits the dangerous character of the measure, and covertly suggests that it should be treated as a dead letter."

In the *Nineteenth Century* for July, Rajah Murli Manohar, in "Industries of Ancient India," maintains that Caste has assisted the Indian artizans through centuries of experience to acquire their wonderful skill and facility of workmanship. The writer traces the history of Indian Industries, citing as his authorities the Rig Veda, Yajur Veda, Megasthenes, Fa Hian, Hiouen Thsiang, and the late James Fergusson.

In the August number Sir Alfred Lyall writes on "Frontiers and Protectorates," and Lord Lamington on "The

French in Tonquin." This writer declares the great evil to be piracy. The traders prefer to pay blackmail rather than trust the escorts given them. Development of commerce would mean decrease of dacoity, but, as a commercial man said, "Il n'y a pas de commerce."

In the September number the Hon. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali writes on "The Real Status of Women in Islām," in answer to Mrs. Reichardt, who wrote in the June number of this review from the Christian standpoint.

In *La Nouvelle Revue* for August, M. Léon Tinseau writes on "La Japonaise comme il faut de nos jours." In contrast to this lively description of the manners, education, and everyday life of the Japanese ladies is M. Philippe Lehault's short article, "La Neutralité du Siam."

In the *Scottish Review* for July, Major Conder, in an article, "The Oriental Jews," after speaking of the persecution of the Jews, their history, and projected return to Palestine, declares, "If the Jew is a trader and shopkeeper rather than an agriculturist, it is because the laws imposed on him by other nations have made him such." "Jewish farmers have worked and prospered in America."

Mr. John H. Wigmore contributes to the July and August numbers of *Scribner's Magazine* a copiously illustrated article on "Starting a Parliament in Japan."

In the September number Mr. James Ricalton contributes an article, "The City of the Sacred Bo-Tree—Anuradhapura," copiously illustrated.

In the *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. liv. pt. 2, is Dr. Mouat's address on "Prison Ethics and Prison labour," which contains a good deal about Jails in Bengal.

Miscellanea No. I, in this same Journal, is devoted to a "Preliminary Return of the Census in India," taken in February last.

Temple Bar for July contains "Reminiscences of Sir Richard Burton," by his niece, Georgina M. Stisted. The restless activity and gigantic power, both physical and intellectual, together with traits of his home life, are vividly portrayed in this sketch of the great traveller and scholar, whom we

are told realized £12,000 by his "Arabian Nights." Home life in Turkey is described by "Tasma" in this magazine under the title "Iftar in a Harem." The writer describes the partaking of Iftar after Ramazan in the house of Djevdet Pasha, then Minister of Justice.

Temple Bar for September contains an article on "Chinese Cookery," which is a discussion, with numerous portions translated, of a work by Yüan Mei, the poet and letter-writer, who flourished A.D. 1716–1797.

Unsere Zeit for August contains "China am Scheidewege," by Gustav Krenke.

In the *Westminster Review* for August is an article by R. S. Gundry—"The Recent Audience at Peking"—giving a history of the various missions to China from the Western Powers, and showing how the degrading ceremonies imposed on envoys by the Chinese have gradually been softened down.

IV. Additions to the Library.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council.

Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office. Part III. Sanskrit Literature, by J. Eggeling. 4to. *London*, 1891.

Aufrecht (Th.). Catalogus Catalogorum—An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors. (Printed for the German Oriental Society.) 4to. *Leipzig*, 1891.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India:
No. 276. Administration of Ajmere-Merwara for 1889–90. fol. 1890.
No. 279. Administration of Baroda State for 1890–91. fol. 1891.

Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government:
No. 248. Revision Survey Settlement of 14 Villages of the Peint Taluka.

Assam. Report on Tea Culture in, for 1890. fol. *Shillong*, 1891.

Calcutta University Calendar for 1891.

Catalogue of Maps, Plans, etc., of India, Burma, and other parts of Asia.

Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, for May, 1890, to April, 1891.

List of the Principal Indian Government Publications. fol. 1891.

Epigraphia Indica. Part 7. fol.

Presented by the Trustees of the Indian Museum.

Catalogue of Mammalia in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, by W. L. Sclater. Part 2. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1891.

Bengal Asiatic Society. Journal and Proceedings as Published.

Presented by Capt. Hawkins.

Dharm Bichar. *Pamphlet.* 8vo. *Ferozepore*, 1889.

From the German Government.

Handschriften Verzeichniss der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin. 9ter Band—Arabischen, H. G. von W. Ahlwardt, Band III. 4to. *Berlin*, 1891.

From the Authors.

Oliver (E. E.). Coins of the Chaghatai Mughals. Extract from "Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. 9, pt. 1, No. 1. 1891.

Characterisirung der Epik der Malaien. Originaluntersuchung von Prof. Dr. R. Brandstetter. *Pamphlet.* 8vo. *Luzern*, 1891.

Pope (Rev. G. U.). First Lessons in Tamil. 5th. Ed. Post 8vo. *Oxford*, 1891.

Kudatku Bilik. Facsimilie der Uigurischen H.S. der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien. Herausg. von Dr. W. Radloff. 4to. *St. Petersburg*, 1890.

Wikremasinghe (N. D. M. de Zilva). List of the "Pansiyapanas Jātaka." Extract from the "Ceylon Branch Journal," Vol. 10, No. 35, for 1887.

The Lord's Prayer in 100 Languages. With a Preface by Dr. R. Rost. 4to. *London*, 1891.

PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

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